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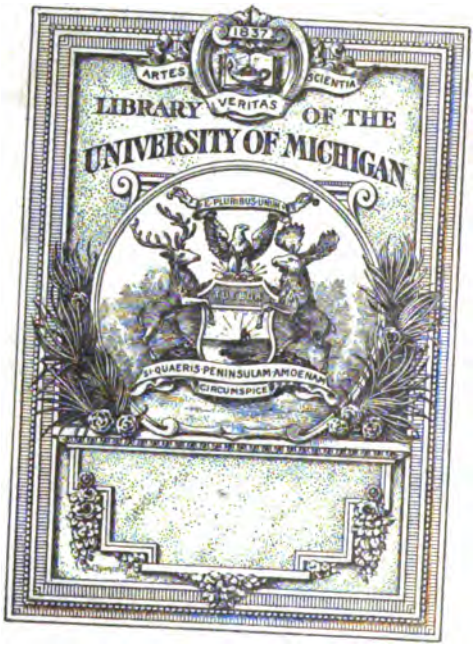

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND DIARY

OF

MR JAMES MELVILL.

M.D.LVI.—M.DC.X.

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THE WODROW SOCIETY,

INSTITUTED MAY, 1841,

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS AND EARLY WRITERS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

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THE

AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND DIARY

OF

MR JAMES MELVILL,

MINISTER OF KILRENNY, IN FIFE, AND PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS.

WITH A

CONTINUATION OF THE DIARY.

EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARIES OF THE FACULTY
OF ADVOCATES AND UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,

BY

ROBERT PITCAIRN, ESQ.
F.S.A. SCOT.

EDINBURGH:
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M.DCCC.XLII.

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PREFATORY NOTICE.

I. THE AUTHOR'S BIRTH AND EDUCATION.

Mr James Melvill, Melvyne, or Melvin, (in which latter form the family name was generally known, both in Scotland and in foreign countries[1] at the period when our Author flourished,) was one of the sons of Richard Melvill of Baldowy or Baldovy, Minister of the parish of Marytoun, near Montrose, in the presbytery of Brechin, by his spouse Isabell Scrymgeour, sister to the Laird of Glasswell. The Melvills of Baldowy were then a respectable family, and near cadets of Melvill of Raith, who was considered to be the chief of a rather powerful and influential name in the county of Fife. Melvill of Dysart, however, was acknowledged by Mr Andrew Melvill to have been the chief of the Baldovy branch

[1] In all the interesting correspondence which took place between our Author and his celebrated uncle, which is in Latin, (Melvini Epistolæ, MS. in Adv. Lib.) the name is uniformly written "Melvinus." It may also be remarked, that in Fifeshire the name is still vulgarly pronounced "Melvin," and at an earlier period it was frequently pronounced and written "Melin," "Mellin," and "Melling."

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of the family.[1] The Author states, in his Autobiography, that he was born on the 26th day of July 1556, but at the same time quaintly remarks, " my uncle, Mr Andro, haulds that I was born *in anno* 1557."[2]

Of the early life, education, and pursuits of Mr James Melvill, a simple but lively and unaffected narrative has been preserved by himself in his Autobiography, in which will be found many curious and important particulars as to the state of classical and theological education in Scotland in his younger days, and more especially in the Universities of St Andrews and Glasgow. He has also, in the commencement of his work, recorded much interesting information as to the early introduction of the Greek and Hebrew languages into Scotland, and the methodical study of Oriental Languages as a regular branch of theological education in these Universities, at a period when it has generally been considered that too little attention was paid to these departments of learning. It may perhaps not be unworthy of a cursory notice in this place, that it likewise appears from this work, that at St Andrews and elsewhere, at and before the middle and close of the sixteenth century, not only was the mind assiduously cultivated by the study of theology, philosophy, mathematics, the classics, and other kindred branches of a polite education, in a manner hardly to be surpassed in the present day, but the bodily faculties were strengthened and developed by the regular practice of archery, fencing, running, leaping, wrestling, swimming, and other athletic and manly exercises and sports, in regard to which many amusing instances are alluded to or enlarged on by our Author. The enquirer into the manners, customs,

[1] M'Crie's Melvill, i. 409.

[2] See Diary, p. 13.

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and superstitions of our countrymen, at this period, will also find numerous passages of considerable interest and curiosity.

It would be equally unnecessary and out of place to attempt a recapitulation of what is so forcibly and graphically narrated by the Author on these subjects; but it may here be briefly noticed, that through the kindness of Principal Lee, the Editor is now enabled from his notes (which have been most obligingly communicated at a time when busily engaged in important public avocations) to throw some additional light on the exact dates of Mr James Melvill's matriculation at St Andrews, and the period of his laureation as a Master of Arts.

As has been recorded by himself, Mr James Melvill got the rudiments of his education at Logie and Montrose; and in his Diary, he states that he was entered as a student at St Leonard's College, St Andrews, in 1571. In this latter instance, however, it would appear that he had quoted from memory, at an advanced period of his life, as the Very Rev. Principal Lee has politely communicated to the Editor, from his notes of matriculations, &c., that our Author was enrolled so early as 1569, ("JACOBUS MELWAL,")[1] when in his fourteenth year. From the same authentic source it is gratifying to state, that the accuracy of the previous entry in the matriculation books of St Andrews is amply proved by the following, in the list of Bachelors of Arts who were admitted on the 9th day of February 1572, "JAMES MELVYN;" which exactly corresponds with the earliest period at which he could have been admitted to this degree by the statutes of that University. It is possible that Melvill may have taken his degree of Master of Arts either at Glas-

[1] His name is so inscribed in the original Register.

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gow or subsequent to his return to St Andrews; but the period of his laureation is uncertain, from the imperfection of the lists, about that period, both at Glasgow and St Andrews.

The Editor trusts that the Members of the Wodrow Society, as well as the Church and public, will cordially join him in the wish that the Very Rev. and learned Principal, to whose notes the Society is indebted for this information, may still be prevailed on to favour the world with his long projected work on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Scotland, at no very distant date. It is universally acknowledged that no one is better qualified for undertaking so important a task; and a large number of his friends are well aware that during the last thirty years he has amassed a most valuable store of materials, at immense personal labour and considerable expense, and that he has ever been willing most liberally to afford his advice, and to communicate information to others engaged in kindred pursuits. Already have the pages of many of our authors been enriched from these stores, and it is to be hoped that sufficient leisure may still be afforded him for completing so very desirable a work.

II. PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITIES OF GLASGOW AND ST ANDREWS.

On Mr Andrew Melvill being appointed Principal of the University of Glasgow, our Author, his nephew, was invited by him to accompany him thither; and, we are informed by Mr James Melvill, that at the early age of nineteen, he began, as a Regent, about Michaelmas 1575, to instruct his class in Greek, Logic, and Rhetoric; and, in the following year, he taught them Mathe-

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matics and Natural Philosophy. Dr M'Crie records that "he was the first Regent in Scotland who read the Greek authors to his class in the original language,"[1] in which both he and his uncle were great proficients.

In the year 1580, after his uncle had returned to his charge as Principal of St Andrews, our Author was appointed Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in the same University, and was soon afterwards invited to be Minister of Stirling, which offer, however, he declined to accept.

III. HIS FIRST MARRIAGE, AND HIS CONDUCT AS A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL.

On the 1st day of May 1583, Mr James Melvill married Elizabeth, daughter of his friend and patron, Mr John Dury, Minister of Edinburgh,[2] afterwards of Montrose, by Marion Marjoribanks, who is understood to have been daughter of Sir John Marjoribanks, Provost of Edinburgh.

Having preached his first sermon at the early age of eighteen,[3] the increasing expenses of his family induced him, in the autumn of 1586, to accept of a call from the parish of *Anstruther-Wester;* and he was soon afterwards admitted by the presbytery to that charge. From the Registers of that parish the following entry occurs: "1586, 22 day [of] Oct., being Sonday, Mr James Melvill, our ministair, now began and ministered the sacrament of baptisme, as after followes, in Anstruther," &c. &c.[4] Mr Robert

[1] M'Crie's Life of Melvill, i. 74. [2] He had been transported to that important charge from Leith. [3] At "the Exercise." Diary, p. 50. [4] Register of Births, &c. of the parish of Anstruther-Wester.

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Wood, who had been appointed minister of the parish of Kennoway, December 4, 1582, was his predecessor, and held the office from the year 1584; and from the manner in which the Author speaks of him in his Introduction,[1] it would seem that he was far from being acceptable to the people.

It would appear that on the death of Mr William Clark, in February 1583,[2] who had been burdened with the care of the three parishes of Pittenweem, Abercrombie, and Kilrenny, Wood got a presentation to the whole from the Archbishop of St Andrews, (Adamson;) and on his removal, Mr James Melvill entered on the same extensive and laborious charge. Greatly to his honour, and to the credit of his religious profession, our Author, in place of attempting the arduous task of performing the duty of minister to four large parishes, immediately used all his influence and exertions to get separate ministers appointed to each. In this he finally succeeded, and, despising the mere motive of pecuniary aggrandisement, he then betook himself seriously to the discharge of his ministerial duties in the parish of Kilrenny, to which, in October 1590, he was enabled exclusively to restrict himself. The manner in which he effected this is beautifully and simply narrated in his Introduction.

The charge of *Anstruther-Wester* he resigned in favour of his friend, Mr Robert Dury,[3] in 1588. That distinguished man was banished by King James VI. in 1606, and died at Leyden in 1616.

[1] Diary, p. 4. [2] Register of Presentations to Benefices, ii. 133.

[3] It is probable that he was his brother-in-law, but the Editor has not been able to satisfy himself of this on proper evidence. He married Elizabeth Ramsay. Mr Andrew Melvill was witness to the baptism of his son and daughter, Andrew and Margaret, in 1605 and 1607. Session Record of Anstruther.

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The charge of *Pittenweem* was committed to Mr Nicol Dalgleish, who, on 3d November 1603, got Mr Roger Melvill appointed as helper to him. In April 1613, Mr John Durie succeeded to the cure of souls in this parish; and on his translation to the parish of Logie in 1614, the parish remained vacant until 1617, when our Author's eldest son, Mr Ephraim Melvill, who was translated thither from Newburn, was appointed. On his death, in 1629, Mr John Melvill succeeded. He conformed to Presbytery in 1638, and died in 1649. The succession of ministers in this parish has been noted, in consequence of one, and perhaps two, of the sons of our Author having been included in the number of its ministers.

The charge of *Abercrombie* was, in 1593, considerably after the resignation of Mr James Melvill, bestowed on Mr Alexander Forsyth, who went to England in 1604. It may be remarked, in reference to this subject, that in the year 1646, the parish of Abercrombie had the town and lands of St Monance united to it. These were ecclesiastically dismembered from that of Kilconquhar; but as the Kirk of St Monance was "most capable to conteine the whole parish, and because the grytest nomber of the parishioners duell neerest to that kirk, and for other reasons conteined in the supplication given in to the Presbyterie for that effect," Divine worship was ordained to be performed therein for the future.[1]

The charge undertaken by Mr James Melvill, as minister of *Kilrenny*, in which he continued from the period of his admission until he was called to England by order of the King, was most

[1] Ecclesiastical Records of the Synod of Fife, 1611–1687, p. 201, presented to the Abbotsford Club by Charles Baxter, Esq. as his private contribution.

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faithfully and zealously discharged by him; and when the duties of his professorship and the increasing wants of the parish demanded further assistance in that important duty, he got his dear friend, Mr John Dykes, admitted as his "fellow laborer," or colleague, in 1596. Mr John Dykes, however, was translated to the parish of Newburn in October 1604; but, on the invitation of the parish, he returned to Kilrenny in 1614, shortly after Mr James Melvill's death. He died in 1634. It may be mentioned generally, that there was another Minister of the same name flourishing at the same time, probably a near relation, who was appointed as the first Minister of Culross in 1567. He was confined by order of James VI. in 1607. This individual seemed to have been a considerable pluralist, as he also held the large and important parishes of Tulliallan and Clackmannan, being assisted in the former by Walter Myllar, "Exhortar," and, in the latter, by Robert Maxwell, "Reidare," in these charges. If this Mr John Dykes was the same individual who was so intimately associated in the bonds of friendship and of the holy ministry with Mr James Melvill, he must have been a Minister above forty years, and, consequently, advanced in life when confined by order of the King in 1607; and if he lived to the year 1641, when, so far as the Editor has been enabled to discover, it is believed he died, he must then have been above ninety-four years of age. The Editor, however, is convinced, from the circumstance of the plurality of livings held by him, and the discrepancy of the periods of the death of the incumbents of these parishes, that they must have been different individuals.[1]

[1] See Records of the Synod of Fife, pp. 208, 210, 236.

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It is not a little complimentary to the popular talents of our Author, that we have it to relate that his separation from his parish of Anstruther was deplored by his people as a subject to them of deep and lasting regret; and had he left so affectionate and attached a body of parishioners merely for pecuniary gain or personal aggrandisement, such an expression must have been not only extremely affecting, but must have afforded cause for bitter remorse. The Kirk-Session of Anstruther-Wester thus forcibly record their regret:—"Mr James Melvill took his guid nycht from this congregatioun the said moneth of October 1590 yeiris, and took him to Kylrynnie to be thair minister. God forgif him that did sa! for I know and saw him promes that he suld never laif ws for any vardlie[1] respect, sa lang [as] he lyvit, except he var forsait be the Kirk and his Majestie; bot, nevir being forsit aither be Kirk or his Majestie, leift ws."[2] It may be noticed, that the contiguous town of Anstruther-Easter was then annexed to the parish of Kilrenny, and all the three parishes are situated within a short distance from each other.

The various steps which led to the final endowment and establishment of four ministers in these four populous parishes, by the extraordinary exertions of one conscientious minister, in whose person the whole had been originally united, through the pernicious system of pluralities then so prevalent in Scotland—and that within the almost incredibly short space of three years—are related by our Author in his own simple and forcible manner, and are well worthy of admiration. They afford a very striking instance of what may be

[1] Worldly. [2] Kirk-session Records of Anstruther-Wester, October 6, 1590.

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achieved by the untiring, conscientious perseverance and energetic application of the mind and influence of one good man, having only before his eyes the glory of God and the eternal interests of his fellow Christians.

IV. HIS PUBLIC LIFE.

The personal history of the Author, and his proceedings in the public affairs in which the Church was involved during the eventful period which followed, are so fully narrated in his Autobiography, and in the Continuation of his Diary, and are so much connected with the History of Scotland, that it is only necessary here to advert generally to his work itself. The noble stand which he made, in common with his uncle, Mr Andrew Melvill, and the other Ministers who accompanied him to England, in a situation of singular difficulty and delicacy, where their religious liberty and that of the Church, with which they so completely identified themselves, was so much at stake, is one which has exercised the pens, and called forth the commendation of our best Ecclesiastical historians.[1] The leading circumstances connected with this remarkable passage of British History are detailed with admirable precision and candour by our Author.

The particulars relating to the oppressive and cruel detention of the Ministers in London, from their families and flocks, the confinement of Mr Andrew Melvill in the Tower of London, and the banishment of our Author as a prisoner at large to Newcastle and Berwick, with his active and zealous professional employment

1 See especially Calderwood's Church History, M'Crie's Life of Melvill, &c.

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while there, are all detailed with touching simplicity and fidelity, which, indeed, are highly characteristic of the whole of this most valuable contribution to the History of the Church of Scotland, and they stamp on it the indelible impress of truth.

V. HIS SECOND MARRIAGE.—HIS BANISHMENT AND RESIDENCE AT NEWCASTLE AND BERWICK.

During his residence at Newcastle-on-Tyne, the Author lost his affectionate wife, Elizabeth Dury, who had, for so long a period, been his faithful companion and friend, and the fond partaker with him in all his toils and troubles. The date of her death cannot now be exactly ascertained, but it is supposed to have occurred between the years 1609 and 1610. After a most diligent search of all the Registers and Vestry books of the parishes of Newcastle-on-Tyne and Gateshead, as well as of the town of Berwick-on-Tweed, (for which the Society is indebted to the zeal and kindness of Thomas Bell, Esq., and J. Bailey Langhorne, Esq. of Newcastle, and of Robert Weddell, Esq., of Berwick,) no entry has been found of the death or burial of Mrs Melvill.

It appears, however, from the interesting correspondence above alluded to, which took place between the Author and his uncle, Mr Andrew Melvill,[1] that Mr James Melvill remained above two years a widower; and that previous to July, 1612, he was united in marriage to Debora Clerke, daughter of the then deceased Richard Clerke, A.B., Vicar of Berwick-on-Tweed. No entry occurs in the Parish Registers of Berwick; and until now it was

[1] Melvini Epistolæ, MS. in Adv. Lib. It may be remarked that this valuable collection formerly belonged to Mr James Melvill, and is partly in his own hand-writing.

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merely known, or rather reported, that our Author married a young girl of nineteen years of age, who was believed to have been the daughter of a deceased Vicar of Berwick. Through the persevering activity of Robert Weddell, Esq., of Berwick, a note of the succession of Vicars in that town was procured, and the conclusion drawn, that the Author's second wife was likely to have been the daughter of Richard Clerke.[1]

The name of Clerke was a common name in Berwick, from the reign of Henry VIII. downwards. Richard Clerke, probably a near relation, perhaps the grandfather of the Author's second wife, in a deed dated 15th October 1594, is called "Richard Clarke, precher of God's Word in Berwick." It relates to a property in Berwick belonging to the Gardiner family; one of whom, George, was Dean of Norwich, (Wood's Ath. Oxon.) The only other notice of Richard is, that he "lived in the Churchyard!"

After much trouble, and a prolonged but fruitless search, which was instituted by the editor into the Books of the Commissariats of St Andrews and Edinburgh, he at length applied to his friend Mr Weddell, in the hope that Mr James Melvill's Will might have been proved at Durham, York, or some of the Ecclesiastical Courts in the northern or middle districts of England; and that gentleman at length succeeded in tracing the interesting document forming No. I. of the Appendix to this Prefatory

[1] Thomas Clerke was Vicar of Berwick 18th December 1567, and died before 26th February 1589, when we find Richard Clerke, A.B. in that living. On 22d July 1607, William Selbye, A.M. was Vicar, and resigned the same year. He was succeeded by Leo. Rountree, who also resigned in 1610, and was succeeded by Richard Smith, who died in 1613. Gilbert Durie was Vicar from that time till about 1660. It is not unlikely that he was connected with Mr James Melvill's family.

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Notice, in the Registry of the Consistory Court at Durham. The Will of Mr James Melvill settled the point most satisfactorily, so far as concerns the Christian and family name of his second wife, which had previously been so very doubtful.

Previous to this marriage taking place, a very serious remonstrance had been addressed to the Author by his uncle, Mr Andrew Melvill, to whom the courtship had been revealed, both on account of the unsuitableness of her age, and from the circumstance of a long-formed friendship, which Mr Andrew concluded to have subsisted between his nephew and the widow lady with whom Mr James had lodged at Newcastle, and whom Mr Andrew most anxiously pressed him to marry. Mr James, however, persisted in maintaining the inexpediency of becoming united to the excellent and respectable widow alluded to by him in his Diary;[1] and, ultimately, Mr Andrew yielded the point to his nephew. In the whole of this protracted correspondence, an abstract of which has been ably and humorously given by Dr M'Crie,[2] and even to the conclusion of that collection,[3] embracing a period before and after his second marriage, the name uniformly given by Mr Andrew to his niece was MELISSA,[4] which led to the conclusion that such was indeed her Christian name, until the discovery of the Author's Will.

There is now no evidence to prove that there was any issue of our Author's second marriage—at least no traces of such are to be

[1] "Whose sone-in-law," (says our Author, Diary, p. 172,)"guidman of the house, was lyand seik of manie deadlie wounds giffen him be the Scottes theives on the Bordar." [2] M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melvill, ii. pp. 364-375. [3] Melvini Epistolæ, *passim*. [4] She is frequently termed by Mr Andrew Melvill, in his letters, "melitissima Melissa," which Dr M'Crie has happily translated "the honied Melissa."

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found in the Will, nor in the Account of his Death-bed, which is sufficiently minute in many similar particulars; neither do the parish Records bear any entries of the birth of children after the date of that marriage. On the contrary, there is every reason to conclude there were none.

VI. IS OFFERED A BISHOPRIC.—HIS CONDUCT WHEN IN FAVOUR AT COURT, &c.

It is recorded by Calderwood in his Ecclesiastical History,[1] that in the month of October 1607, Sir John Anstruther[2] was sent by the King to Newcastle, with the offer of a bishopric to Mr James Melvill, at a period when the Court seems to have calculated that it was not unlikely that Melvill might be inclined to purchase his liberty at the expense of his integrity, and the consistency of his religious principles. This offer, however, he unhesitatingly rejected; and he preferred to remain in obscurity and captivity in the North of England, rather than compromise his deliberate opinion as to Church government, and the form of religion which he had conscientiously embraced, and maintained at so great a cost, by the acceptance of an office of such dignity and emolument in his native country. This is no more than might reasonably have been expected of a man of such inflexible integrity.

In the course of his Autobiography, it is clearly discoverable how great a favourite at Court Mr James Melvill was, at an early period of his professional career, and how easily he might have risen to

[1] Calderwood's History, in Adv. Lib. vii. 72, 218. M'Crie's Melvill, ii. 375.

[2] Calderwood's MS., in the British Museum, states this courtier's name to have been Sir William Anstruther.

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the highest eminence and ecclesiastical preferment. Numerous passages are there to be found of the personal intimacy and friendship which subsisted between him and the King, and the great freedom and honesty with which he expressed his opinions before his Majesty. But when rigorous measures were adopted against his uncle, Mr Andrew, then Principal of the New College of St Andrews, in July 1602, and after Mr Andrew had been put in ward within the precincts of that University, our Author conducted himself with the utmost determination and courage. Dr M'Crie states, "that he attended the Assemblies of the Church at the risk of his life; and when confined by a lingering disease, he wrote thence from his sick-bed letters containing the freest advices, and the most powerful exhortations to constancy."[1] Some of these have been preserved in the present work, and show most forcibly how the utmost possible gentleness and meekness of temper and disposition, and the most indomitable courage, sometimes meet in the character of individual Christians, when aroused to action in times of trial and persecution.

Among other instances of this leading trait in the character of Mr James Melvill may be cited two remarkable anecdotes, which have fortunately been preserved. The first was connected with the proceedings of the General Assembly 1602. In the spirit of conciliation, and with a view to promote peace and harmony, our Author had in some cases made certain compliances, of which unhandsome advantage had been taken; while, on the other hand, he had generally rather shunned controversy, and often preferred to remain silent when action did not seem to him to be essentially

[1] M'Crie's Melvill, ii. 181.

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necessary. This line of conduct was misconstrued by the enemies of the cause which he espoused, into constitutional timidity and vacillation of character. During that eventful time the King thought proper to send for him to his palace, with the view of talking him over, and counted on his being able to carry the measures which he then contemplated, through the influence and instrumentality of Mr James Melvill. As he came out of the King's cabinet, Mr William Row, minister of Strathmiglo, who had been waiting for access, overheard his Majesty saying to one of his attendants, "This is a good simple man. I have streaked cream in his mouth! I'll warrant you he will procure a number of votes for me to-morrow." Row lost no time in communicating this to our Author; who, having next day given his vote directly against the proposal of the Court, the King would not believe it, until the Clerk of the Assembly had called his name a second time.[1]

The other instance is related by Calderwood. With the view of preventing the opposition of the Author to the Court measures which were about to be proposed at a meeting of the Synod of Fife, intimation was made to him that the King had placed one of his letters in the hands of the Lord Advocate, for the purpose of instituting a criminal prosecution against him. So little, however, did he regard this intimidating threat, that Sir Robert Murray, in reporting the proceedings of that Synod to the King, informed his Majesty that James Melvill had become more fiery than his uncle! Calderwood thus closes his allusion to this matter: "At the time of the sitting of the Synod of Fife, in April 1604, Mr James Melvine, being assured that the King hated him worse than any Scot-

[1] Livingston's Characteristics, art. William Row.

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ish man, because he crossed all his designes, and was a ringleader to others, answered to the informer, 'My resolution is this,

Nec sperans aliquid, nec extimescens,
Exarmaveris impotentis iram!'" [1]

During his detention in England, many ineffectual attempts were made by his parish, Presbytery, and Synod, and by the General Assembly, by supplications presented to the King, petitioning for the return of our Author to his duties. The same, indeed, had been done on behalf of the other Ministers. Two instances may be quoted, beside those alluded to in the Diary, which are to be found in the Records of the Synod of Fife :

April 3, 1611. "*Petitio Kilrynnie.*—Anent the supplication giffen in be the parochinars of Kilrinnie for Mr James Melvill, thair Minister, that he may be restored to thame, my Lord Archbishop declared that he had written to the King's Majestie for that effect, but had not effectuate it. The Assemblie, as yet, requeistit his Lordship to insist."[2]

And in April 1612, "the parochiners of Kilmanie[3] proponed thair suitt that his Majestie may be dealt with for granting libertie to Mr James Melvil, thair Minister, to returne to thame; quhairin my Lord Archbishop sall travell."[4]

There is a passage in the history of Mr James Melvill which has hitherto been unknown, but it is well worthy of notice in this place. The Society is indebted to Principal Lee's notes for the informa-

[1] Calderwood's History, folio edit. p. 481. [2] Records of Synod of Fife, p. 7.
[3] There is no doubt this refers to his own parish of Kilrenny. [4] *Ibid.* p. 50.

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tion. It would appear that our Author, either for the recovery of his shattered health, or feeling an overwhelming anxiety to see his uncle Mr Andrew before he died, had made preparations to embark for France. With this view he applied to his nephew, Mr Andrew Balfour, one of the many individuals who were named after Mr Andrew Melvill. Mr Andrew Balfour was a son of his youngest sister, Barbara, who was married in 1575 to her cousin, Mr James Balfour, Minister at Guthrie. Mr Andrew became Minister at Kirknewton in the year 1613, to which living he was presented by Lord Balmerinoch in 1612, and ordained by the Archbishop of St Andrews. After his admission, there was a long litigation for the purpose of reducing the settlement, which was carried on at least as late as August 1615. Its issue, however, is not at present known, and is perhaps unimportant. In the Minutes of the Presbytery of Linlithgow, 7th July 1613, it is stated that Mr Andrew Balfour applied for leave of absence, because his uncle, "Mr James Melwin," had written to him to visit him in Berwick, as "he was purposed to pass to France shortlye, that he might meet with him before his remuiffing from Berwick:"—"Quhilk being considered, licens was grantit to him upon that respect."

It would also appear from the above quotation that Mr James Melvill had contemplated a permanent residence abroad. His uncle had formerly held out the prospect of a respectable living from a Professor's chair at Sedan, or elsewhere abroad, if the state of public affairs in Scotland precluded the probability of his being speedily restored to his church and parish, and to the quiet enjoyment of his Theological Chair at St Andrews. Many of his persecuted brethren in the ministry had taken refuge in foreign coun-

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tries, and laid the foundation of many a Protestant Church, where formerly Popery had reigned with undisputed sway. The increasing infirmities, and the death of our Author, within half a year after that proposal had been made, prevented the accomplishment of his wishes, in this respect. No traces are now to be found of Mr James Balfour's visit, which it is likely he cheerfully paid his uncle.

VII. MANUSCRIPTS FROM WHICH THIS WORK HAS BEEN EDITED.

The Editor has now briefly to explain that the MANUSCRIPTS from which the present Work has been edited are preserved in the Libraries of the Faculty of Advocates and the University of Edinburgh.

In preparing these valuable and important historical remains of our pious, faithful, and learned Author for the press, the Editor has deemed it to be an indispensable duty to present them to the Members of THE WODROW SOCIETY as nearly in the same dress in which they have been handed down by the writer as circumstances now permit.

The first portion of this Work consists of THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND DIARY OF MR JAMES MELVILL,[1] which is now printed from what appears to be the Author's original Manuscript, and which, fortunately, has the advantage of being enriched by the numerous enlargements and corrections which he from time to time found it necessary to make on these biographical and historical Memoirs.

[1] Advocates' Library, Jac. V. 6, 29, (new mark, 34, 4, 15.)

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No other contemporary transcript is known to exist, although there are traces still to be found of many copies and extracts having been made at and subsequent to the period of the Author's death, and of the Diary being very largely made use of by all our early Ecclesiastical and Historical Writers, as a Work on which perfect reliance can be placed. Besides having served, in some respects, as the ground-work of the valuable "Life of Andrew Melville," by the learned and indefatigable Dr M'Crie,[1] it is a well known fact, that the Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill has been very copiously quoted by Mr David Calderwood in his History of the Church of Scotland, by Mr John Row, Minister of Carnock, in his Ecclesiastical History, and by nearly every writer who has treated of the political and ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, during the troublous period embraced in the narrative of our Author's Work.

The honesty and integrity of Mr James Melvill, his highly conscientious character, and the very conspicuous part he was frequently called on to perform, when placed in situations of the utmost delicacy and difficulty, peculiarly fitted him to be a faithful and true Chronicler of the remarkable occurrences which passed under his own observation during the very eventful times in which he lived; and the value which has been placed on the Memoirs he has left behind him, ever since that time, affords a pretty sure criterion of their general accuracy and fidelity. No man can read his graphic pages without being deeply impressed

[1] "The Life of Andrew Melville: Containing Illustrations of the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Scotland, during the latter part of the Sixteenth, and beginning of the Seventeenth Century." 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1819.

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with a high veneration for the character and integrity of the Author, however much he may otherwise be disposed to differ from him in the views he entertained of the affairs of Church or State which he discusses. An open, frank, and manly spirit appears in every page of his writings; and the disposition and temper of the humble and sincere, but zealous and uncompromising, Christian Minister shine forth throughout his highly interesting Autobiography and Diary.

The original Manuscript is written in a neat, small, but very correctly formed character; and although, like other Manuscripts of the same period, it abounds in many abbreviations and arbitrary variations of the orthography, it is, to those conversant with the writings of that age, sufficiently distinct and perspicuous. It consists of 371 pages, closely written on foolscap folio by the Author. For the satisfaction of the reader, it may be interesting to mention, that in a transcript of this Manuscript which belongs to Adam Gibb Ellis, Esq., it appears that the original Volume had by descent come into the hands of Sir William Calderwood of Polton, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and a Lord of Justiciary, "who had it among other papers which belonged to his grand-uncle,[1] Mr David Calderwood, author of Altare Damascenum, History, &c." Sir William Calderwood was admitted advocate, July 1, 1687,[2] and, after having filled the office of sheriff-depute of the county of Edinburgh, with considerable reputation, was elevated to the bench on the death of Sir William Anstruther of Anstruther, Nov. 6, 1711, under the title

[1] Wodrow's Letters, Adv. Lib. iii. 173.

[2] Pitmedden MS.—*Ib.*

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of Lord Polton.[1] It is believed that Lord Polton presented the original MS. to the Faculty of Advocates, of which he was long a distinguished member, and to whose valuable Library he is understood to have made other benefactions.

The second portion of the present Work, being "A TRUE NARRATIOUNE OF THE DECLYNEING AIGE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, FROM M.D.XCVI. TO M.DC.X.," has all along been considered as the Author's Continuation of his Autobiography and Diary, which is alluded to by him as being contained in a separate volume. It is quoted and marked as such by Wodrow, in his MS. Collections, and has also been cited by Dr M'Crie, and other writers, who all appear to have been perfectly satisfied with the authenticity of these Manuscripts, from their own internal evidence, as well as from the circumstance of the two MSS. belonging to the Faculty of Advocates having uniformly been reputed to be the work of Mr James Melvill, and marked as such on the Volumes themselves. Until now the Continuation has never been printed.

After the Editor had completed the collation of the two Manuscripts of this Continuation, belonging to the Advocates' Library,[2] it was fortunately discovered that a MS. in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, which has for a long period been

[1] He died Aug. 7, 1733, in the 73d year of his age.—Historical Account of Senators of College of Justice, p. 492.

[2] The first is in foolscap folio, pp. 188, (shelf-mark, 34, 2, 11.) The other MS. is in small quarto, pp. 286; shelf-mark, Rob. III. 2, 12; being Vol. XIV. of the Wodrow MSS., entituled, "James Melvill's History of the Declining Age of the Church of Scotland."

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known as a work on Church History, by Mr NINIAN DUNLOP, from 1596 to 1610, was in reality a transcript of Mr James Melvill's Continuation, above a century earlier in date than the two Manuscripts before alluded to.

The University Manuscript of the Continuation of Mr James Melvill's Diary is also a foolscap folio, consisting of 139 pages, very illegibly written on a discoloured, thin, spongy paper. It seems to have been transcribed early in the seventeenth century, by Mr Ninian Dunlop, who has (apparently for the purpose of identifying his transcript, and stamping the value which he set on its contents) pertinaciously subscribed his name or initials on some part of almost every leaf. This probably led the Keepers of the Library to catalogue and title this Volume as a work on Ecclesiastical History by Mr Ninian Dunlop; while, at the same time, that very circumstance would serve to withdraw the attention of those who have had occasion to consult the valuable stores preserved in that National Collection. The Editor has followed this last MS., as containing the oldest and the most correct text, and has also adopted its orthography; while, on the other hand, the various readings of the more modern transcripts, in the Advocates' Library, have been scrupulously noted. Without the aid of the University MS. the Editor would have considered it to be inexpedient for the Wodrow Society to have delayed the publication of the Continuation until a more correct MS. could be discovered, owing to the very incorrect manner in which these more modern transcripts have been made. There seems to be no reason for doubting, that all the three Manuscripts have been copied from one common original; but, after having

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bestowed considerable pains, the Editor has not been able to trace any original or earlier Manuscript of this part of Mr James Melvill's work. The value of the "Narratioun" itself, as well as the important papers and documents which the Continuation has served to perpetuate, are too apparent to render any observations necessary in this place.

It may be remarked here, that while all abbreviations have been carefully discarded, the Editor did not feel himself at liberty to modernize the orthography, or to make the slightest alteration on the forcible style of the Author. In publishing, from original Manuscripts, historical or poetical works of Scotish authors, written in the racy vernacular of the sixteenth century, it seems to be highly inexpedient, indeed it would be unwarrantable, in an Editor to attempt any alteration in the style, or to translate the language then in common use at Court and in the pulpit. However, for the sake of aiding the modern English reader, and to obviate the difficulty of any of the Members of the Wodrow Society perusing the dialect of our Author, it has been considered necessary very briefly to explain, in foot-notes, such words and phrases as might be supposed to occasion hesitation in the minds of those not conversant with the phraseology and idiom of the Scotish dialect, at that period.

VIII. DEATH OF MR JAMES MELVILL.

The Author died on the 19th January 1614. The particulars attending his deathbed will be found in the Appendix[1] to this

[1] See App. No. II. to this Prefatory Notice.

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Preface, but they are so briefly and feelingly narrated by the talented Biographer of Mr Andrew Melville, that no apology is needed to lay them before the reader, in his own words:—" A letter from Sir James Fullerton, which he (Mr Andrew) received in the month of April 1614, gave a shock to his feelings which it required all his fortitude to bear. His dearest friend and most affectionate and dutiful nephew, James Melvill, was no more. His health had for some time been in a state of decline, which was accelerated by grief at the issue of public affairs in Scotland, which his extreme sensibility disposed him to brood over with too intense and exclusive interest. In consequence of the importunity of his friends, and an apparently earnest invitation from Archbishop Gladstanes, he set out for Edinburgh, in the beginning of the year 1614, to arrange matters for his return to Kilrinny, or, if this was found impracticable, to make permanent provision for that parish. But he had not gone far when he was taken so ill as to be unable to proceed on the journey, and with difficulty returned to Berwick. The medicines applied could not impede the progress of the distemper, which soon exhibited alarming symptoms. He received the intimation of this with the most perfect composure, and told his friends that he was not only resigned to the will of God, but satisfied that he could not die at a more proper season. On Wednesday the 19th of January, he 'set his house in order;' and all his children being present, except his son Andrew, (who was prosecuting his theological studies at Sedan,) he gave them his dying charge and parental blessing. His brother-in-law, Joshua Durie, minister at St Andrews, and Hume of Ayton, a gentleman who had shown him great kindness during

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his residence at Berwick, waited by his bed-side. He was much employed in prayer. When he mentioned the Church of Scotland, he prayed for repentance and forgiveness to those who had caused a schism in it, by overturning its reformed discipline. And, addressing those around him, he said: 'In my life, I ever detested and resisted the hierarchy, as a thing unlawful and antichristian, for which I am an exile; and I take you all to witness that I die in the same judgment.' He made particular mention of his uncle at Sedan; gave him a high commendation for learning, but still more for courage and constancy in the cause of Christ; and prayed that God would continue and increase the gifts bestowed on him. In the midst of the acute bodily pain which he endured, during that night and the succeeding morning, he expressed his resignation and confidence, chiefly in the language of Scripture; and often repeated favourite sentences from the Psalms in Hebrew. Being reminded of the rapture of the Apostle Paul, he said—'Every one is not a Paul; yet I have a desire to depart and be with Christ, and I am assured that I shall enter into glory.'—'Do you not wish to be restored to health?' said one of the attendants. 'No; not for twenty worlds!' Perceiving nature to be nearly exhausted, his friends requested him to give them a token that he departed in peace; upon which he repeated the last words of martyr Stephen, and breathed gently away.[1] He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the eighth year of his banishment."[2]

[1] Calderwood's MS. History, vii. 502–513.

[2] M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville, ii. 438.

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In the Register of Burials, at Berwick, the following entry is made:

"1613,[1] JANUARIE 21, JAMES MELVILL."

The present Church was built during the Commonwealth, and the tombstones in the ancient Churchyard appear to have been used as flagging-stones or pavement for the more modern structure. It is likely that the pious and grateful affection of his friends would induce them to erect a tombstone over his grave, or a commemorative tablet on the wall of the Church; but if so, it has long since been defaced, like all the older sepulchral monuments of the kind of that place.

IX. CHARACTER OF THE AUTHOR.

His character is thus summed up by the same impartial authority: "The Presbyterian Ministers of that age were in general characterized by piety, assiduity in the discharge of parochial duties, disinterestedness, public spirit, and the love of freedom. In James Melville, these qualities were combined with the amiable dispositions of the man, and the courteous manners of the gentleman. 'He was one of the wisest directours of Kirk affaires that our Kirk had in his tyme, (says Calderwood,) and for that caus was ever imployed by the Generall Assemblies, and other public meetings appointed by the King and General Assemblies. He acted his part so gravelie, so wiselie, so calmelie, that the adversarie could gett no vantage; yet the King, being bent to perfyte that worke which he had begunne of his advancement of the

[1] That is, 1614, new style.

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estate of Bishops, called him up to Court; not doubting, by the instigation of the aspyring Prelates; but suffered him never to returne backe againe to his owne native countrie, least his presence and action sould be anie impediment to his designes. Thus was the man of God exiled and deteaned in a forreine countrie, without conviction of anie cryme but onlie for feare of these good parts that were in him.'[1] Though gentle and not easily provoked, he possessed great sensibility; could vindicate himself with spirit; and testified an honest indignation at whatever was base and unprincipled, especially in the conduct of men of his own profession. He felt a high veneration for the talents and character of his uncle; but he was a confidential friend and able coadjutor, not a humble dependent or sycophantish admirer; and his conduct, during the last years of his life, when he was thrown on the resources of his own mind, served to display the soundness of his judgment, and to unfold the energy of his character.[2] Besides what he had published at an early period of his life, he prepared, a short time before his death, several treatises for the press. His Supplication to the King, in the name of the Church of Scotland, a work on which he bestowed great pains, is composed in an elegant and impressive style. Possessing less fancy than feeling, his poems, which are all written in the Scotish dialect, do not rise above mediocrity; but from this censure, some parts of

[1] The foregoing extract has been obligingly communicated by the Rev. Thomas Thomson, from the original MS. of Calderwood's History, in the British Museum.

[2] When some urged that James Melvill might be allowed to return home, although it was dangerous to set his uncle at liberty, Archbishop Spottswood is said to have replied: "Mr Andrew is but a blast, but Mr James is a crafty, byding man, and more to be feared than his uncle!"—Wodrow's Life of James Melvill, p. 146.

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his Lamentation over the overthrow of the Church of Scotland deserve to be exempted."[1]

X. THE DISTRESS OF MR ANDREW MELVILL ON LEARNING THE AUTHOR'S DEATH.

The distress which Mr Andrew Melvill felt at receiving the tidings of his nephew's death was calm and silent, because it was deep. It is expressed with a tender simplicity, in the following Epitaph,[2] which he wrote for him:

Epitaph on Mr James Melvill, written by his uncle, Mr Andrew Melvill.

Chare nepos, de fratre nepos, mihi fratre, nepote
  Charior, et quicquid fratre nepote queat
Charius esse usquam; quin me mihi charior ipso,
  Et quicquid mihi charius esse queat.
Consiliis auctor mihi tu, dux rebus agendis,
  Cum privata, aut res publica agenda fuit.
Amborum meus una animo, corde una voluntas,
  Corque unum in duplici corpore, et una anima.
Una ambo vexati odiis immanibus, ambo
  Dignati et Christi pro grege dura pati.
Dura pati, sed iniqua pati, sub crimine ficto,
  Ni Christum, et Christi crimen amare gregem.
Qui locus, aut quæ me hora tibi nunc dividat, idem
  Hic locus, me hæc eadem dividat hora mihi.
Tune tui desiderium mihi triste relinquas?
  Qui prior huc veni, non prior hinc abeam?
An sequar usque comes? sic, sic juvat ire sub astra,
  Tecum ego ut exul eram, tecum ero et in patria.

[1] M'Crie's Melville, *ibid.*

[2] M'Crie's Melville, ii. 509.

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Christus ubi caput, æternam nos poscit in aulam,
Arctius ut jungat nos sua membra sibi.
Induviis donec redivivi corporis artus
Vestiat, illustrans lumine purpureo.
Æternum ut patrem, natumque et flamen ovantes,
Carmine perpetuo concelebremus, Io.

In a letter to his friend, Mr Robert Durie, at Leyden,[1] Mr Andrew Melvill thus expresses himself: "The Lord hath taken to himself the faithfull brother, my dearly beloved son, Mr James Melville, in January, as I am informed by Mr James Fullerton. I fear melancholy to have abridged his days. He was in great perplexity and doubt what to do, as ye know, and as Mr Bamford wrote me; and I answered, by these letters which I sent you. I cannot tell if they be yet beside you; but I persuade myself he has never seen them. He was resolved to accept no restitution without you and Mr Forbes.[2] Now he is out of all doubt and fashrie,[3] enjoying the fruits of his suffering here. God forgive the instruments of his withholding from his flock! I cannot write more at this time. If ye have received the particulars of his sickness and his death, I pray you let me know the circumstances at large."

XI. CHILDREN OF MR JAMES MELVILL.

Of the family of our Author it is to be regretted that little information can now be gleaned; but, in the absence of more ample information, the following memoranda may in part suffice to satisfy the reader's curiosity:

[1] Letters from Mr Andrew Melville to Mr Andrew Durie, No. 5, MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, No. 42. [2] Two of the banished Ministers, whose sufferings are related at great length in the Diary. [3] Trouble, O. Fr. *fascherie*.

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I. EPHRAIM was born at Newcastle, 15th January 1584-5,[1] during the temporary flight of his parents to England. The earliest reference made to him in the Records of the parish of Anstruther-Wester is on 29th April 1606, and 31st May 1608; where he is mentioned as a "Preacher."[2] In the Records of the Synod of Fife, his name appears among the "Expectantis," or Probationers, in September 1611.[3] He was admitted minister of Newburn, a small parish in the Presbytery of St Andrews, in 1614;[4] and was translated to Pittenweem, in the same Presbytery, in 1617.[5] He is said to have died in 1629,[6] and to have been succeeded by Mr John Melvill, probably his brother, who conformed to Presbytery in 1638, and died 1649. Wodrow, in his Life of Mr James Melvill, states that "Mr Ephraim was afterwards a faithful and useful minister of the Gospel at Queensferry, and singularly blessed with success in his ministry. I have been told he was the instrument of converting that extraordinary light of this, and I may say, all the Reformed Churches, Mr James Durham."[7]

It is believed that Mr Ephraim Melvill was translated from Queensferry to Linlithgow. In the Record of Retours, under date 4th June 1653, "Andrew Melvill, merchand burges of Edinburgh," is mentioned as being "second and third of kyne, on the father's syd, to Bessie, Eufame, and Kathrein Melvills, daughters to the deceist Mr Ephraim Melvill, minister of Linlithgow."[8] If Wodrow

[1] Diary, p. 221. [2] The Society is indebted to the Rev. Hew Scott, Minister of Anstruther-Wester, for this information. [3] Records of Synod of Fife, p. 39. [4] Records of Synod of Fife. p. 210. [5] *Ibid.* p. 211. [6] *Ibid.* [7] Wodrow's MSS. xii. 154, Bibl. Coll. Glasg. For this extract the Society is indebted to Professor J. Seaton Reid, D.D. of Glasgow, who politely communicated it to the Editor. [8] Register of Retours de Tutela, No. 801.

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is correct in supposing this individual to have been the eldest son of Mr James, there must be an error with regard to the period of his death. Lamont, in his Diary of Fife, also mentions that Mr Ephraim Melvill and two other Ministers in Lothian died in April 1653, which exactly tallies with the above-mentioned Retour.[1] The same authority, referring to the Sacrament having been dispensed in several places, on Sunday 13th July 1651, states: "Att this time, in Sconie, was present (beside Mr Samuel Rutherfoord) Mr James Gutherie and Mr David Bennet, *Mr Ephraim Meluen*, and Mr William Oliphant minister, in Dumfermling. Hither did resort many strangers, so that the thronge was great; for Mr Ephraim and Mr David Benet, both of them did sitt within the pulpit whille the minister had his sermon. Mr Ephraim on the Sabath, and Mr David on the Moneday."[2]

There is no doubt, however, that Mr James' eldest son, Ephraim, was minister of Newburn; for, in a letter to his uncle, Mr Andrew, the Author thus writes, in the month of July 1612:—"Ephraimus meus Newburnenses pascit, doletque quod ad Kilriminos meos admitti non potuit. Non potuit siquidem adduci ut eos relinqueret Deixius."[3]

II. ANDREW, born at St Andrews, 9th July 1586.[4] He was named after his grand-uncle, Mr Andrew Melvill. This child died in infancy, to the great grief of his parents, in the beginning of the year 1588.[5]

[1] Lamont's Diary, p. 54. [2] *Ibid.* p. 32. [3] In allusion to his colleague, Mr John Dykes. Melvini Epistolæ MS., Adv. Lib. [4] Diary, p. 254. [5] *Ibid.* p. 269.

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III. ANDREW, who was born (probably at Anstruther) in the month of August 1588.[1] He was in after life a very great favourite of his grand-uncle, Mr Andrew, after whom he also was named. This young man generously partook of his great relation and patron's imprisonment in the Tower of London. In this duty he seems to have been occasionally relieved by his cousin, Andrew Melvill, another name-son of Mr Andrew, a young man of a romantic and unsettled disposition, who was the son of Mr Andrew's deceased brother, who died leaving a large family unprovided for.

Mr James's son, Andrew, after having left the Tower, where his grand-uncle had thoroughly grounded him in the languages, and completed his classical and philosophical education, resided with a Scotsman named Guthrie, who was a brother of Mr Alexander Guthrie of Edinburgh, and related to Mr James Lawson, the Minister. Guthrie taught an academy in the neighbourhood of London, and appears to have been assisted by young Andrew Melvill for some time. His school was at Hoddesdon as early as the year 1584. He died in the year 1609.[2]

Owing to the names of the two cousins, Andrew Melvill, being the same, it is difficult now correctly to trace the history of the second son of Mr James; but fortunately there have been preserved some notices in the valuable correspondence, already so often quoted,[3] which suffice to show the progress of his education, and how he was employed down to the conclusion of this collection of the epistolary intercourse between Mr Andrew Melvill and his nephew.

[1] Diary, p. 269. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Melvini Epistolæ, MS. Univ. Lib. pp. 56, 64, 100; M'Crie's Melville, ii. 355; Life prefixed to Bishop Cowper's Works.

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Mr Andrew Melvill writes thus to his nephew, Mr James, *Idibus Octobris* 1609: "Redit ad te Andreas tuus (Guthraeo jam altero patre vita functo) melior; quidni ita credam? Si non multo doctior ea provincia, et severi senis quanquam amicissimi domestica disciplina." And again, November 28, he adds, "Andreas tuus, ut spero, jam aliquot, non dies modo, sed etiam hebdomadas apud te est." Of his nephew (young Andrew Melvill) he thus writes, April 1610: "Abit Andreas, nepos tuus, in Galliam."

His stay, however, must have been very short in France, or probably he merely returned through France to Scotland; for our Author, in a letter to his uncle, April 29, 1610, states that his son Andrew had just entered as a student of Theology and Hebrew, in Scotland. This was no doubt under his own eye, in the University of St Andrews.

In the summer of the following year, young Andrew left the University to pay a visit to his grand-uncle at Sedan. Accordingly, on 15th July 1611, from Berwick, Mr James writes his uncle in these terms: "Nescio an Andreas meus dextram tuam adhuc tetigerit." He appears to have continued in the same high favour with his venerable relative as when he helped to while away part of the time which hung so heavily on his hands, during his confinement in the Tower of London. In a letter dated at Sedan, 4 *Cal. Maii* 1612, Mr Andrew Melvill writes to Mr James: "Tuus, apud me, Andreas, in officio est et ut se dant principia bene sperare de progressu in literis jubet." To which Mr James replies from Berwick, "*Julio mense*," 1612: "Quam me beasti testimonio tuo de meo Andrea! Sed velim eum sudore vultus sui vivere," &c.

In the same letter he writes his uncle with the following inter-

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esting particulars as to the members of his family: "EPHRAIMUS meus Newburnenses pascit, doletque quod ad Kilriminos meos admitti non potuit. Non potuit siquidem adduci ut eos relinqueret Deixius. JOANNES meus mecum est, bonas horas inutiliter locatus mea opera redimens. ISABELLA mea, jam nubilis, si essent nummi, Edinburgi manet cum cognata sua, D. Bancalquelli filia, bona et amante fœmina. ANNA est apud me, Anglice educta. Adhaerens lateri quae semper chara MELISSA sustinuit conjux exulis esse viri. Tui quam ego saepius memor et cupida magis! Tibi et ANDRAEE meo omnem salutem."

At the beginning of the following year, we find that, in the month of January, (1613,) our author thus addresses his uncle: "Cæterum, nisi tibi ad nutum placide demisseque inserviet Andreas meus, non amplius erit meus. Eat quo velit, nihil pensi habebo!" So great was the veneration he felt for his highly valued uncle and friend.

Having remained with his grand-uncle since the beginning of summer 1611, young Andrew appears to have been recalled home to complete his studies at St Andrews, and probably to prepare himself for the holy ministry. On 15th June 1613, the author again writes to his uncle that he had not yet seen his son, Andrew, and gives the following reason for his delay:—"Detinetur enim juxta Linam oppidum ad Cami ostium tertiana notha laborans."

The last notice that we find of this very promising young man is preserved in the following quotation, which contains a contrast drawn between the characters of the two young men, and was written on the 5th September 1613, from Sedan, by Mr Andrew Melvill, to his nephew:—"*Andreas alter*, fratris tui filius, ante alterius

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Andreæ, filii tui discessum, huc venerat in re tenui admodum, ut qui ne obulo quidem gravis aut onustus esset quo se hospitio expediret! Mussat nescio quid de suo patrimonio non persoluto. Simplex est et apertus imbecillione judicio. Tuus tectior et versutior. Uterque, si utilem non tardus provisor, certe prodigus æris."

Whether or not young Andrew Melvill died shortly after his arrival in England, the Editor has not been able to discover; but certain it is, that no mention is made of him in the Will of our Author, nor is any blessing left by Mr James while on his deathbed, which would seem to indicate that he had died before January 1614. In the Account of the Last Illness and Deathbed of Mr James, it is mentioned that "he callit on his childring, quho wer all thair, saiff ane." This probably alludes to his daughter Isabella, who, in July 1612, at least, remained in the family of her relation, who was probably a daughter of Mr Walter Balcanquall, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. That excellent man was, with Lawson and Pont, one of the protesters against the "black acts" of 1584, and, with twenty other ministers, was forced to take refuge in England;[1] and the persecution against him was so hot, that he was denounced rebel after he had returned, and he was compelled again to return to England in 1596. If Andrew had been the individual alluded to, and if he had been with his grand-uncle at that period, assuredly Mr James would not have failed to bestow on him a father's blessing.

[1] It is related of Arran, that, with his usual coarseness, he threatened "that he would make Lawson's head to leap from his halse, (neck,) though it were as big as a haystack!"—*M'Crie's Melville*, i. 314.

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IV. MARGARET, born 28th August 1593. She died in infancy, having only survived six or seven months.[1]

V. JOHN, born on Thursday, 27th March 1595. This son is stated to have been named after his "guid-schyr," (grandfather by the mother's side,) Mr John Durie.[2] Of the history of this son little can be discovered, excepting that he studied for the Church, and that it is probable he succeeded his brother, Mr Ephraim, in the charge of the parish of Pittenweem, in the year 1629. That charge appears to have remained vacant from the year 1617, when Mr Ephraim was translated to Newburn, in 1629. Mr John conformed to Presbytery in 1638, and died in 1649.[3] In the roll of the Presbytery of St Andrews, preserved in the Record of the Synod of Fife, Mr John Melvill appears to have been present at "the Provenciall Assemblie of Fyffe, hauldine at St Androis the 4th Aprile 1648." The ruling elder, who was present with him for Pittenweem, was "Johne Keith." No other authentic traces can at present be recovered of him by the Editor.

VI. ISSOBEL. It is singular that no mention is made of his two daughters by Mr James, in his Diary. In the letter above quoted, dated at Berwick in July 1612, the Author writes to his uncle at Sedan :—"Isabella mea, jam nubilis, si essent nummi, Edinburgi manet cum cognata sua, D. Bancalquelli filia, bona et amante foemina." Supposing her to have been sixteen years of age at that

[1] Diary, p. 309.
[2] Diary, p. 323.
[3] Records of the Synod of Fife, p. 211; Lamont's Diary, p. 8.

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time, he is likely to have been born in the summer of 1596. No notice of her marriage or death has been discovered.

VII. ANNA. It is likely this daughter was born in 1597 or 1598. In the above-cited letter[1] the only mention the Editor can find of this daughter occurs: "Anna est apud me, Anglice educta."

Perhaps it ought to be mentioned that Mr Andrew Melvill, in one of his letters, speaks of his nephew as being then the father of five children. Omitting Ephraim, he speaks of Andrew, John, ELIZABETH, (in all probability a mere slip of memory or a clerical error for Issobel,) and Anne. There is no trace of Mr James Melvill having any daughter of the name of Elizabeth.[2]

It is probable that this is the last child our Author had. In his Diary[3] it is related, that about the month of August 1600 his wife "was strucken with sic infirmitie that sche could nocht be a wyff to mie."

As has already been hinted, the precise date of the death of the Author's first wife is not known to the Editor, but it is believed to have occurred in June or July of the year 1607.[4] It is believed she died in Scotland; for Mr James Melvill was not only detained as a prisoner in England, but he was barbarously refused leave to visit his wife in Scotland when on her deathbed. Calderwood, however, records, that after her demise Melvill was allowed, as a special favour, to go to Anstruther to put his family affairs in order short-

[1] Melvini Epistolæ, Jul. 1612. MS. Univ. Lib.
[2] Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 81-96. Univ. Lib.
[3] Diary, p. 486.
[4] See Calderwood's History, MS. British Museum.

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ly after the period of her decease; but he was strictly prohibited from preaching, or attending any meeting of Presbytery or Synod, during his stay; and he was taken bound to return to the place of his confinement at the end of one month.[1]

Since the earlier part of this Prefatory Notice was printed, the Editor has had an opportunity of examining more carefully the valuable MS. Collection of Letters in the University Library, so often quoted, (Melvini Epistolæ.) It is proper, therefore, to state a few particulars in further explanation of our Author's second marriage. Mr Andrew Melvill writes thus to his nephew, in the month of April 1610:—"Remitto progymnasma tuum, expecto tuas. Quiescat *Melissa* ad tempus." At that period, Mr James Melvill was engaged in completing certain works, the rough draught of which he appears to have shown his uncle. The exhortation Mr Andrew gives him, to defer all ideas of love and marriage in the meantime, and seriously to betake himself to the completion of the works in question, shows that, at that date at least, the marriage had not taken place. In a subsequent letter, Mr James promises duly to observe his good advice.

On 11th April of the following year, 1611, Mr Andrew thus addresses our author:—"Mi fili, mi Jacobe, vale, vale, cum Melissa mellitissima, in Domino!" At that date, there is no doubt that they were married persons; but it is likely, from the tenor of the correspondence with his uncle, that the marriage took place in the summer of the year 1610; for, before the close of that year, Mr

[1] Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, MS. Adv. Lib., vii. 49.—A much fuller account is, however, given in the larger MS. in the British Museum, which is now in the course of publication for the Wodrow Society.

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Andrew sends his affectionate regards to "MELISSA," as the wife of his nephew and friend, and the worthy successor of "Eliza!" He then prays that they may pass many happy years in each other's society, and that Melissa might enable him to become the father of a fair offspring.[1]

XII. WORKS OF MR JAMES MELVILL.

After bestowing considerable pains in collecting suitable materials, the Editor has not succeeded in preparing such ample and satisfactory bibliographical notices of our Author's Works as he would have wished. The limited time permitted for this purpose, his other laborious avocations, and the difficulty of recovering the necessary information, will, it is hoped, plead his apology with the Members of the Wodrow Society.

I. "THE DESCRIPTION OF THE SPAINYARTS' NATURALL, OUT OF JULIUS SCALIGER, WITH SUM EXHORTATIONES FOR WARNING OF KIRK AND COUNTREY." This seems to have been the first of Mr James Melvill's published works, in verse. He says, under date 1592, "then did I first put in print sum of my Poesie."[2] No copy of this Poem is known.

II. "A SPIRITUALL PROPYNE OF A PASTOUR TO HIS PEOPLE." Edinburgh, printed by Robert Waldegrave, printer to the King's

[1] Melvini Epistolæ, MS. Univ. Lib. pp. 134, 141, 143, &c. See also M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville, ii. 374.

[2] Diary, p. 307.

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Majestie. Cum Privilegio Regis. Quarto, pp. 127. This book is extremely rare. A very imperfect copy is in the Advocates' Library. This work he styles his "CATECHISME," by the publication of which he lost four hundred merks.[1] It is dated from "Anstruther, the 20 day of Nouember, 1598." The first part is in prose: It consists of Prayers and Meditations suited to different occasions, Directions for Self-examination, and "The Forme of Tryall and Examination taken of all sik as ar admitted to the Table of the Lord," in the form of question and answer. The second part is in verse, and is introduced by the following title: "A Morning Vision: or Poem for the Practise of Pietie, in Devotion, Faith, and Repentance: Wherein the Lord's Prayer, Beleefe, and Commands, and sa the whole Catechisme, and right vse thereof, is largely exponed." It is prefaced by a metrical Dedication to "James the Sext, King of Scottes, and Prince of Poets in his language;" and contains, among other devotional and moral pieces, a singular composition set to music, and entitled: "Celeusma Navticvm: The Seaman's Shovte, or Mutuall Exhortation to ga forward in the Spirituall Voyage."[2]

III. "A POEME, IN PRINT, CALLED THE BLACK BASTILL, OR A LAMENTATION OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, COMPYLED BY MR JAMES MELVILL, MINISTER AT ANSTRUTHER, (NOW, IN ANNO 1611, CONFYNED IN ENGLAND.")[3]

Dr M'Crie cites a manuscript copy of this poem, which is dated November 1611. The MS. is preserved in the collection of Ro-

[1] Diary, pp. 12, 443.
[2] M'Crie's Melville, ii. 505.
[3] Row's History of the Kirk of Scotland, (*Maitland Club's Edit.*) i. 260.

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bert Graham, Esq., of Redgorton. It extends to 93 stanzas. In the year 1634, an abridged copy of the poem was published, apparently abroad, under the following title: "The Black Bastel, or a Lamentation in name of the Kirk of Scotland, composed by M. Iames Melvil, when he was confined at Berwick, anno 1611. Abridged by N.—Ann. Dom. [1634.]" sm. 8vo, 8 leaves. This copy was reprinted, and is included in a very curious and valuable collection, entitled, "Various Pieces of Fugitive Scotish Poetry; principally of the Seventeenth Century," edited by David Laing, Esq. Edin. 1825, 8vo.

IV. A POEM, ENTITLED, "THRIE MAY KEIP COUNSELL, GIVE TWA BE AWAY;[1] OR EUSEBIUS, DEMOCRITUS, HERACLITUS." This poem, which consists of 69 stanzas, is in the same MS. volume with the above.

V. A TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH VERSE OF PART OF THE ZODIACUS VITÆ OF MARCELLUS PALINGENIUS: "Dedicat to the E[arl] of D"[unbar.] It contains only *Aries* and part of *Taurus*.

This work is contained in the following interesting manuscript:

VI. D. ANDREÆ MELVINI EPISTOLÆ, Londino e Turri Carceris, ad JACOBUM MELVINUM, Novocastri, exulantem Scriptæ; cum ejusdem JACOBO nonnullis ad eundem. Annis supra 1608, 1609, 1610, et 1611. Item, Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Apologetica ad Regem anno 1610, mense Aprilis. It is preserved in the Library

[1] If, or providing, two be absent.

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of the University of Edinburgh, and has been largely quoted by Dr M'Crie, in his Life of Andrew Melville. This remarkable collection is well worthy of being printed by some of our literary associations.

VII. COLLECTION OF POEMS, Autograph MS., 4to, 102 leaves, presented to the Library of the Faculty of Advocates by the Rev. William Blackie, Minister of Yetholm, in May 1822. It has since been inlaid and bound. The chief contents are thus enumerated in the Catalogue of MSS.

(1.) SONNETS and other short Poems, written in 1610 and 1611, and some of them relating to Andrew Melvill, followed by a copy of a Petition to the Lords to examine the . . . . . and carriage of D. Ban[croft,] Archbishop, by Hugh Broughton. Anno 1608.

(2.) A PRESERVATIVE FROM APOSTASIE, or THE SONG OF MOSES,[1] with short notes for the deduction and doctrine thereof. Translated out of Hebrew, and put into Metre, first shortly, and then more at large paraphrastically.

[1] It is probable that this may be a translation or adaptation of a work of Mr Andrew Melvill's :—" CARMEN MOSIS, Ex Deuteron., Cap. XXXII. quod ipse moriens Israeli tradidit ediscendum & cantandum perpetuo, Latina paraphrasi illustratum. Cui addita sunt nonnulla Epigrammata, & Iobi Cap. III. Latino carmine redditum. Andrea Melvino, Scoto, Avctore. Basileæ, M.D.LXXIIII." 8vo, pp. 16. The manuscript of this work was, it is probable, left on the Continent by the author when he returned to Scotland. But one, at least, of the Epigrams, (that on the death of Charles IX.) must have been transmitted to the printer by Melvill after his arrival in Britain. In the inventory of books belonging to Thomas Bassinden, printer in Edinburgh, inserted in his Testament Testamentar, is the following article :—" Item, xlviii. Carmen Moyses, the dosane xviii. d. summa, vj. s." There can be no doubt that this is Melvill's work. Bassinden died 18th October 1577. Commissary Records of Edinburgh.—*M'Crie's Melville*, i. 92.

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(3.) DAVID'S TRAGIQUE FALL, in Verse, concluding with a Paraphrase of the 51st Psalm.

(4.) THE RELIEFE OF THE LONGING SOULE, OR THE SONG OF SONGS, WHICH IS SOLOMON'S, exponed by a large paraphrase in metre, for memorie and meditation. Dedicated by James Melvil to his sister, M. Nicolas Murray, at London, November 5, 1606.[1]

(5.) A Meditation of the Love of Christ, and effects thereof, for true thankfulness, and two Sonnets, end the volume.

VIII. His celebrated APOLOGY FOR THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, which was not published until many years after his death: "AD SERENISSIMUM JACOBVM PRIMVM, BRITANNIARVM MONARCHAM, ECCLESIÆ SCOTICANÆ LIBELLUS SUPPLEX, ἀπολογητικὸς καὶ ὀλοφυρτικος. Auctore Jacobo Melvino, Verbi Dei Ministro, Domini Andreæ Melvini του πάνυ, nepote. Londini, Excudebat J. R. pro Georgio Thomason & Octaviano Pullen, anno 1645," 4to, pp. 49, besides two pages not numbered, containing "Epitaphium Auctoris, a Domino Andreæ Melvino conscriptum." 24 lines.

IX. AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND DIARY OF MR JAMES MELVILL, 1556–1601.

X. A TRUE NARRATIOUNE OF THE DECLYNEING AIGE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, 1596–1610, being a Continuation of the Diary.

[1] Perhaps this is the same with the "Book of Canticles," alluded to in the Account of his Last Illness, (App. No. II.) as having been "ane pairt of Scripture in which he was deligentlie versed, quhilk he had parraphrased and turned in pleasand Poesie." No such work is known to have been printed.

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Before concluding these Prefatory Remarks, the Editor may take this opportunity of explaining, that in that portion of Wodrow's Manuscript Collections which was bequeathed to the Library of the University of Glasgow, there is a LIFE OF MR JAMES MELVILL, written by Mr Robert Wodrow, which is frequently quoted by Dr M'Crie, extending to one hundred and sixty pages of foolscap folio;[1] and in another volume, in the same Collection, there is a brief Appendix, illustrative of that Life.[2] Of these materials the Editor had only a very cursory inspection when last in Glasgow; and, as he considered the entire Life, as written by Wodrow, likely to prove too copious to admit of its being prefixed to the present Work, before resolving what was fit to be done, he recommended the Council of the Wodrow Society to apply to THE CURATORS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW for the use of these manuscripts, or for leave to have them transcribed. However, there being other two volumes in the same Collection containing Wodrow's LIFE OF MR ROBERT BRUCE, with relative Appendix,[3] the Council were desirous that the Editor of BRUCE'S SERMONS (also in the course of progress through the press for the Wodrow Society) should previously examine them before preparing a Biographi-

[1] Wodrow's MSS. in the University of Glasgow Library, vol. xii. pp. 160.
[2] Vol. ii. of the same Collection contains the Appendix to the Life of Mr James Melvill.
[3] Wodrow's MSS, vol. x. (marked Nov. 23, 1724,) extends to 112 pp. of small quarto, and contains several quotations of Letters, &c., with Life or Memoirs of Mr Robert Bruce. Vol. iv. contains an Appendix to this Life, viz.:—64 pp. of Letters: Sermon on XL. Psalm, (printed,) pp. 18: "Ane Exhortatione to the Provinciall Assemblie of the Presbyteries of Louthiane, haldin at Edinburgh the 16th of September 1589; made be Mr Robert Bruce, Minister of Christe's Evangell there," pp. 12.

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cal Sketch of Mr Robert Bruce. For that purpose, a regular official application was made by desire of the Council to the University of Glasgow. The Senatus Academicus having declined that request, no further steps could be taken by the Council, in compliance with the wishes of the Editor, to obtain access for him to Wodrow's Papers, in relation to the Life of Mr James Melvill.

Owing to the extent to which this Work has reached, it has been deemed proper to print two separate sets of title-pages, so that Members who prefer it may ultimately bind the Autobiography and Diary in two volumes, which would be advisable, as was originally contemplated, although from motives of economy it has been boarded in the present shape.

R. P.

EDINBURGH, 25th November 1842.

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APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS

REFERRED TO

IN THE FOREGOING PREFATORY NOTICE.

I.

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF MR JAMES MELVILL.[1]

BERWICK UPON TWEED.—In the name of God, Amen. I JAMES MELVINE, precher of God's Word, sick of body, but in perfitt memory, do make this my Last Will and Testament in mannour and forme followeing, viz.

First, I comend my soule into the hands of Almightye God, my Maker, surelye trusteing, throughe the mirretts of his Sonn, Jesus Christ, my Redeamer, that all my sinns ar washed away and pardoned; and my body to be buryed at the discretion of my executrix.

[1] Extracted from the Registry of the Consistory Court of Durham. The above has been taken from the original Will, which is still extant, and is written on vellum. It is broken into paragraphs as it is here printed, and is indorsed thus:

"1613. Testamentum JACOBI MELVIN, clerici, &c.
Par^{h}. de Barwick deft.
Probatum, 25 Feb."

The Inventory which follows is on paper.

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Imprimis, I give unto DEBORA MELVINE, my wife, all that my house and tenement, wherein I now dwell at Berwick, together with all my goods and moveables whatsoever therein contained.

Item, I give to the said Debora, my wife, the some of one hundreth pounds sterlinge, which is oweing unto me by Henry Maddison of Necastle upon Tyne, marchant, appeareing by his bill, beareing date the xvith of Maye, 1610.

And also the some of ten pounds, which he, the said Henry Maddison, is oweing unto me, dew in May nexte insueing the date hereof, for which I have no spetialty. Desireing my said wife, at her departure from this life, (if God so inable her,) to despose the foresaid to such of my children as she shall best like.

Item, Whereas there is given unto me a yearly anewety by my worshipfull, godly, and well disposed frends, to witt, Mr Adam Newton, Deane of Durham, five pounds by year, Sir James Follerton, ten pounds, and by Mr Thomas Murey, Tuttor to the Prence, five pounds; I trust in ther godly desposissions they will pay the same to my said wife, for and towards the satisfieing of my debts and credits, and as it shall pleas God to move them to consider further on her as my wife.

Item, My will also is, that whatsoever lands, goods, or tenements I have in Scotland, my wife shall not medle therewith, nor have any parte therof, for that I have desposed of them to my children.[1] Nether shall any of my children medle with any of the estate before mentioned givin to my said wife, nor have anye parte thereof.

Item, I do give and bequeath to ISABELL CLERKE, my mother-in-law, ten pounds sterlinge.

Item, I do mak my said wife, Debora Melvin, my full and sole executrix of this my Last Will and Testament. Witnes my hand

1 After every care has been bestowed on the subject, no trace of our Author's disposition and settlement of these "lands, goods, or tenements," can be discovered. The Inventary, for the time, displays considerable wealth.

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and seall, the xiiijth day of Januarye, 1613, [1614,] according to the computacon of the Church of England.[1]

Signed, sealled, and delivered in presents of MICHAELL SANDERSON,[2] JAMES LANYE, WILLIAM FENWICK.[3]

A TREW INVENTORY OF THE GOODS OF MR JAMES MELVEN, DECEASED, TAKEN BY US WHOSE NAMES AR HER UND^{R} WRITTEN, THE XXIIIJTH OF FEBRUARY 1613. [1614.]

	L.	s.	d.
In the Hall.			
It. i. Fir table and frame,	00	03	04
ij. Litle small fir tables,	00	02	00
j. Litle old cor^{r}. cubbert,[4]	00	01	04
ij. Shorte fir formes,	00	01	00
ij. Old litle gren chares,	00	00	8
j. Scots needle-worke carpett,	00	06	8
j. Old screane,	00	01	00
Six thrume cushens,	00	06	00
	1	02	00
In the Citchen.			
j. Bras pott,	00	04	00
j. Iron pott,	00	02	00
ij. Small pans,	00	03	4
ix. Pewter dishes,	00	09	00

[1] The Will does not bear the signature of Mr James Melvill. It is probable that, on his deathbed, this excellent man had been wholly unable to sign his name; which may account for the subscriptions of *three* attesting witnesses.

[2] Michael Sanderson was Mayor of Berwick in 1603; and again in the years 1612, 1619, and 1628.

[3] William Fenwick was likewise Mayor in the years 1629, 1635, and 1638. For these notices, the Society is indebted to Robert Weddell, Esq. They are recorded here in testimony of the very high estimation in which Mr James Melvill, though a prisoner at large, was held by those highest in authority in this ancient borough.

[4] Corner cupboard.

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		L.	s.	d.
iiij.	Small saucrs.	00	01	00
ij.	Hand basons,	00	02	6
ij.	Pewter candlesticks,	00	02	00
j.	Old quart pot,	00	01	04
j.	Pottle pot,	00	03	04
ij.	Chamber pots,	00	02	00
j.	Chaffing Dishe,	00	00	10
01 11 4				

In the Chambr. and Parler.

j.	Short table and frame,	00	05	00
j.	Cornr. cubbert,	00	02	6
vj.	Leather chares,	01	00	00
x.	Scots nedle-work quishens,[1]	00	15	00
vj.	Gren carsey quishens,	00	05	00
ij.	Picklers,	00	02	00
j.	Standing bedsted, wth. curtens and vallence,	01	00	00
ij.	Fethr. Bedds, j. bolster, and ij. pillowes,	03	00	00
j.	Tooll twilte,	00	06	8
j.	Grean rugg,	01	05	00
j.	Pr. of blankets, and j. Scots plad,	00	08	00
ij.	Othr. bedsteads wth. the furnisheing,	01	06	8
j.	Small trunke,	00	03	00
j.	Othr Scots nedle-worke carpett,	00	06	08
ij.	Small cabenets,	00	08	00
	Certaine books worth,	02	00	00
	His apparrell,	05	00	00
	Linen sheets, table clothes, pellebrf,[2] and napkins,	03	10	00
vj.	Silver spounes,	02	00	00
j.	Silver kñn,[3]	01	10	00
24 13 6				
	Smr.	027	06	10

[1] Cushions. [2] Pillowberes. [3] Can, tankard.

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	L.	s.	d.
It. Mrs Henry Maddison of Newcastle is oweing by spetialty, . . .	100	00	0
And more, the said Henrye Maddison[1] is oweing w^h^out spetialty, . .	010	00	00
Sm^a^. totalis,	137	06	10

JAMES LANY.
WILL^M^. FEWN^R^.

Will proved 25th February 1613. [1614.]

Duly compared and examined this twenty-sixth day of October 1842.

JOSEPH DAVISON,
Depy. Reg^r^.

Extracted by
ROBERT BURRELL,
Proctor.

[1] In St Nicholas' church, Newcastle, there is a monument erected to the Maddison family, "of marble, painted and gilded since its erection," (*Brand's Hist. of Newcastle*, i. 291,) from which Mr Weddell has kindly noted what relates to the friend of Mr James Melvill:—

"Here, interred also, are the bodys of HENRY MADDISON, and ELIZABETH, his wife, (daughter to Robert Barker, of this towne, Alderman,) who lived together most comfortably and lowingly, in true wedlock, the space of 40 yeares. He was sometyme Maior of this towne, and having lived in good name and fame 60 yeares, deceased in the trve faith of Chryst, the 14th of Jvly, 1634. Elizabeth, his only wife, had issve by him ten sonnes:—Sir Lionel Maddison, knight, Raphe, Robert, William Henry, Peter, George, Timothy, [John,] and Thomas; and six davghters, Jane, Svsan, Elizabeth, Barbara, Elenor, and Jane: All the sonnes at his death were living but John, who died in the late expedition to Cadiz. She lived his widow 19 years, and being aged 79 yeares, dyed the 24 of September, 1653."

He derived his Newcastle "franch" from a second son of Rowland Maddison of Unthank, near Berwick, (*Surtee's Durham*, ii. 135.) In 1554, an Anthony Maddyson was made a burgess of Berwick, and he seems to be of the same family. There are still wealthy families of that name resident in Newcastle and other places in the county of Northumberland.

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II.

ACCOUNT OF THE LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF MR JAMES MELVILL.

ANE MINUTE OF SIK THINGIS HARD AND SEINE IN THE DEATH OF THAT FAITHFULL SERVAND OF GOD, MR JAMES MELVILL, MINISTER AT KILRANIE, QUHO DIED IN EXYLL[1] AT BERVICK, THE 20 OF JANUAR, 1614 YEIRIS.

"Mark the vpright man, and behold the just, for the end of that man is peace."—Psal. xxxvii. 37.

First, it wes markit that his heavie diseas seasit upon him at that time quhen the Bischop of Sanctandrois sent for him to cum to Edinburgh, to conferre uponc the conditiones of his home cuming; for, being one his journay, his bodie alteris, and that so grytlie, that he wes compellit to turne bak again, and, efter ane schort space, to tak bed.

Secondlie, the pain of his diseas wes wonderfull vehement, as the Doctor affirmed, fra ane hudge quantitie of teuch[2] humoris gathered togidder in his syd, in the forme of ane postrum,[3] quhairuntill the melancholie humor wes predominant. Sindrie thingis wes applyed for purgatioun, baith above and under; quhilk wrought verrie weill, geving due intermissione to pain, but never ane full exemptione thairfra.

Thridlie, the continuance and humoris of this paine maid him

[1] He had been in all seven years in confinement in England. [2] Tough.

[3] *Calderwood's* abstract of this paper properly reads, "ane aposteme," *i.e.* an apostume or imposthume. "Postrome," however, it may be remarked, was frequently used for a *postern*, from L. B. *posturium*; and might, in this case, denote the shape of the abscess, or carbuncle, with which Mr James Melvill was so much afflicted.

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to think that it wes deadlie. He fed himselff sa with this thought, that noe reasoune used, aither be doctoris or utheris, could dissuade him thairfra, saying oft tymes, it gave him in his heart he wold die; and in his conceit he could not in ane better tyme.

His contentmentis by death were thir, as he himselff rehearsit thame:

First, ane exemptione fra sinne and paine; citing that place in the second of the Corrinthianis, v. 4, "For indeid we that are in this tabernacel siche[1] and are burdenit, becaus we wald not be vncled,[2] bot wald be cled, that mortaletie might be swallowed up of lyff."

The second wes, the testimonie of his conscience, in keipeing fast the trewth without a brek, notwithstanding of sindrie tentationes, till his dying day; and so, oft tymes rejoyced himselff with that speich of [Paul, in ii.] Timothie, [iv.] chap. [6–8] verse, "For I am now readie to be offered up, and the tyme of my departure is at hand; I haiff faught the good fight, I haiff finisched my course, I haiff keipit the faith; from hence furth is laid up for me the croune of righteousnes."

The thrid wes, that in his death, and by his death, he might confirme the trewth of the caus for the quhilk he suffred, to the consciences of all, deing[3] constantlie in that trewth as he leived; in it rejoycing with the Apostle, Philip. ii. chap. ver. 17, to be offred up upone the sacrifice and service of thair faith.

The fourt wes, the sight of the face of God in glorie; rehearsing that verse of the xvi. Psalm, "Thow wilt schaw me the pathe of lyff; in thy sicht are the fulnes of all joyes, at thy right hand is the plentie of pleasures for evir."[4]

His only refreschment and releiff, in the extremitie of paine, wes prayer, beleiffing that part of the word, "Call upon me in the day of trubel, I will hear the," Psal. l. verse 1. His prayeris were often, as the heareris can record, bothe day and night; they wer verrie pithie, with manie tearis. In all his prayeris, efter he had

[1] Sigh. [2] Unclothed. [3] Dying. [4] Psal. xvi. 11.

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begged mercie and confort to himself, he ever rememberit the kirk in generall, and Scotland in particular, lamenting heavilie hir dissolutione; applyeing that speich of Chryst, in the Gospell, to give hir thousand eis "to sie thos thingis that belongeth unto thy [her] peace." He prayed for repentance of so manie of the breithering as had made ane schisme in the kirk, by ranverseing[1] that forme of Governement quhilk wes anes, upon the warrand of Godis word, with ane uniforme consent of all, establisched; and quhairwith the Kirk, be the space of manie yeiris, wes hapelie relivit.[2] He ever rememberit his fellow-suffereris, and craved earnestlie strenth and courage to thame for perseverance to the end; naming them all in particular to God by thair names. Throw the waiknes of his awin bodie, being grytlie extenuat by the grouth of pain, he wes subject to syndrie suerfes and sounginges,[3] quhilk he himselff called the foirrunneris of death.

On Weddinsday, in the morning, quhilk wes the 19th Januar, the day befoir his death, ane heavie suerf overtaketh him; quhilk continued lang, sua that scarslie we lookit for onie recoverie; yit, throw the Lordis providence blissing good meanes, at lenth he revived, saying to us, pitifullie, that he wes weill, if we had lattin him be so! He began to think with himselff that his tyme is not to be long heir; and, thairfoir, with gud King Hesekiach, resolved, sua lang as strenth served him, to put his hous to ordour; and imediatlie callit on his childring, quho wer all thair saiff ane,[4] and lifting up himself bothe in bodie and spreitt in the bed, in the audience off all, he declared his will, appoyntit his eldest sone to be in his place as ane father to the rest, and leaving untill everie ane a pledge of his fatherlie cair and affectione. The declaratioune of his will being finisched, his eldest sone craved for his blissing earnestlie, without whilk all wes nothing: Quhairunto he wes most willing; and, gaddring spreittis to himselff, abruplie, he had a speich to everie ane, be way of blissing, so elo-

[1] Overturning; turning upside down.—Fr. *renverser*. [2] Rewlit? ruled.
[3] Fainting fits and swoonings. [4] Saving, excepting one. Probably in allusion to Andrew, his second son, who was then completing his theological studies under his grand-uncle, Mr Andrew Melvill, at Sedan.

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quentlie and so pertinentlie, so heartilie, and in sik confidence, as wes mervelous to hear:

To Ephraime, he wisched the blissing of Ephraim, [Abraham?] Isaak, and Jacob; saying, "God mak the as Ephraim, quhilk is ansuerabill to thy name, being fruitfull in all sort of good workis."

To Johne, "that he might be gratius, bothe in the sight of God and man, throw Godis grace."

To Issobell, he wissed "that scho might be lyke hir mother in all godlines, vertew, and in all comelie behaviour."

To Anna, he wisseth "humilitie and meekness; and that, according to hir name, scho sould insinuat hir selff in the acceptatione and love of all."

Haiffing endit thais blissingis to his childring, he rememberit the Kirk, and his most excellent Majestie, in his speich [with teares uttering these words,[1]] "The Romish hirarchie will schortlie undo religione in Scotland; I pray the Lord oppin the Kingis eiis, that he may sie it, and grant him grace to amend it. In my lyff I ever deteastit it, and resistit the same as ane thing unlawfull and antechrystiane, for the quhilk I am heir in exyll; and now, I tak yow all to witnes I die in the same judgment this day."

He rememberit, most lovinglie, all his dear freindis and acquantance in Chryst; and, namelie, his loving uncle, Mr Andro, to quhom he gave ane honorabill comendatione for his literator, bot speciallie for sinceritie and courage in the caus of Chryst, quhilk he besought the Lord to [increase and[2]] continow to the end.

He rememberit sum gentlemen in Angus, to quhais gudwill he wes oblegit.

He rememberit, in lyk maner, the faithfull Breithering of the Ministrie of Fyff most effectuallie.

As ane loving schiphird, he blissed his flok; thanking God for the occasione they had, praying earnestlie they might use it weill, for the crowning of that work quhilk God had maid him the instrument to begin and prosequut.

He mentionit manie of the Ministrie of Louthain, the Merse,

[1] Supplied from Calderwood's History, MS. [2] Ibid.

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and in particular named some gentlemen to quhois kyndnes and gudwill he acknouledged God himselff grytlie to be bund.

He blissed the toune of Berwick, the Doctor, for his paines.

He rememberit some of his acquentance at Londoune; and from thence, passing over the seas, he sueitlie named the haill banisched Brethering, thanking God for thair constancie, and wissed perseverance to the end.

And after he had endit his speich, he earnestlie desyred Mr Durie[1] to conclud all with ane prayer; quhilk he did verie zealouslie. Efter the quhilk he tuik him to rest, and passed over that haill day, sum tyme in rest, as it seimed, and sum tymes in paine.

About sex of clok at night, the Laird of Aitoune,[2] ane of his deir acquentance, cam in to him, to quhom he spak most confortabillie; and affected him sua with joy, that he resolved, howbeit his awin hous wes neir hand, to stay all night to heir and sie farder; quhilk efterward he ascryved to Godis providence, and thanked him for it.

About nyne houris at night, waking from his sleip, he fand in his bodie ane sensibille alteratione to worse; forby[3] that his pain increased and his strenth decreased, sua that he wes cast in ane mervelous feare of impatience; and thairfoir desyred his wyff to send about the Laird [of Aitoune,] the Doctor, with Mr Durie, (who a litill befoir wer gone frome him,) to come to him in hast. He seing the Doctor, he sayis, "For Chrystis saik, use some meanes to quench this, for I am vnhabill to abyd it!" The Doctor replyes, that he had used all meanes that lay in the witt of man: "Thair is no remeid but patience, quhilk God most give, and ye most crave, and we helpe yow." With ane heavie sich, he sayes, "Lord, grant me it!" and desyred us to fall doun upon our knies, for begging the same. The Minister, as before, in prayer, craved it of God.

The prayer being endit, he cryes out, with David, in the xxxix. Psal., "Tak away the plag,[4] for I consume with the straik of thyne

[1] Joshua Durie, Minister of St Andrews, his brother-in-law.
[2] William Hume? [3] Besides. [4] Plague.

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hand;"[1] and, with Job, "Albeit thow sould slay me, yit will I trust in thee;"[2] and rememberit him of Moses' busch quhilk wes burning and yit neuer wes consumed,[3] becaus God wes in it.[4]

Being ovir mutch with the pain, he fallis over in ane quyet sleipe, quhilk lested till tuelff of the clok; syndries of the chamber went to thair bed, upon good hoipe of his recoverie. About ane of the night he wakned exstreame seik, and sayes to his sone, "I feare my awin weaknes; I cannot last long. Tak hed to me, or ellis I will slip away!" On his wakning [he says, "Goe walken[5]] the Laird, Doctor, and Mr Durie." The Doctor comeing in in hast to him, he tellis him the pain had flitted from his syd and bak, and had com to his heart; useing thir wordis, "*Palpitat cor.*" The Doctor replyes, it wes ane tokin his battell wes neir ane end. Fearing this, he cryes, with Simeone, "Now, lettest thow thy servand depart in peace; myne eyes [haiff] sein my [thy] salvatione: A light revealed to the Gentillis, and the glorie of Israell," Luk. ii.[6]

He says to the minister, "Good Mr Durie, give me the last gudnight. Comend my saull and bodie unto the handis of God, my Redeemer." This being done, he comforteth himselff with syndrie speiches out of the Psalmes, quhilk he rehearsit in Hebrew; as namelie, ane speich out of the iv. Psal., "Lord, lift up the lyght of thy countenance upon me:"[7] The xxvii. Psal., "The Lord is my light and my salvatione, quhat can I fear?"[8] The xxiii. Psal., "Albeit I wakit through the valley of the schadow of death, yit will I fear none evill, becaus God is with me; thy rod and thy staff they confort me."[9]

The candell being behind bak, he desyred that it sould be brought befoir him, that he might sie to die. Be occasione quhairof, that pairt of the Scripture wes rememberit, "Light aryses to the righteous in the middes of darknes," Psal. cxii.[10] "The Lord

[1] Psal. xxxix. 10. [2] Job xiii. 15. [3] Exod. iii. 2.
[4] Acts vii. 35. [5] Calderwood MSS. [6] Luke ii. 29-32.
[7] Psal. iv. 6. [8] Psal. xxvii. 1. [9] Psal. xxiii. 4. [10] Psal. cxii. 4.

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will lighten my candell, he will inlighten my darknes," Psal. xviii.[1]

For the space of tua houris, the pain and seiknes held him so at the heart that he wes without language; dureing the quhilk tyme his sone rememberit him of manie confortabill speiches of Scripture, quhilk he heard with great joy, and greatt cheirfullnes. In takin quhairof, he geve ever ane demonstratione, and signed[2] with his handis, testefieing his inward motione conforme, [in token of his joy and feeling, quhen anie comfortable sentence of Scripture was uttered to him.[3]]

Quhen the xiv. of Johne wes rememberit, "Lett not your heartis be trubled, ye beleiv in God, beleiv also in me," he lifted up his hand towardis heaven.

Quhen the fyve wyse virgines wer rememberit, quho had their lampes in readines to meitt the brydgrome, he putt his hand to his heart, and chaped[4] thryse on it. Quhen he wes rememberit of Paulis speich, Rom. viii. "Quho sall separat me from the love of God? Sall principallities, or pouaris, thingis present or to cum, lyff or death?"[5] he turned the bak of his hand to them all; and rejoyced in this, that in them all he sould be more than conqueror throw Chryst that [loved] him. So, feilling his pain to work upward, and perceiving his eare to faill him, that he hard not so weill as he did befoir; eftir ane long silence, quhen we thought the pouar of speaking had left him, in vearie cleir tearmes, he cryes out, putting his hand one his eare, "He is heir, he is heir! Welcome, welcome!"—meaning deathe. [Being asked, If he were desirous to turne backe? He answered[6]] and said, "Williame, Williame, I am now sure I sall not goe again bak for twentie worldis!" Comforting himself with that speich, xxxvi. [Psal.] "How excellent is thy mercies to us; thairfoir the childring of men trust under the schadow of thy weingis: Thou feidis him with the fatt thingis of thyne hous, and gives them to drink of the

[1] Ps. xviii. 28.
[2] Made a sign with his hand.
[3] Cald. MSS.
[4] Knocked.
[5] Rom. viii. 35–39.
[6] Cald. MSS.

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riveris of thy pleasuris; for with the [is the] wall[1] of lyff, in thy light I sall sie light."[2]

Being rememberit of Jacob his visione of a ledder that he saw betuix heaven and earth, God upon the head, the angellis going up and doune, he sayis, "Stay[3] is the ledder of death, and leith[4] is flesh to clim it!"

Being rememberit of Paull his revischeing to the thrid heavens, and of the glorius revelationes he gatt thair, he ansuered, "Everie ane wes not with Paull, alwayes[5] he wes assured to be filled with glorie."[5]

Quhen they told him of the sight of Stevin, how he saw the heavins oppin, and the glorie of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God, he prayed Stephane his prayer, "Lord Jesus, receave my spirit."[6]

Quhen ane speich of the Canticle wes fitted unto him, it grytlie rejoyced him, being ane pairt of the Scripture quhairintill he wes deligentlie versed, quhilk he had parraphrased and turned in pleasand poesie. This wes oft in his mouth, "My weill beloved is myne, and I am his."[7] "Cover me with the baner of his love; stay me with flagones; confort me with apples."[8]

Efter this maner the morning wes putt off, his breath drawing upward, continuallie, in als gryt peace and quyetnes as befoir he had pain.

Quhen we thought that all his senses wer gone, and he almost without fealing, he lay so quyet, his sone cryed unto his eare, and askit Quhat he wes doing? He ansuered, albeit with grytt deficultie, he wes "singing the Song of the Lamb." At the quhilk all then wondered.

We desyred him to give us the last signe of his inward joy, through the sense of Godis presence, and his reddines to depart cheirfullie: He lifted up baith handis, and said, "Sueitt Jesus, receave my saule!" [After these words he never stirred, but

[1] Well, fountain.
[2] Psal. xxxvi. 8, 9.
[3] Steep is the ladder.
[4] Laithe; loath, unwilling.
[5] Notwithstanding.
[6] Acts vii. 59.
[7] Cant. ii. 16.
[8] Ib. 4, 5.

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sobbed softer and softer, till at length he surrendered the spirit;[1] and that so quyetlie, [peaceablie, and insensiblie,[2]] that nain could perceave; and [like] the Patriarch Jacob, he endit his dayes, quhilk wer few and exyll, and he holy spent in the service of God, as the storie of his lyff will declair; and he eattis the fruittis of his labouris, in ane pairt of the sawell, amonges the number of the righteous, till the day of the full redemption of the childring of God; quhen, in bodie and sauell, he sall schine in the heavens as the sune and moone in the firmament: To the quhilk place the Lord may bring me to that evirlasting joy and portione, for Chrystis saik. Amen.[3]

Give[4] thow wald lyff a godlie lyff,
Think daylie thow most die:
Give thow wald die anc happie death,
Live weill, I counsell thee![5]

[1] Supplied from Calderwood's MS. History in British Museum. [2] Ib.

[3] "Thus endit that faithfull servant of God, Mr James Melvine, his dayes, in exile, after he had spent a great part of his life in the service of God, and suffering for the truthe."—*Ibid.* [4] If.

[5] The writer of this interesting account adds below, "This is my gutcheris [*i.e.*, grandfather by the mother's side] testament."

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III.

POEMS ON THE DEATH OF MR JAMES MELVILL,

BY MR THOMAS MELVILL.[1]

I.

TO THE TREWLIE HONORABLE, A VERRIE ACCOMPLISHED AND SINCERLIE AFFECTED CHRISTIANE GENTELMAN, HIS VERRIE ASSURIT IN THE LORD JESUS, ALEXANDER KEITH OF BALUMIE.

SONET.

Quhen as I think upon that dolent day,
Quhais bad aproch hes bailfull newes brocht,
Quhilk maid thy weiping eyes thy wois bewray,
As seconde treuchman[2] to thy sadder thoght:
Nixt, quhen I find how he forgot the nocht
Quhen streames of deith most stronglie with him strave;
His love to thee thy worth to him hes wrocht
To link your heartis in love, above the leave.[3]
Quhairthrow I sie, and sensiblie perceave,
As aie thow did, with oppin heart and hand,
His memorie, howbeit he be in grave
And lair, yow loveis, howbeit in unholy land:
Go, since thow art compartner of my cairis,
To yow, guid Sir, I dedicat my tearis.

Youris, ever devoted to serve yow in the Lord,
T. M.

[1] Of this ingenious young man, who wrote the following poems in the fourteenth year of his age, the Editor has not been able to collect any satisfactory information. It is probable he was a nephew or near relative of Mr James Melvill.

[2] Interpreter. O. Fr. *trucheman*.

[3] *Lave*, rest.

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II.

THE FUNERALL TEARIS OF T. M. FOR THE DEATH OF HIS DEIREST FREIND AND LOVING FATHER, THAT FAITHFULL SERVANT OF GOD, MR JAMES MELVILL, MINISTER OF GODIS WORD AT KILRANIE; QUHA DEIT, CONFYNIT AT BERWICK, THE 20TH OF JANUAR, 1614.

INVOCATIONE.

Imanuel! my muse, heich Prince, Apollo myne,
Jove's loud and match God will [with?] trew delites devyne
Inspire me from above, beir witnes to my cairis!
Iff in my lynes thair lyrkis dissait, or treson in my tearis,
Iff from my pen proceid a word bot veritie,
Then, thow protector of the trewth, condem it as ane lie.
Bot if I treat of trewth, and wald that trewth war kend,
Thoch Momus freit, I feir him not, Thow sall thy trewth defend.
And yow that temporize, and schames the trewth to tell,
Thow trewthles tounge, and hoples hert, go hay[1] thee hence to hell!
I treat of tragik tearis, my sangis are of the same,
Sen murning mater best beseames my mirthles muse to fraime.
Melpomene, that Muse that onlie myndis to mone,
Sall cum and tak her place be me; scho sall not murne alone.
The baldest fyrie flaim that in Mont Etna burnis,
Quhair wglie mefist[2] Schedalus his tomb with terror turnis:
His ludge is left of lait, and in my breist is boun
With greif to gall my heavie hert, and beir my body doun.
The tall trymling treis, quhois staitlie topis uprise,
And seames throw watrie woltis[3] of air to cut the chrystell skyes,
Did lour and bent them low, as witnes of my wrangis,
Alse scho out of hallow caves resoundis my dririe sangis.

[1] Hie, haste. [2] Perhaps from O. Fr *meffier*, to distrust. [3] Vaults.

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The cloudis do ceis to drop, the wavering windis to blow,
The ventyes[1] one bankis leif off to blow, the sies to fill and flow;
The birdis, with chirming chair, that cuttis the azure skyes,
They ceis to sing; the beistis to low, the fisch to sowme our seis:
The sone and moone amas'd, and steris all still thai stand,
And all Jove's hudge and curious workis the sei they left the land,
Left off thair kyndlie cours, and cairit with me to ken,
About ane tombe quhat meanit to murne so many modest men?
Bot quhill agast me gazed, thrie out amangs the leave[2]
In Durik nomberis[3] sadlie soundis thair sangis about his grave.

[FIRST] SONGE.

This land hes lost a light, our Kirk may now bemoane;
Religione lakis hir love sinterit a sone.[4]
Iff leirning mycht with wit, if grace with gravetie;
Iff prudent cariage be in pryce, if matchles modestie;
And, in a word, I vow, iff vertew ludge below,
Heir lyes the worthiest wicht, for one my self did know:
His faith, his hope, his love, his cours of lyff wes kend,
Oh! lat me lyff his holie lyff, and mak his blissed end!

SECOND SONGE. MEL-VINUM.

As hony, mixt with Celtik or Hebereane wyne,
The one the other qualifie; so both are guid and fyne;
Richt so, quhair Naturis giftis, and skill acquyred be Art,
Both in ane compas are conteinit within ane hallowit hert,
Grace suggeris all the rest, and seasonis all; and then
The first a pleasant portione makes, the nixt a perfect man.

[1] Probably for breezes.—Fr. *vents*. [2] Rest, *lave*. [3] Doric numbers.
[4] Perhaps this implies that a favourite son was thus *sunderea* or torn from her.

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Then hapie he quhois name and fassione had that seat
To get the grace to sanctifie his giftis, quhilk were so gret!
His name includis, we know, the hony and the wyne;
His saul now drinkis the ambrosie and nectar most devyne.
His [body] now closit in clay must in his cave remain
Untill the tyme that trumpettis sound the righteous call again.
His gloir that's now begun sall then accomplisched be,
But[1] intermissione or exchange for all eternitie.

THRID SONGE. SONET.

This leife is nothing but a vaill of tearis;
This leife is most inconstant, cled with cairis;
This febill leif is frauchtit full of fearis;
This leif hes sillie hopis, bot deip disparis;
This leif is nothing but a schoole of wearis,
Now seame we sound, but schortlie full of fearis.
Our surtie's small, our hopis are hung be hairis!
This nane denyes, but few this lessone leiris.[2]
Few lothis to live, few for the end preparis,
Few sichis for sin, bot gled the burding beiris.
Few leirnis to die, and few thair comptis clairis;[3]
Few in the land of leif seikis to be airis.[4]
Then hapie, hapie, hapie thryse is he
Quho lothit his leife, and lerneth to die!

[1] Without. [2] Learn. [3] Clear or settle their accounts. [4] Heirs.

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III.

ANE DIALOGUE UPON THE DEATH OF THE SAID DEFUNCT.

INTERLOQUITORIS.

VIATOR. FAMA.

VIATOR.

Stay, passenger,
I pray, a prettie space,
Quhair haldis the race,
That garis the fle so fast?
Art thow in haist?
May yow not pair thy pace?
How cumes the case
Thow seames to be agast?
Off courtesie, I pray ye, be so kynd
To stay a quhill, and tell us of thy mynd.

FAMA.

Let be, my freind,
Impach[1] me not, I pray,
I may not stay;
For so purportis my name,
I am fleing Fame,
That dar mak no delay,
Be night nor day,
Till I the trewth proclaim.

[1] Hinder me not. O. Fr. *empescher*.

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It is my calling. I have tane in hand
To sound Tyme's trumpett, both be sie and land.

VIATOR.

Welcume to me,
Sueit saul, quhair hes thow bein?
Quhat hes thow sein?
Speake out, and do not pante,
Quhat is the chante?
Quhat may this murning mein?
Seldome is sein
In the sic conntinuance.
Quhat newis in hevin, in hell, in earth, in air?
It seames nae mowis[1] that makis the murne so sair.

FAMA.

I spair to speak,
Lest I sould seame to lie.
Fane wald I flie,
Iff thow wald let me go.
But sen yow, so
Importune, urgis me,
The veritie
I sall ye schortlie scho;
Sic strange event is fallin furth of lait
Makis heavin rejoyce, hell rage, and eirth regrat.

That auld, untymelie,
Irrant, dolent Death
Hes stopit a breath,

[1] Serious matters; no jokes or sport.

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Sen yester day at morne,
Of quhom my horne
Sall vant; quha ever be wrath,
I will be laith
To smoir[1] him, I have suorne.
Quhill he wes heir, his name, be me, wes knawin
Throw Britain boundis; but now mair boundles blawin.

The hevin rejoyces
At his gratfull gast,
Quhom all the host
Of angellis thair convoyit.
The hellis are nocht,
Sen Plutois beattis and boittis
Are hoples lost,
Thocht coastlie imployit.
On earth ane sabill hew the sanctis bemone,
Gryt spaittis of teiris[2] thair spend, caus he is gane.

Our Kirk, and cuntry
Baith, hes lost a light.
Nane schynit mair bricht
In Kirk nor Polecie;
Sinceritie
He socht with all his might;
His heartis delight
In Chryst to live and die:
And now maid be malanchollie, at last,
Died in exyll, and given up the gost.

Sueit steiring streames,
That posting spuris with speid
In Ersk and Tueid,

[1] Smother or conceal his fame. [2] Floods.

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Now your Lord ye sie
Cum furth with me
Throw land with uncoth leid.
Ye sall, indeid,
Nobilitated[1] be.
Beseidis the first his body gan to breath,
And now the last maid famous be his deith.

Braid-walit[2] Berwick,
Tueidis toune, famosit befoir
Throw many scoir
Off mortall-myndit men;
Bot now we'll ken
His death is[3] gained mair gloir
Then ever befoir,
Thocht thowsandis in thee slain.
Gife[4] cities stroave quha brocht to Homer breath,
Then baldlie Berwick brag of sic a death.
Giv cities sevin for Paganis birth contend,
Then much mair Berwick famous, be his end!

VIATOR.

Now, now, I heir
The man quhom of ye mein;
For lait yistrein,[5]
As I my ludging tuik,
Ane litill buik,
Be me befoir unsein,
With oppin ein[6]
The leiffis[7] I overluik,
Within quhilk lynis, in staitlie styll wes pen'd
His famous factis, his hapie leif and end.

[1] Ennobled. "Virtus sola nobilitat." [2] Broad-walled. [3] For *has*.
[4] If. [5] Last night. [6] Eyes. [7] Leaves.

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And sen I sie
That he wes sic ane one
Quhom I expone
A perles[1] *A per se;*
Then Fame go fle,
Thow sall not pas alone
Him to bemone;
I'll beir ye companie.
Go saill the sie, compas the Continent,
Leirn, sie and land, his los for to lament!

Go throw the puir
Protestant Kirk of France;
Schaw them the chance:
Thence to Geneva toune,
To Berna boune,
Throw Cantonis[2] him advance;
To Cedar lance,[3]
To Netherlandis goe doune:
Tell his auld uncle and the banischit band[4]
He is lanceit[5] befoir tham to the Holy Land

Go throw the Germanis,
Tell Prince Palatone,
With weiping ein,
Lament our los, alace!
Proclame the cace.
Schaw furth what thow hes sein
To King and Quein:
Schame not to schaw thy face.
Spair not to speak, his praise to proclaime
Throw all the world, to eternize his fame.

[1] Peerless, matchless. [2] The Cantons of Swisserland. [3] Launch.
[4] Mr Andrew Melvill and the banished Ministers. [5] Launched.

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Syne schortlie boune
Quhairever thow hes bein
Or sall be sein,
Quhill men heir lyvs be law,[1]
Thy bugall blaw.
His garland gar grow grein.
Caus him to schyne;
Mak all the warld him knaw!

FAMA.

Throw out[2] all ageis trewlie I intend
To schaw his leif, his exyll, and his end.

FINIS.

Thais Verses wes written upon the tuentie-thrid day of December, in the yeir of God 1647 yeiris, and off my aige 14 yeiris.

[1] Until men live by law.

[2] Throughout.

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POSTSCRIPT.

THE Editor has much satisfaction in notifying to the Members of the WODROW SOCIETY, that some time after this Work was completed at press, and, indeed, far advanced in the hands of the binder, a small quarto Manuscript Volume, chiefly in the autograph of Mr James Melvill, has been purchased by David Laing, Esq., at the sale, in London, of the Library which belonged to the late George Chalmers, Esq., F. S. A., the well-known author of "Caledonia," &c. Immediately on the arrival of this Manuscript in Edinburgh, Mr Laing kindly communicated it to the Editor for examination; and although it cannot now be made fully available to the Society for the present Volumes, it is very gratifying to state that it completely establishes the authenticity of the Continuation of the Author's DIARY, for which, until now, there existed merely a very strong probability, nearly approaching to certainty, of its being the genuine production of our Author.

In a comparatively modern hand, the following title-page to this Manuscript has been supplied by some former proprietor, but which gives a most erroneous idea of its contents, and of our Au-

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thor's office, as its compiler: "ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, FROM ANNO 1560 TO 1605, BY JAMES MELLVIL, THEIR SECRETARY." Mr James Melvill never was Secretary or Clerk to the General Assembly, and the Manuscript which has been recovered is, no doubt, the separate volume of Memoranda, to which the Author frequently refers in the course of his truly valuable Autobiography and Diary.

There is contained in that valuable volume copious abstracts of the proceedings of the General Assemblies during the period alluded to, with the Author's remarks; and occasionally there are inserted copies of documents founded on in the acts, or consequent on the various movements of parties in Church and State. Many of these are incorporated in the present Work; and it is interesting to remark that, in one of these instances, where a document is purposely omitted, Mr James Melvill thus briefly refers to his Autobiography: "Sie the Buik of my Lyfe." In another place, after describing the proceedings of the General Assembly in November 1602, he remarks: "Befoir the dissolving of this Assemblie, the penult sessione theirof, thir tua heids following *I put in wrytt*, and presented them to the Assemblie; but they wer cast by, and na audience gevin to woord, nor accepting of wreate."

Had Melvill's MS. been acquired by Mr Laing a few months earlier, the Society would have had the advantage of the additional collation from it of the former part of the Continuation; and, perhaps, some few documents, to which the Author merely alludes in his Autobiography, might have been incorporated in these Volumes. It is believed, however, that no material omission occurs in the Uni-

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versity's and Advocates' MSS. from which the whole of the Continuation was carefully compiled, although this Work might have been enriched by the insertion of additional papers from this authentic source.

But the most satisfactory and gratifying circumstance in connexion with the recovery of the Manuscript is, that it demonstrates that THE CONTINUATION OF THE DIARY of Mr James Melvill, which has been printed in the present Volumes, proceeded from his pen. The question, therefore, of the authenticity of the sources whence the MSS. of "A TRUE NARRATIOUNE OF THE DECLYNEING AIGE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, from 1596 to 1610," which are preserved in the Libraries of the University of Edinburgh and Faculty of Advocates, have been derived, is thus for ever set at rest. It is fortunate that the proof of this fact has reached the Editor just in proper time to be announced previous to the present Work being issued to the Members of the Wodrow Society.

It is probable that Mr George Chalmers, the last owner, acquired the MS. at the sale of the Library of Joseph Ames, the Author of Typographical Antiquities, whose name is faintly stamped, in blank types, on one of the boards. From what quarter Ames procured the MS. cannot now be traced; but it is likely, that after Melvill's death, his books and manuscripts were sold by his widow.

The Editor has also the pleasure of announcing that, on a second application to the Senate of the University of Glasgow, access has now been afforded to WODROW'S LIFE OF MR RO-

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BERT BRUCE, to make such transcripts as may be thought advisable. It is, of course, unfortunately, now too late to apply for a similar leave in relation to his LIFE OF MR JAMES MELVILL, the present Volumes being nearly completed in the binder's hands; the Work, besides, having extended much further than was originally contemplated. This, however, is the less to be regretted, as it is understood, on good authority, that the materials collected by Wodrow are in this instance very meagre and unsatisfactory.

R. P.

EDINBURGH, 8th December 1842.

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MR JAMES MELVILL'S DIARY.

M.D.LVI.—M.DC.I.

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MR JAMES MELVILL'S DIARY.

THE AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.

At Anstruther, the 10 *of August, in the Yeir of the last Age,* 1600.

FORSAMIKLE as the corruption of man is readie, nocht onlie ungratlie to forget the benefittes of God, bot also most sacrilegiuslie to ascrybe to tham selves the praise of anie thing commendable and weill done, I haiff thought it maist necessar to inregistrat, in this book, the warks of God for the ministrie of his worschipe, and salvation of his peiple within this congregation of Kilrynnie, for amendiment of unthankfulnes, and remembring and steiring upe the hartes of all the members thairof to acknawlage fra tyme to tyme the graitnes of his cair, love, guidnes, and grace; and that all thanks and praise may be giffen to his Majestie, all haill and alleanelie.

In the yeir 1583, Mr Wilyeam Clark, of maist happie memorie for godlines, wesdome, and love of his flok, departed this lyff, leaving four congregationes, wharof he haid the charge, destitute of ministerie, viz. Abercrombie, Pittenweim, Anstruther, and Kilrynnie, whase desolat miserie was the mair that it fell in the yeirs of feirfull plages and confusion bathe upon the Kirk and Comounweill; to wit, the yeirs fourscore four, and fourscore fyve yeirs,[1] in the quhilk unhappie tyme Bischope Adamsone of St Androis, tyrannizing in the

[1] The years 1584 and 1585.

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Kirk, obtrudit to thame ane of whome they lyked nathing, whase name I spair,[1] for the maist part; be occasion wharof thair enterit in very grait dissentioun in thair bowelles, quhilk vexed tham with anguise of mynd, grait peanes and expences, during the said twa yeirs, and mikle of the fourscore sax[2] also.

To the remead and composing wharof, supplicationes wer gevin in to the presbyterie of St Androis, of the mercie of God newlie erected and restored againe, whilk directed commissionars at dyvers tymes to visit the esteat of these kirks, and travell to draw the peiple's harts togidder in ane, and aggrie upon a pastour. Amangs the quhilk commissionars was James Melvill, ane of the Maisters of the Collage of Theologie; whase doctrine and dealling, when they haid hard and war acquented withe, they condisendit all in ane to crave at the presbyterie that his peanes might be imployed and continowed with thame, nocht onlie for composing of thair controversies, and reconceiling tham in Chryst, bot also for undertaking of a pastorall charge amangs tham; sa the said Mr James being ernestlie delt withall, bathe be the presbyterie and the congregatiounes, yeildit to the calling of God and his Kirk, and enterit in the simmer seasone, in the monethe of July 1586, to teatche at the kirk of Anstruther, situat in the middes of the said congregatiounes.

It pleasit the Lord of the hervest to bliss his travells, sa that all debattes and controversies amangs the congregatiounes, and within the bowelles of everie ane of thame, (quhilk war bothe grait and in number,) being taken upe and removit, with grait joy and comfort, the communion was ministrat in the kirks of Anstruther and Kilrynnie, in the spring-tyme of the yeir 1587.

Therefter, finding the four congregationes a burding intolerable and importable, with a guid conscience, whowbeit the said Mr James haid brought with him at the beginning a fellow-laborare, viz. Mr Robert Dury, yit nather could the said Mr Robert be provydit of a stypend, nather could they find tham selves able to discharge so grait a cair of saulles; therfor, the said Mr James sett him self cair-

[1] This alludes to Mr Robert Wood.

[2] The year 1586.

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fullie for the separating and severall planting of the said congregatiounes, resolving to tak him self to Kilrynnie alean; and delt with Pittenweim, and causit thame prepeare ane auditorie and kirk within thair awin town, in the quhilk he teached to thame bathe on the Sabothe and ouk dayes,[1] nocht intermitting his ordinarie doctrines in the uther kirks, untill Pittenweim was provydit and planted with a minister of thair awin, and that without hurt or impearing of the stipend of the kirk of Anstruther Waster; the quhilk, be grait fascherie[2] and travell at the Plat, and dyvers actions of pley[3] befor the Lords of Sessioun and Exchacker, be the speciall blessing of God, he haid augmented from fourscore pounds to a hunder lib., and thrie chalders victuall, with glebe and manse recovered and repeared. And sa Pittenweim being planted with Mr Nicol Dalgleishe, the said Mr James quyttes and resignes the said new purchassit stipend, with the kirk of Anstruther, gleib, and manse, to his fellow-laborar, Mr Robert Dury; and freithing[4] him selff of the charge bathe of Anstruther and Pittenweim, with all the stipend and commodities thairof, whowbeit disponit to him steadfastlie under the King's privie seall, and tuik him to the kirk of Kilrynnie alleanerlie.[5]

For soone therefter[6] the parochinars of Abercrombie aggreit with Mr Alexander Forsythe, and cravit of me their vicarage, with saxtein pounds money peyit out of their teind scheaves, quhilk I haid also disponit to me for my lyfftime; bot I quyt all, in lyk maner, and incontinent efter admission of the said Mr Alexander to that ministerie, delyverit him my pices and rights of vicarage and stipend, togidder with the burding of the said peiple and congregation.

Now, in this mean tyme, the stipend of Kilrynnie was but fourscore lib. but[7] ather gleib or manse; but God moved the peiple's hartes to have a cear[8] of me, and mak me sufficient securitie of four hounder markes in stipend; the town of Anstruther Eister bund for the twa part, and the gentlemen to landwart for the thride, and

[1] Week-days. [2] Trouble. O. Fr. *fascherie*. [3] Law pleas. [4] Freeing, relieving. [5] Only, solely. [6] On the margin of the MS. the author has noted "1589." [7] Without. [8] Care.

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fordar oblesit tham selves to big me a house upon a piece of ground, quhilk the Lard of Anstruther gaiff frielie for that effect. This was undertakin and begoun at Witsonday *in anno* 1590, bot wald never haiff bein perfyted, giff the bountifull hand of my God haid nocht maid me to tak the wark in hand my selff, and furnisched stranglie to my consideration all things neidfull; sa that never ouk[1] past bot all sort of warkmen was weill peyit, never a dayes intermission fra the beginning to the compleitting of it, and never a soar finger during the haill labour. In Junie begoun, and in the monethe of Merche efter, I was resident therin. It exceides in expences the soum of thrie thowsand and fyve hounder marks; and of all I haid nought of the paroche, bot about a thrie thowsand sleads[2] of steanes, and fourtein or fyftein chalder of lyme; the stanes from the town, and lyme from the landwart, skarslie the half of the materialles, lyme and stean, and thairfor justlie I may call it a spectakle of God's liberalitie.

The hous being endit, and I resident thairin, I becam mikle in deat, and my familie thairwithall to increase; for bearing the burding wharof I fand my four hounder marks to com far schort, joyning thairwithall a grait part thairoff unpleasandlie peyit, and out of tyme; quhilk did cast me in grait heavines and perplexitie, sa that I was mightelie tempted to haiff abandonet this ministerie of Kilrynnie, and yeildit to maist ernest callings in uther places; for Edinburgh, Sterling, Dondie, and St Androis also, haid divers tymes ernestlie dealt with me. Yit, finding my deir peiple's hartes, thair obedience to my ministerie, and the wounderfull blessing of God growing alwayes with me, I durst na wayes waver or mint away,[3] bot stand stedfast in that roum[4] and station wher he haid placed me; and sa fand, in notable experience, the treuthe of Chrystes words, saying, "Seik first the kingdome of God and the righteousnes thairof, and the rest salbe castin in to yow." As to the grait

[1] Week. [2] Sledges. At this period, all heavy carriages of this sort were performed in sledges, wheeled carts not being at that time in common use. Lighter loads were carried on pack-saddles. [3] Aim, or attempt to leave, or go away. [4] Place, situation.

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glorie of his name I continow this narration; for the sam yeir 1590, meining[1] my self to the Plat, I gat fourscore pounds in augmentatioun, and the yeir following, maist easelie, by[2] expectatioun, four chalders of victuall: Sa I fand, be sure experience, that it was guid to len and giff to God, and nocht stand for his honour to quyt whatsumevir, for he wald repey twyse als guid, and nocht ly lang in na man's comoun.[3] Whowbeit, alas! what can we giff him bot his awin? Bot behold yit the gopine.[4]

It pleased his grace, indeid, to twitche my conscience with a solist cear of my charge and flok, sa that whowbeit my distraction and occupatione war in grait and maist weghtie and necessar effeares of the Kirk, yit his fear sufferit me nocht to leave my peiple without daylie attendance and comfort; and sa, of unspeacable mercie and favour, the Lord steirit upe a young man, indewing him with singular graces, and setting the cairfull affectioun of his hart to supplie my absence and weaknes, yea, as a fathfull yok-fellow to undertak the halff of my burding, viz. Mr Jhone Doig, in whase roum in the schole, the Lord send another youthe also of speciall godlines, and cear of Chryst's honour, and of the weill[5] bathe of young and auld. Thir twa, my happie halff marrow[6] (of whome I man wryt to the glorie of God, as he is witnes I do in all this rehersall, that sche evir haid als grait a cear of my calling as I haid my self, delyting above all things to sie the wark of God to grow and go fordwart, and esteiming that onlie rightlie and weill bestowit that was warit that way, neglecting and casting asyde the eair of provision for hir selff and childring, whowbeit now growing seiklie and impotent) haid a speciall cair of, and delyt into for the helpe of my charge, bathe amanges the young and auld, and thairfor interteaned tham in houshauld; sa that the burding of houshaulding and deattes[7] contracted in biging,[8] with verie grait expences in the comoun effeares of the Kirk, wherin almaist the halff

[1] Making suit, or complaining to the Commissioners of the Plat. [2] Contrary to, beyond. [3] Not lie long in any man's debt. [4] *Goupin*, or handful; here meaning an overflowing measure, a bountiful return. [5] Welfare. [6] Wife, literally half a pair, his "other half." [7] Debts. [8] Building.

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of sum yeirs I was employed, maid me above sit equal at the yeir's end.

Bot my guid God and maister, whom I servit, and whaise turn and wark I haid in hand, provydit ane uther helpe, be a purpose and in a maner quhilk I could nocht haiff devysit nor luiked for. First, he moved the Lard of Anstruther to be willing to dispone and quyt the right of the teind fisches to the paroche and toun, ane or bathe, for the soum of thre thowsand marks, quhilk annes[1] being bestowit, might purchas a stedfast steipend to thair minister for ever. Nixt, when bathe town and paroche haid refusit the blok,[2] it pleasit God to move the Lard to offer it to my selff a thowsand mark better scheape,[3] to be acquyrit to me and myne. And God also put in my hart to accept of the blok; bot nocht sacrilegiuslie to purchas a leiving to me or myne, of that quhilk sould sustein the ministerie of God's worschipe and salvation of the peiple, but to acquyere it for the sustentatioun of the ministerie of the town of Anstruther Ester. When we haid aggreit upon the blok for twa thowsand mark, the an halff to be peyit befor and at Mertimes *in anno* 1592, and the uther at Witsonday *in anno* 1593, I knew nocht whar nor whow to gett the soumes: I conveinit, thairfor, the haill Eldars of the paroche to brouche and land[4] within the sessioun-hous in the kirk, and thair I maid them this offer; to be content with my present leiving, and let the revenew of the teind fisches be taken upe yeirlie, till twa thowsand marks and the profit war peyit comptlie, and therefter to quyt tham thair augmentation, and tak me to my assignation and these teind fisches, to live upon and sustein a fellow-labourar with me, quhilk might be thairefter a constant provision for thair ministrie in all tyme to come. Manie schew[5] guid will to the mater, when they saw that I was na way seiking my awin commoditie, bot the weill and provision of thair ministerie; bot, in end and effect, as it feares with comoun turnes,[6] when it cam to the preparing and debursing of soumes, it fealled.[7] And then, giff it haid[8]

[1] Once. [2] Agreement, or bargain. [3] At 1000 merks lower in price. [4] Both burgh and landward. [5] Shewed. [6] As it fares in ordinary business transactions. [7] Failed. [8] If it had.

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nocht pleasit God to move the hart of a speciall freind of myne (to whom I was regrating the mater, and to whome, in that ceas, the ministerie of Kilrynnie is mair behauldin nor to all the paroche and parochinars) to get me the soum I sould delyver at the first term, I wald haiff bein forcit to quait the blok againe, and left the purchas of the speciall moyen and provision of this ministerie, quhilk now, of the speciall gift and providence of God, is acquired unto it.

Now, the first termes soum being delyverit, and the Lardes right put in my hand, it could haiff avealit the ministerie na thing, unles I haid the tytle of the vicarage, quhilk was in Jhone Anstruther's possessioun, with whome it behoved me to blok of new againe for his dimissioun; the quhilk I did, and contented him with thrie hounder marks, and reservatioun of the dewtie of the Silverdyk. Sa yit I haid threttein hounder marks to delyver and purchas, for the quhilk I meined my self againe to my sessioun, and was compellit in end to sell tham my agmentatioun, quhilk they war bund to pey me yeirlie, to thair grait ease and my grait hurt, (war nocht thair ease culd nocht be my hurt, whase ease and weillfear in God was all my cair and respect in the mater;) for haiffand the town of Anstruther bund be sufficient contract in wrait to me for twa hounder marks yeirlie, during my ministerie, and the gentle men to landwart for a hounder, I quat tham bathe for thrie yeirs' dewtie, viz. nyne hounder marks; wharas, sen syne, I might haiff gottin of tham twyse samikle, and my right standing to the fore. The quhilk I wald nocht sa particularlie sett down, war nocht sum, forgetting them selves and the grait benefit of God, hes alleagit that they deburšit soumes for acquyring of the teind fisches to the ministerie, quhilk is far from the treuthe; for, indeed, giff God haid nocht done that turn without their soumes or cair, thair haid skarslie bein a ministerie in Kilrynnie this day. And this I wryt nocht to impear the praise of guid men in the paroche, wharof I thank God thair is a guid number, and als weill affected as in the land agean, bot to repress the unwarrie ingratitud of sum that considders nocht the bountifull guidnes of God, in the planting and preservation of thair ministerie.

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Bot to return to the narration: With this nyne houndrethe marks, and four hounder of my brother-sonnes gear,[1] I satisfeit the next termes soum, and enterit be presentation, collation, and institution of the vicarage, as actuall minister in possession of the said teind fisches, and na way be the tytle receavit fra the Lard as taxman,[2] to mak it cleir and sure that I sought the provision of the ministerie, and nocht a leiving to me and myne. Quhilk I sett down, partlie to stope the mouthes of calumniators, giving out my doing as a conquaist of the kirk gear to me and myne; partlie to resolve my warldlie frindes, who thinks I wald never be sa daft as to tak on soumes sa grait to acquyre and bring hame to the kirk hir teinds againe: Bot it is nocht the warlde, but my God, whome I seik to please, and I thank his bonte continualie, hes in sa doing fund mair of the warlde nor sic as hes done utherwayes,[3] or ever I sought or luiked for. The haill expences of the proces and pices of the tytle lyand in a severall bust[4] be tham selves in my lettron,[5] I estimat to a houndrethe marks; sa, in debursit money, the haill is to me four-and-twentie houndrethe marks.

The quhilk soum, by the speciall blessing of God, in the fischings I might haiff easelie utreade[6] sen my first possessioun, giff the burding of my forsaids fellow-laborar and scholmaister haid nocht lyen upon me, the grait expences of the comoun effeares of the kirk, and the lang and heavie disease of my wyff. Now, this my frind wald ask, What I haiff for my releiff of sic soumes? I answer, the favour and providence of my guid God. For giff God spear my dayes, with rest in his Kirk, I hope he sall utreade all my deattes,[7] that it may be left frie to the intrant; giff nocht, and the intrant be worthie of the roum of this ministerie, God and his conscience will move him to pey the deat resting. Giff he will nocht, the greiff and loss wil-be graitter to haiff sic a man in that roum, nor of myne to pey my deattes, whowbeit they sell the books and plenessing for that effect. As for the bernes, giff they lern to be God's servantes and berns,

[1] My nephew's money. [2] As holding the tack or lease of the teinds. [3] Than those who have done otherwise. [4] Lying in a separate shuttle. [5] Reading desk. O. Fr. *lectron*. [6] "Outred," cleared off, discharged. [7] Debts.

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he will provyde for tham as he hes done for me: giff nocht, (as God forbid!) they ar mair wordie to beg nor to bruik.[1] For my reward at the hands of God,[2] the Lord of his infinit mercie and grace friethe[3] me from the just desert of my vyle sinnes, for the merit of the deathe and pretius bloode of his Sone, my Saviour, the Lord Jesus Chryst, wha is God over all, blessit for ever. For when all is done, as he and my conscience beares witnes against me, a maist wretched, vyle, unworthie servand in his sight, unles he behauld me in his Chryst, whas I am, and nocht my awin. And far be it fra me to glorie in anie thing bot his cross, wharby, wald to God, this warld war fullie crucified to me, and I to it.

As for the town and paroche, the benefit indeid is thairs: Let tham thairfor, as I hope they will, considder thair dewtie in conscience befor thair God, to whome, for thair ministerie, I am suir they ar mair addettit nor anie paroche[4] I knaw. The Lord mak tham to acknawlage it and be thankfull! This onlie I beseik tham, for the mercies of Chryst, let never that be takin away or abusit from the right use quhilk God hes annes[5] applyed it unto, sa far as may ly in thame, as they love the honour of God, and his worschipe to stand in the middes of tham, joynit with the salvation of thair saulles. And, namlie, I man[6] ernestlie admonische the hous of Anstruther never to mein to acclame againe the tytle or possessioun of thay[7] teinds, whowbeit they might find a corrupt and sacrilegius perjured persone to put in the roum, be whome they might gett a new sett[8] and possessioun of thay teind fisches; for I pronunce heir a curse and maledictioun from God upon whosoever sall intervert and draw away the commodities thairof from the right use of susteining of the ministerie of God's worschipe, and of the salvatioun of God's peiple's saulles within the town of Anstruther, and congregation of Kilrynnie! And God forbid that ever that hous sould bring on it the feirfull effect of this curse, quhilk of dewtie I man love best of anie hous in the land.

[1] They deserve rather to beg than to enjoy or possess. [2] "Nehem. v. ver. 19." On margin of MS. [3] Free. [4] Than any parish. [5] Once. [6] Must. [7] These. [8] Lease.

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In the yeir 1598, I cawsit print my Catechisme[1] for the profit of my peiple, and bestowit thairupon fyve hounder marks, quhilk God moved the hart of a maist godlie and loving frind to frilie offer to me, in len[2] for that effect. Of this I remean addettit, bot could never, to my knawlage, attein to a hounder marks again for the buiks.[3]

[1] An imperfect copy of this Catechism, which is now of great rarity, is preserved in the Advocates' Library. It is partly in prose and partly in verse; but the copy alluded to is so much mutilated, that no use can be made of it in the present work. The portion which is preserved chiefly consists of a "Propyne (gift or present) of a Pastor to his People." [2] Loan. [3] This last paragraph seems to have been added by the Author at a later period than the present Introduction. The worthy Author appears to have lost 400 merks by this publication.

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THE HISTORIE

OF

THE LYFF OF JAMES MELVILL.

THOW does manie things, O Jehova, my God. Thy merveals and thoughts toward us can nocht ordourlie be recompted before thie; giff I wald set me to schaw and speak tham out, they ar mo in number then I can rehearse; Psalme xl. 6.

Thow art my hope, Lord Jehova; my confidence fra my bernhead.

I lean upon thie from the wombe; from my mother's bowels thow cacht me; in thie sall my praise be continualie.

Let my mouthe be filled with thy laude, even all the day with thy glorie.

Cast mie nocht away in my auld age; when my strainthe fealls mie, leave mie nocht; Psalme lxxi. 5, 6, 8, 9.

I will sing the mercies of the Lord for ever: with my mouthe will I declare thy treuthe from generation to generation; Psalme lxxxix. [1.]

O whow deir ar thy thoughts towards mie, O strong God! whow grait is the soum therof!

I wald recount tham, bot they are ma then the sand: I wake that I may bie yit withe thie; Psalme cxxxix. 17, 18.

I KNAWE a man in Chryst, brought from the wombe of his mother be God, the 25 day of the monethe July, (dedicat of auld to S. James the Apostle and Martyr,) in the yeir of our Lord 1556;[1] wha, for thankfulness of hart, to the praise and honour of his gratius God and deir father in Chryst, and for edification and comfort of his childring, and sic as sall reid the saming heirefter, is movit to sett down, in monument of wryt, the benefets of God bestowit on him sen his first conception and day of his birthe foremarked; sa far, at leist, as his weak understanding and freall memorie in maters that ar esteimed of importance can conceave and recompt. Whow-

[1] "My vncle, Mr Andro, haulds that I was born *in anno* 1557." Margin of MS.

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beit, as I haiff professed, in the words of the Psalme with David, that the smalest of his unknawin benefits passes the graittest reatche of my apprehension and utterance.

And, first, God wald haiff me begottin of godlie, fathfull, and honest parents, bathe lightned with the light of the gospell, at the first dawning of the day thairof within Scotland, knawing and beleving that Covenant of Grace, and sa the seid of the fathfull, expreslie mentioned in that Covenant, quhilk assures mie of the benefit thairof, yea of that root and weal-spring of all his benefites, my eternall election in his Chryst befor the foundation of the warld. These parents, be name, war Richard Melvill of Baldowy, and Isobell Scrymgeour, sistar to the Lard of Glaswell for the tyme. My said father, brought upe in letters from his youthe, and gentlemanie effeares till he was past twentie yeirs of age, therefter chosine pædagog to James Erskine appeirand of Donne, he past with him to Germanie, whar he remeaned at the studie of letters, namlie, Theologie; first with Doctor Macabeus, in Denmark, and thairefter a heirar of Philip Melancton in Wittenberg, be the space of twa yeirs. Of the grait mercie of God, haiffing the happe of sic maisters as war the graittest lights of that age within the countrey, in the toun of Montrose, and companie of that Lard of Donne,[1] and the maist godlie, lerned, and noble Scots Martyre, Mr George Wyshart, and these nominat in Germanie. And the Lord blessing the seid sawin be tham in his hart, at last, soone efter the first Reformation of Religion, thrust him out into his hervest, and placed him Minister of his Evangell at the kirk of Mariton, a myle from Montrose, harde adjacent to his awin house and roum of Baldowy; in the quhilk he continowed fathfullie unto his lyffes end. He died the 53 yeir of his age, [in the moneth of Junie,[2]] *anno* 1575, in a icterik fevar,[3] maist godlie; for efter manie most comfortable exhortationes maid to the noble and gentle men of the cowntrey, wha all resorted to visit him during his disease, and to

[1] Jhone Areskin of Dun, Superintendent of Angus and Mernes. Margin of MS.
[2] What is within brackets is supplied on the margin of the MS. [3] Icterick or bilious fever; the jaundice. Fr. *fievre icterique.*

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his breither and frinds wha remeaned about him, about the verie hour of his deathe, he caused reid to him the 8 chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and immediatlie efter his brother, Mr James, minister of Arbrothe, asking him, what he was doing? Lifting upe eyes and handis toward heavin, with reasonable might of voice, he answerit, "I am glorifeing God for the light of his gospell, and resting in assurance of his sweit promises of lyff maid unto mie, in my Saviour, the Lord Jesus Chryst;" and na ma[1] intelligible words thairefter. He was a man of rare wesdome, judgment, and discretion; and, therfor, mikle imployed in the trysts and effeares of the noble and gentle men of the countrey, quhilk distracted him fra his calling, hinderit his vertew, and schortened his lyff. The recompence quhilk he had was estimation and affection of all. Ther was nane of his rank, and verie few above it, that was sa honored and loven as he; quhilk kythed[2] specialie at his buriall, and hes bein often tauld me be men of all degries sen syne.

My mother died about a thrie quarters, or at least within a yeir, efter I was born; a woman exceidinglie belovit of hir housband's frinds and nibours. I haiff divers tymes hard, when my father-breither Roger, Jhone, Mr James and Robert, could nocht satisfie tham selves in comending hir godlines, honestie, vertew, and affection toward thame. And I haiff often hard Mr Andro say, that he being a bern verie seiklie, was maist lovinglie and tenderlie treated and cared for be hir, embrasing him and kissing him oftentymes, with these words, "God giff me an uther lad lyk thie, and syne tak me to his rest!" Now sche haid haid twa laddies befor me, wharof the eldest was dead; and betwix him and the second, sche bure thrie lasses; sa, in end, God granted hir desyre, and gaiff hir an, wha wald to God he war als lyk to Mr Andro in gifts of mynd as he is thought to be in proportion of bodie and lineaments of face; for ther is nane, that is nocht utherwayes particularlie informed, bot taks me for Mr Andro's brother.

The nixt benefit is of my education, till I cam to the age of a

[1] He uttered no more. [2] Which was made manifest.

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man, and entered in my calling, wharin als manie moments, als manie benefits; bot the maist remarkable, to my judgement and memorie, I will record. And first, in generall, to the praise of my heavinlie parent, I man confess, with David, "My mother has now left mie, bot Jehova hes receavit mie;" and with Esai, "The mother hes forgat the fruit of hir wombe, bot the Lord hes rememberit me alwayes!" I haid an evill-inclyned woman to my nuris; therefter speaned[1] and put in a cottar hous, and about four or fyve yeir auld brought hame to a step-mother; yit a verie honest burges of Montros[2] hes oft tauld me, that my father wald ley me down on my bak, pleying with mie, and lauche at me because I could nocht ryse, I was sa fatt; and wald ask mie what ealed mie: I wald answer, "I am sa fatt I may nocht geang." And trewlie sen my rememberance, I cam never to the place bot God moved sum an with a motherlie affection towardis me. About the fyft yeir of my age, the Grate Buik was put in my hand, and when I was seavine, lytle thairof haid I lernit at hame; therfor my father put my eldest and onlie brother, David, about a year and a halff in age above me, and me togidder, to a kinsman and brother in the ministerie of his, to scholl, a guid, lerned, kynd man; whome for thankfulnes I name, Mr Wilyam Gray, minister at Logie-Montrose. He haid a sistar, a godlie and honest matron, rewlar of his hous, wha often rememberit me of my mother, and was a verie loving mother to us, indeid. Ther was a guid nomber of gentle and honest men's berns of the cowntrey about, weill treaned upe bathe in letters, godlines, and exerceise of honest geames.[3] Ther we lerned to reid the Catechisme, Prayers, and Scripture; to rehers the Catechisme and Prayers *par ceur;* also nottes of Scripture, efter the reiding thairof; and ther first I fand, (blysed be my guid God for it!) that Sprit of sanctification beginning to work sum motiones in my hart, even about the aught and nynt yeir of my age; to pray going to bed and rysing, and being in the fields alan[4] to say ower the prayers I haid lernit with a sweit moving in my hart; and to abhore swearing, and rebuk and com-

[1] Weaned. [2] "Robert Clark," supplied by the author on the margin.
[3] Games, sports, exercises. [4] Alone.

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plean upon sic as I hard swear. Wherunto the exemple of that godlie matron, seiklie, and giffen to read and pray in hir bed, did mikle profit me; for I ley in hir chamber and heard hir exerceises. We lerned ther the Rudiments of the Latin Grammair, withe the vocables in Latin and Frenche; also dyverse speitches in Frenche, with the reiding and right pronunciation of that toung. We proceidit fordar to the Etymologie of Lilius and his Syntax, as also a lytle of the Syntax of Linacer; therwith was joyned Hunter's Nomenclatura, the Minora Colloquia of Erasmus, and sum of the Eclogs of Virgill and Epistles of Horace; also Cicero his Epistles *ad Terentiam*. He haid a verie guid and profitable form of resolving the authors; he teatched gramnaticallie, bathe according to the Etymologie and Syntax; bot as for me, the trewthe was, my ingyne and memorie war guid aneuche, bot my judgment and understanding war as yit smored[1] and dark, sa that the thing quhilk I gat was mair be rat ryme nor knawlage.[2] Ther also we haid the aire guid, and fields reasonable fear, and be our maister war teached to handle the bow for archerie, the glub for goff, the batons for fencing, also to rin, to loope, to swoom, to warsell,[3] to preve pratteiks, everie ane haiffing his matche and andagonist, bathe in our lessons and play. A happie and golden tyme, indeid, giff our negligence and unthankfullnes haid nocht moved God to schorten it, partlie be deceying of the number, quhilk caused the maister to weirie, and partlie be a pest quhilk the Lord, for sinne and contempt of his Gospell, send upon Montrose, distant from Over Logie bot twa myles; sa that scholl skalled,[4] and we war all send for and brought hame. I was at that scholl the space of almost fyve yeirs, in the quhilk tyme, of publict news I remember I hard of [the mariage of Hendrie and Marie, King and Quein of Scots,[5]] Seingnour Davie's slauchter,[6] of the King's mourder at the Kirk of Field, of the Quein's taking at Carbarri, and the Langsyd feild. Wherof reid Mr Bowchannan Cornicle, lib. 17, 18, 19.

[1] Smothered, obscure. [2] Was more by rote than knowledge. [3] Wrestle. [4] "Skailled," was dismissed. [5] This supplied on margin of MS. [6] The murder of Riccio, then usually styled "Signior Davie."

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Even at that tyme, me thought the heiring of these things moved me, and stak in my hart with sum joy or sorrow, as I hard they might helpe or hender the Relligion: Namelie, I remember the ordour of the fast keipit *in anno* 1566; the evill handling of the ministerie be taking away of their stipends; for Mr James Melvill, my uncle, and Mr James Balfour, his cusing-german, bathe ministers and stipendles, with guid, godlie, and kynd Patrick Forbes of Cors. The Lard of Kinnaber, and the godlie and zealus gentlemen of the countrey, partlie for thair bernes' cause, and partlie for that notable instrument in the Kirk of Scotland, Jhone Erskine of Done, Superintendent of Merns and Angus, his residence in Logy at certean tymes, did oftentymes frequent our hous, and talk of sic maters. Also, I remember weill whow we past to the head of the muir to sie the fyre of joy[1] burning upon the stiple head of Montrose, [at the day of the King's birthe.[2]] These things I mark for the grait benefit of that place and companie, wherin the Lord wald haiff me treaned upe in my first and tender age.

Now, when my brother and I war come hame, our father examined us, and was glad to sie that we had profited reasonablie: Nevertheless, the esteat of the countrey was sa uncertain and troublesome, the moyen he haid (wanting his awin stipend, and helping diverse that wanted of his breithring) bot mean and small, and the occasione of scholles nocht serving, we remeaned a wintar at hame, rememberit of our buiks bot now and then, as our father haid leaser, quhilk was bot verie seindle.[3] Yit the Lord sufferit nocht that tyme to be fruittles nather, bot I remember therin twa benefites; ane the reiding of the Storie of the Scripture that wintar, quhilk stak in my mynd; and of David Lindsayes book, quhilk my eldest sistare, Isbel, wald reid and sing, namlie, concerning the letter judgment, the peanes of hell, and the joyes of heavin, wherby scho wald caus me bathe greit and be glad. I lovit hir, therfor, exceiding deirlie, and scho me by[4] the rest. Scho schew me a[5] day, amangs uthers, a ballet sett out in print against ministers, that for want of stipend left thair charge, beginning—

[1] Bonfire. [2] On margin of MS. [3] Seldom, rarely. [4] More than. [5] One.

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Who so do put hand to the pleuche,
And therfra bakward goes;
The Scripture maks it plean aneuche,
My kingdom is nocht for those, &c.

With this scho burst furthe in teares, and sayes, "Alas! what will com of thir at that letter day? God keip my father, and Mr James Melvill, and Mr James Balfour, fra this!" And efter, cryes out the verses of Davie Lindsay[1]—

Alas! I trimble for to tell
The terrible torments of the hell;
That peanful pit who can deplore?
Quhilk sall endure for evermore.

With hir speitches and teares sche maid me to quak and chout bitterlie, quhilk left the deipest stampe of God's fear in my hart of anie thing that ever I haid hard befor. I was giffen to a bernlie evill and dangerus use of pyking;[1] the quhilk sche perceaving, of purpos gaiff me the credit of the key of hir kist,[2] and haiffing sum small silver in a lytle schottle, I tuk sum of it, thinking sche sould not haiff misset it. Bot be that occasion sche enterit sa upon me with sa soar threatnings, and therwithall sa sweit and loving admonition and exhortations, that I thank thie, my God, I absteinit from it all my dayes therefter; and wherever I was, giff I could haiff gotten anie thing to by, worthie of hir, I was accustomed to send it hir, [in taken of our affectioun,[3]] sa lang as sche leivit. This benefit I haid of God, by hir meanes, that wintar, for incress of his fear and honestie of lyff.

The uther was for civill conversation and prudence. My father, that wintar, put in our hands Palingenius, wherin he delyted mikle him self; injoyning to us, at his rydings fra ham, to lern sa manie verses *par ceur*. Therby I lernt weill, and ever keipit in memorie,

[1] Committing petty thefts, pilfering. [2] Chest. [3] Margin of MS.

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for daylie practise sen syne, these precepts for winning of heartes, concielliating of affectiones, and peacable conversation, quhilk he hes in Cancro from these verses following to the end of the buik:—

Quicunque ergo cupit multum dum vivit amari
Aut studeat delectare, aut prodesse, vel in se
Virtutes habeat, quas compelluntur et ipsi
Commendare mali, et quamvis odere, verentur, &c.

Onlie a[1] thing in the end, (quhilk he wald nocht haiff us to lern,) for subtill revenge is nocht Christian, bot yit maist neidfull to be market, it is sa in use in the warld in this our age, and esteimed a mean point of prudence:

Nimirum magna est prudentia vincere blande,
Atque animi ad tempus pressum cœlare dolorem.

Machiavel him selff could nocht haiff prescryvit it sa weill as I haiff knawin it practised in this countrey; and as yit it is working on: God mak us simple as doves, and wyse as serpents! I thank God fra my heart, that maid me to ken it fra my youthe to be war of it, bot nocht to use it, as I bles my Chryst I deteast all revenge as devillrie, and namlie serpentine.

About the spring tyme, my father resolved to keipe my eldar brother at hame withe him, to lern him housbandrie and experience of the warldlie lyff, now almost past from the age of bernheid;[2] and to send me to the scholl againe for a yeir or twa, that therefter he might acquent me also with housbandrie, and prepear for me a roum;[3] and that becaus he nather saw the meanes to mak us attein to sic lerning as we might live upon, nor when we haid gottin it, anie sure interteinment in the countrey for it. Sa I was put to the scholl of Montrose; finding, of God's guid providence, my

[1] One. [2] Childhood. [3] A small farm.

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auld mother, Marjorie Gray, wha parting from hir brother at his mariage, haid taken upe hous and scholl for lasses in Montrose; to hir I was welcome againe as her awin sone. The maister of the scholl, a lerned, honest, kynd man, whom also for thankfulnes I name, Mr Andro Miln;[1] he was verie skilfull and diligent. The first yeir he causit us go throw the Rudiments againe, thairefter enter and pas throw the first part of Grammer of Sebastian; thairwith we hard Phormionem Terentii, and war exerceisd in composition; efter that entered to the second part, and hard thairwith the Georgics of Virgill, and dyvers uther things. I never get a strak of his hand, whowbeit I comitted twa lurd[2] faultes, as it war with fyre and sword: Haiffing the candle in my hand on a wintar night, befor sax hours, in the scholl, sitting in the class, bernlie and negligentlie pleying with the bent,[3] it kendlet sa on fyre, that we haid all ado to put it out with our feit. The uther was being molested by a condisciple, wha cutted the stringes of my pen and ink-horn with his pen-knyff, I minting[4] with my pen-knyff to his legges to fley him; he feared, and lifting now a lag, now the uther,[5] rasht on his lag upon my knyff, and strak him selff a deipe wound in the schin of the lag, quhilk was a quarter of a yeir in curing. In the tyme of the trying of this mater, he saw me sa humble, sa feared, sa greived, yeild sa manie teares, and by fasting and murning in the scholl all day, that he said he could nocht find in his hart to punishe me fordar. Bot my righteus God let me nocht slipe that fault, bot gaiff me a warning, and rememberance what it was to be defyld with blude, whowbeit negligentlie; for within a short space efter I haid causit a cutlar, new com to the town, to polishe and scharpe the sam pen-knyff, and haid bought a pennie-worthe of aples, and cutting and eatting the sam in the Linkes, as I put the cheive[6] in [my] mouthe, I began to lope upe upon a litle sandie bray, haiffing the pen-knyff in my right hand, I fell, and thairwithe strak my selff, miss-

[1] "Minister of Fedresso." Margin of MS. [2] Clumsy, stupid, awkward. Fr. *lourd*. [3] It was usual to strew the floors with rushes or *bent*-grass, in winter, as we use carpets. This custom was also prevalent in England, as well as in foreign countries. [4] Aiming at. [5] Now one leg, now the other. [6] "Shave," or slice.

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ing my wombe, an inche deipe in the inwart syde of the left knie, even to the bean,[1] wherby the æquitie of God's judgment and my conscience strak me sa, that I was the mair war of knyffes all my dayes.

In Montrose was Mr Thomas Andersone, minister, a man of mean gifts, bot of singular guid lyff. God moved him to mark me, and call me often to his chalmer to treat me, when he saw anie guid in me, and to instruct and admonish me utherwayes. He desyrit me ever to rehearse a part of Calvin's Catechisme on the Sabothes at efternoone, because he hard the peiple lyked weill of the clearnes of my voice, and pronuncing with sum feiling; and thairby God moved a godlie honest matron in the town to mak mikle of me thairfor, and called me hir lytle sweit angle. The minister was able to teatche na ofter but annes in the ouk;[2] but haid a godlie honest man reidar,[3] wha read the Scripture distinctlie, and with a religius and devot feilling; wherby I fand my selff movit to giff guid eare, and lern the Stories of Scripture, also to tak plesure in the Psalmes, quhilk he haid almost all by hart, in prose. The Lard of Done, mentioned befor, dwelt oft in the town, and of his charitie interteined a blind man, wha haid a singular guid voice; him he causit the doctor of our scholl teatche the wholl Psalmes in miter, with the tones thairof, and sing tham in the kirk; be heiring of whome I was sa delyted, that I lernit manie of the Psalmes and toones thairof in miter, quhilk I haiff thought ever sen syne a grait blessing and comfort. The exerceise of the ministerie was keipit ouklie then in Montrose, and thair assemblies ordinarlie; quhilk when I saw I was movit to lyk fellon weill[4] of that calling, bot thought it a thing unpossible that ever I could haiff the abilitie to stand upe and speak when all helde thair toung and luiked, and to continow speaking alean[5] the space of an houre. Ther was also ther a post,[6] that frequented Edinbruche, and brought ham Psalme buikes and ballates; namlie, of Robert Semple's making, wherin I tuik pleasour, and lernit sum

[1] Bone. [2] Once in the week. [3] "Jhone Beatie." Margin of MS.
[4] Extremely well. This word was in frequent use as a superlative. [5] Alone.
[6] A carrier or messenger. "John Finheavin." Margin of MS.

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thing bathe of the esteat of the countrey, and of the missours and cullors of Scottes ryme. He schew me first Wedderburn's Songs, wharof I lerned diverse *par ceur*, with great diversitie of toones. He frequented our scholl, and of him also I lerned to understand the Calender, efter the commoun use thairof.

And, finalie, I receavit the comunion of the bodie and blud of the Lord Jesus Chryst first at Montrose, with a graitter reverence and sence, in my saull, then oft thairefter I could find, in the 13 year of my age; whar, coming from the table, a guid honest man, ane eldar of the kirk,[1] gaiff me an admonition concerning lightnes, wantonnes, and nocht takin tent[2] to the preatching and word read, and prayers, quhilk remeaned with me ever sen syne. Sa God maid everie persone, place, and action, to be my teatchers; bot, alas! I used tham never sa fruitfullie, as the guid occasiones servit, bot was caried away in vanitie of mynd with young and fullishe conceattes, quhilk is the heavie challange of my conscience. The tyme of my being in Montrose was about twa yeirs, during the quhilk the comoun newes that I hard was of the grait praises of the government; and, in end, the heavie mean[3] and pitiful regrat, amangs men in all esteatts, for the traiterus murdour of James Earl of Murro, called the Guid Regent, anent the quhilk, sie the 19 book of the fornamed Cornicle.[4]

M.D.LXXI.

The esteat of Montrose schol changit, be occasion of the master's taking of him to the ministerie, I cam hame to Baldowy about the Lambes,[5] *in anno* 1571. The fourtein yeir of my age, now expyred, whar my father setts me about the hervest-labour, wherin I haid litle pleasour; for whowbeit I spendit nocht the tyme sa fructfullie as I might at scholl, yet I lyked the schollar's lyff best; bot my father held us in sic aw, that we durst nocht reasone with him, bot his will was neidfull obedience to us. Sa to the glorie of my God, I re-

[1] "Richart Andersone, brother to the former, Mr Thomas Andersone." Margin of MS. [2] Not bestowing attention. [3] Moaning, lamentation. [4] Alluding to Buchanan's History, quoted above. [5] Lammas, 1st August.

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member a certean day my father send me to the smeddy[1] for dressing of hewkes[2] and sum yron instruments, the way lying hard by Marie-kirk, wherin my father pretched, I begoude[3] to weirie soar of my lyff; and as my coustome haid bein fra my bernheid to pray in my hart, and mein my esteat to my God, coming fornent the kirk, and luiking to it, the Lord steirit upe an extraordinar motion in my hart, quhilk maid me atteans, being alean,[4] to fall on gruiff[5] to the ground, and pour out a schort and ernest petition to God, that it wald please his guidnes to offer occasion to continow me at the scholles, and inclyne my father's hart till use the saming;[6] with promise and vow, that whatever missour of knawlage and letters he wold bestow on me, I sould, by his grace, imploy the saming for his glorie in the calling of the ministerie; and rysing from the ground with joy and grait contentment in hart, again fell downe and worschipped, and sa past on and did the earand, retourning and praising my God, singing sum Psalmes. Within a few dayes thairefter, Mr James Melvill, my uncle, comes to Baldowy, and brings with him a godlie lernit man, named Mr Wilyeam Collace, wha was that sam yeir to tak upe the class as first regent of St Leonard's Collage, within the Universitie of St Andros; efter conference with whome that night, God moves my father's hart to resolve to send me that sam yeir to the Collage. Trew it was, I was bot weaklie groundit in grammar, and young of yeirs; yit the lovingnes of the gentleman, and promise of the benefeit of a bursare's place, and of taking peanes on me, maid the mater to go fordwart; wherof, when I was informed be my said uncle, and haid sein and spoken a lytle with the man, Rebecca was never blyther to go with the servant of Abraham, nor I was to go with him. And trewlie this finding of God, at a neid, was the beginning of a ritche treassour of the pruiff of his providence, mercie, and grace, continowallie increassing sen syne, that I wald nocht giff for ten thowsand warlds.

Sa I cam to St Androis about the first of November, in the forsaid yeir 1571, and enterit in the course of Philosophie, under the

[1] Smithy. [2] Reaping hooks, sickles. [3] Began. [4] At once, being alone. [5] Prostrate. [6] Same.

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regenterie of the said Mr Wilyeam, wha haid the estimation of the maist solide and lernit in Aristotle's Philosophie. And first hard under him Cassander his Rhetorik; but at the beginning, nather being weill groundet in grammer, nor com to the yeirs of naturall judgment and understanding, I was cast in sic a greiff and dispear, because I understood nocht the regent's langage in teatching, that I did nathing bot bursted and grat[1] at his lessones, and was of mynd to haiff gone ham agean, war nocht the luiffing cear of that man comforted me, and tuik me in his awin chalmer, causit me ly with him selff, and everie night teatched me in privat, till I was acquented with the mater.[2] Then he gaiff us a compend of his awin of Philosophi and the partes thairof; of Dialectik, of Definition, of Division, of Enunciation, and of a Syllogisme Enthymen, and Induction, &c.; quhilk I thought I understuid better. About the quhilk tyme my father coming to the town, begoude[3] to examine me, and finding sum beginning was exceidinglie rejoysit, and uttered sweittar affection to me then ever before. He interteined my regent verie hartlie in his ludging, and gaiff him grait thanks. He send me to him, efter he haid taken leive, with twa piece of gold in a neapkine; bot the gentleman was sa honest and loving, that he wald haiff non of his gold, but with austere countenance send me bak with it, na never wald receave gold nor silver all the tyme of my course. We enterit in the Organ of Aristotle's Logics that yeir, and lernit till the Demonstrations. He haid a lytle boy that servit him in his chamber, called David Elistone, wha, amangs threttie-and-sax schollars in number, (sa manie war we in the class,) was the best. This boy he causit weat on me, and confer with me; whase ingyne and judgment past me als far in the wholl course of philosophie, as the aigle the howlet.[4] In the multiplication of Propositiones, Medalles, Conversion of Syllogismes, Pons Asinorum, etc., he was als read as I was in telling an-and-threttie. This I mark for a speciall cause of thankfulnes following.

[1] Sobbed and wept. [2] "We hard the Oration, Pro Rege Deiotaro." Margin of MS. [3] Began. [4] As the eagle the owl.

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Bot of all the benefites I haid that yeir was the coming of that maist notable profet and apostle of our nation, Mr Jhone Knox, to St Androis; wha, be the faction of the Quein occupeing the castell and town of Edinbruche, was compellit to remove thairfra with a number of the best, and chusit to com to St Androis. I hard him teatche ther the prophecie of Daniel that simmer, and the wintar following. I haid my pen and my litle book, and tuk away sic things as I could comprehend. In the opening upe of his text he was moderat the space of an halff houre; bot when he enterit to application, he maid me sa to grew[1] and tremble, that I could nocht hald a pen to wryt. I hard him oftymes utter these thretenings in the hicht of their pryde, quhilk the eis of monie saw cleirlie brought to pass within few yeirs upon the Captean of that Castle, the Hamiltones, and the Quein hir selff. He ludgit down in the Abbay besyde our Collage; and our [Primarius, Mr James Wilkie, our[2]] Regents, Mr Nicol Dalgleise, Mr Wilyeam Colace, and Mr Jhone Davidsone, went in ordinarlie to his grace efter denner and soupper. Our Regent taried all the vacans[3] to heir him, whowbeit he haid urgent effeares of his brother-sonnes to handle, to whom he was tutor. Mr Knox wald sum tymes com in and repose him in our Collage yeard, and call us schollars unto him and bless us, and exhort us to knaw God and his wark in our contrey, and stand be the guid cause, to use our tyme weill, and lern the guid instructiones, and follow the guid exemple of our maisters. Our haill Collage, maisters and schollars, war sound and zelus for the guid cause. The uther twa Collages nocht sa; for in the New Collage, whowbeit Mr Jhone Dowglass, then Rector, was guid aneuche; the thrie uther maisters and sum of the Regentes war evill myndit, viz. Mrs Robert, Archbald and Jhone Hamiltons, (wharof the last twa becam efter apostates,) hated Mr Knox and the guid cause; and the Commissar, Mr Wilyeam Skein, could nocht lyk weill of his doctrine. The Auld Collage was rewlit be Mr Jhon Ruther-

[1] Shudder. [2] Margin of MS. [3] Vacation.

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furd, then Dean of Facultie, a [man lernit in philosophie, bot[1]] invyus, corrupt. This I mark for the setting furthe of the benefit I receavit in the Collage and companie I was into. The public newes I hard that yeir was of the Engliss armie that cam in under the conduct of Mr Druri, and brunt and slew throuchout Cliddisdall and all the dominiones of the Hamiltons, for the slauchter of the Guid Regent. They brunt the castell, and palice, and town of Hamiltone, and caried away grait pray; they wracked all the Bordars wast and est, and tuik the castell of Hume. Also Mathew Stewart, Erle of Lennox, was schosine Regent, wha that hervest cam to Breachine, beseigit the castell thairof, haldin be the suddarts[2] of the Erl of Hountlie, compellet tham to rander, and hangit threttie thairof, quhilk was callit "the Bourde of Breachine."

[This yeir, in the monethe of July, Mr Jhone Davidsone, an of our Regents, maid a play at the mariage of Mr Jhone Colvin, quhilk I saw playit in Mr Knox presence; wherin, according to Mr Knox doctrin, the Castle of Edinbruche was beseiged, takin, and the Captan, with an or twa with him, hangit in effigie.[3]]

M.D.LXXII.

The second yeir of my course, we hard the Demonstrations, the Topiks, and the Sophist Captiones. And the Primarius,[4] a guid, peacable, sweit auld man, wha luiffed me weill, teached the four speaces of the Arithmetik, and sum thing of the Sphere; bot the graittest benefit I had of him was his daylie doctrine at the prayers in the kirk, everie morning; for he past throw the twa buiks of Samuel, and twa of the Kings, very pleanlie and substantiuslie, quhilk I rememberit the better ever since. He causit sing comounlie the 44 and 79 Psalmes, quhilk I lernit *par ceur*, for that was the yeir of the bludie massacres in France, and grait troubles in this countrey, the warres betwix Leithe and Edinbruche being verie hat. The Castel of Dumbarten was notablie tean,[5] and Jhone Hamilton, Bischope of St Androis, hangit.

[1] Margin of MS. [2] Soldiers. [3] Supplied on margin of MS.
[4] "Mr James Wilkie." Margin of MS. [5] Taken.

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In the monethe of August, "the Blak Parliament" of Stirling haldin,[1] whar the second Regent was slean, in Wolmistones armes, &c., vide Buchan. Chro.[2]

M.D.LXXIII.

The thrid yeir of our course, we hard the fyve buikis of the Ethiks, with the aught buikis of the Physiks, [and *De Ortu et Interitu.*[3]] That yeir we haid our Bachlar art, according to the solemnities then used of declamations, banqueting, and playes. And in the mean tyme thairof, my father maried my said eldest sistar Isbell, and second, Marjorie, bathe on a day; bot efter that festing, we gat hard newes of the defeat of the Forbesses at the Crabstean, besyd Aberdein.

M.D.LXXIV.

The fourt and last yeir of our course, quhilk was the 17 yeir of my age outpast, and 18 rinning, we lerned the buikis de Cœlo and Mateors, also the Spher, more exactlie teachit be our awin Regent, and maid us for our Vicces and Blakstens, and haid at Pace[4] our promotion and finissing of our course. The beginning of this yeir was also maist dulfull to me, by the departour of my deirest sistar Isbell, wha died of hir first bern; in whom I lossit my naturall mother the second tyme.

[The ordour of four kirks to a minister, then maid be the Erl of Morton, now maid Regent; against the quhilk Mr Jhone Davidsone, an of the Regents of our Collage, maid a buik called the "Conference betwix the Clark and the Courtieur;" for the quhilk he was summoned befor the Justice-ear at Hadinton this wintar, the last of our course, and banisched the cowntrey.[5]]

In the thrid and fourt yeirs of my course, at the direction of my father, I hard the Comissar, Mr Wilyeam Skein, teatche Cicero de Legibus, and divers partes of the Institutiones of Justinian. I was

[1] "The parliament was haldin in August 1571, before I cam to the Universitie." Margin of MS. [2] Buchanan's History of Scotland. [3] Margin. [4] Pøsch, Easter. [5] This paragraph is also supplied from the margin of the MS.

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burdet in the hous of a man of law, a very guid honest man, Andro Greine be nam, wha lovit me exceiding weill; whase wyff also was ane of my mothers. I am sure sche haid nocht sone nor bern sche loved better. This lawier tuk me to the Consistorie with him, whar the Comissar wald tak pleasour to schaw us the practise, in judgment, of that quhilk he teatched in the scholles. He was a man of skill and guid conscience in his calling, lernit and diligent in his profession, and tuk delyt in na thing mair nor to repeat ower and ower again to anie schollar that wald ask him the thingis he haid bein teatching. Lykwayes my ost, Andro, acquentit me with the formes of summonds and lybelling, of contracts, obligatiounes, actes, &c.; but my hart was nocht sett that way.

Mairower, in these yeirs I lerned my music, wherin I tuk graitter delyt, of an[1] Alexander Smithe, servant to the Primarius of our Collage, wha haid been treaned upe amangis the mounks in the Abbay. I lerned of him the gam, plean-song,[2] and monie of the treables of the Psalmes, wherof sum I could weill sing in the kirk; bot my naturalitie and easie lerning by the ear maid me the mair unsolide and unreadie to use the forme of the art. I lovit singing and playing on instruments passing weill, and wald gladlie spend tyme whar the exerceise thairof was within the Collage; for twa or thrie of our condisciples played fellon weill on the virginals, and another on the lut and githorn. Our Regent haid also the pinalds[3] in his chalmer, and lernit some thing, and I eftir him; bot perceaving me ower mikle caried efter that, he dishanted and left of. It was the grait mercie of my God that keipit me from anie grait progress in singing and playing on instruments; for, giff I haid atteined to anie reasonable missure thairin, I haid never don guid utherwayes, in respect of my amorus disposition, wherby Sathan sought even then to deboiche me; bot my God gaiff me a piece of his fear, and grait naturall shamfastness, quhilk by his grace war my preservatives. Als I haid my necessars honestlie aneuche of my father, bot nocht els; for archerie and goff, I haid bow, arrose, glub and bals, but nocht a

[1] One. [2] The gamut and plain-song or tenor. [3] The spinet. Fr. *espinet*.

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purs for catchpull[1] and tavern; sic was his fatherlie wisdom for my weill. Yit now and then I lernit and usit sa mikle bathe of the hand and racket catche as might serve for moderat and halsome exerceise of the body.

I wald haiff gladlie bein at the Greik and Hebrew toungs, because I red in our Byble that it was translated out of Hebrew and Greik; bot the langages war nocht to be gottine in the land. Our Regent begoud and teatched us the A, B, C, of the Greik, and the simple declintiones, bot went no farder. Be that occasion he tauld me of my uncle Mr Andro Melvill, whom he knew in the tyme of his course in the New Collage to use the Greik Logics of Aristotle; quhilk was a wounder to tham that he was sa fyne a schollar, and of sic expectation. This maid me inquyre for Mr Andro, when I cam ham, the second and thrid yeir of our course; bot my father and Mr James schew me they fearit he was dead, because of the grait civill warres in France, and that they hard he was in Poictears beseiged; that it was aught or nyne yeirs sen he past to France, and four or fyve yeirs sen they gat anie letters or word from him. This twitched my hart wounder soar, in respect of the grait comendation I hard of him be my Regent and diverse uthers. Bot soon efter, about the middes of our thrid yeir, Alexander Young cam ham from Genev, from his uncle, and my neir kinsman, Mr Henrie Scrymgour, of honourable memorie, with sum propynes[2] to the King, and letters to Mr George Bowchanan and Mr Piter Young, that an the King's maister, that uther his pædagog; and amangs the rest brought letters from the said Mr Andro to my father, and his brother Mr James; and thairwithall word of his weilfear and singular estimation in Genev, whar he haid four yeirs professit. Of these newes my hart was exceiding glade, and the said Alexander being with all diligence to return againe to Genev, I haid a letter in readines pennit at lainthe in Latin, the best I could, quhilk I delyverit to my cowsing Alexander, wha within a twa monethes put it in the hands of my said uncle Mr Andro. And he tauld me at meitting,

[1] Also termed *catch-peill*, a sort of game of tennis or rackets. [2] Presents.

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and oft sen syne, it was a speciall motion of his ham-coming, then the quhilk, I, nor Scotland nather, receavit never a graitter benefit of the hands of God, as will better appeir heirefter.

Bot because, in all my course, the graittest benefit was the sight and heiring of that extraordinar man of God, Mr Jhone Knox; sa far as I then knew and hard of him, I man heir record. In the tyme of his being in St Androis, ther was a General Assemblie hauldin in the scholles of St Leonards, our Collage. Thair, amangs uther things, was motioned the making of Bischopes; to the quhilk Mr Knox opponit him selff directlie and zealuslie. Yit a number of Comissionars of the Kirk, meatt at Leithe,[1] with the Lords that haid the guid caus in hand, (wharof everie ane was hounting for a fatt kirk leiving, quhilk gart them feght the fastar,) and ther aggreit to mak Bischopes; the warst turn that ever was done for the kirk leiving, as experience atteanes declared, when they war named "Tulchains," that is, calffs' skinnes stuffed with stra, to cause the cow giff milk; for everie lord gat a bischoprie, and sought and presented to the kirk sic a man as wald be content with least, and sett tham maist of fewes, takes,[2] and pensiones. Amangs the rest, the Erle of Mortoun gat the bischoprik of St Androis, efter the hanging of Jhone Hamiltone; and presented therunto that honorable father of the Universitie, as Rector thairof for the present, Mr Jhone Dowglass, a guid, upright-harted man, bot ambitius and simple, nocht knawing wha delt with him. I hard Mr Knox speak against it, bot sparinglie, because he lovit the man; and with regrat, saying, "Alas! for pitie, to lay upone an auld weak man's back that quhilk twentie of the best gifts could nocht bear. It will wrak him and disgrace him!" And, indeid, it cam to pass sa; for within twa or thrie yeirs he died; during the quhilk he haid nather that honour, welthe, nor helthe, as he was wount to haiff, ever repenting that he tuk it on. That was the first tyme I hard Mr Patrik Constantine, wha, then new retourned out of France with young Mr James Macgill, the Clark Register eldest sone, thought, be the said Clark's

[1] "The Conference at Leithe was in Januare; and the General Assemblie in Merche therefter, 1571." Margin of MS. [2] Tacks, leases.

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court, wha was grait with the Erle of Mortoun, to haiff bein preferrit to the bischoprik, bot coming schort, becam a zealus preatchour against Bischopes. I hard a sermont of his the ouk efter the Bischope was maid, upon ane extraordinar day, that he might haiff the graitter audience; wherin he maid thrie sorts of Bischoppes: My Lord Bischop, My Lord's Bischop, and The Lord's Bischope. "My Lord Bischope," said he, "was in the Papistrie: My Lord's Bischope is now, when my Lord getts the benefice, and the Bischope serves for na thing bot to mak his tytle sure: And The Lord's Bischope is the trew Minister of the Gospell." Mr Patrik was then weill lyked, and of guid expectation with sic as knew him nocht intus.[1] The yeir efter was maid Bischope, Geordie of Murro, whom I saw a haill wintar mumling on his pretching af his peapers everie day at our morning prayers; and haid it nocht weill *par ceur* when all was done: And efter him, Bischope Patone of Dunkell.[2] This greivit the hart of the man of God to the dead; bot the warres war sa hatt, and the Lords cryed they behud[3] to leave tham, giff they gatt nocht the kirk leiving; and monie knew nocht yit the corruption and unlawfulness of that invention of men, and sa the mater past fordwart.

At Mr Knox coming to St Androis, Robert Lekprivik, printar, transported his lettres and press from Edinbruch to St Androis, whar first I saw that excellent art of printing; and haid then in hand Mr Patrik Constant's Catechisme of Calvin, converted in Latin heroic vers, quhilk with the author was mikle estimed of.

About the sam tyme cam to St Androis, to visit Mr Knox, Jhone Durie, fellow minister of Leith with Mr David Lindsay, wha was then for stoutness and zeall in the guid cause mikle renouned and talked of. For the gown was na sooner af, and the Byble out of hand [fra the kirk,[4]] when on ged[5] the corslet, and fangit was the hagbot,[6] and to the fields! Him I saw first at St Androis with Mr Knox.

[1] Inwardly, thoroughly, intimately. [2] "I saw them bathe gett imposition of hands be B. Douglas and Mr Jhon Woundrom, Superintendent, whom I saw inaugarat (as they cald it) B. Douglas." Margin of MS. [3] Behoved. [4] Taken from the margin of MS. [5] Went. [6] The hagbut was snatched up.

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The town of Edinbruche recovered againe, and the guid and honest men therof retourned to thair housses. Mr Knox with his familie past hame to Edinbruche. Being in St Androis he was verie weak. I saw him everie day of his doctrine go hulie and fear, with a furring of martriks about his neck, a staff in the an hand, and guid godlie Richart Ballanden, his servand, halding upe the uther oxtar, from the Abbay to the paroche kirk; and be the said Richart and another servant, lifted upe to the pulpit, whar he behovit to lean at his first entrie; bot or he haid done with his sermont, he was sa active and vigorus that he was lyk to ding that pulpit in blads, and fly out of it! Sa, soone efter his coming to Edinbruche, he becam unable to preatche; and sa instituting in his roum, be the ordinar calling of the kirk and congregation, Mr James Lawsone, [a man of singular learning, zeal, and eloquence, whom I never hard preatche bot he meltit my hart with teares,[1]] he tuk him to his chamber, and most happelie and comfortablie departed this lyff. Vide concerning his lyff and dathe, Mr Thomas Smeton's buik against Hamiltone the Apostat.

Ther was twa in St Androis wha war his aydant heirars, and wrot his sermonts; an, my condisciple, Mr Andro Yowng, now minister of Dumblean, wha transleated sum of tham in Latin, and read tham in the hall of the Collage in stead of his orations: that uther was servant to Mr Robert Hamilton, minister of the town, whom Mr Robert causit to wrait, for what end God knawes. The threatnings of his sermonts war verie soar; and sa particular, that sic as lyket nocht the cause, tuk occasion to reprotche him as a rashe raler, without warrand. And Mr Robert Hamilton himselff being offendit, conferrit with Mr Knox, asking his warrand of that particular thretning against the Castel of Edinbruche, that it sould rin lyk a sand-glass; it sould spew out the Captan with scham; he sould nocht com out at the yet, bot down ower the walles; and sic lyk. Mr Knox answerit, "God is my warrant, and yie sall sie it." Whill as the uther was skarslie satisfeit, and tuk hardlie with it, the nixt

[1] This has been afterwards added by the Author on the margin of the MS.

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sermont from pulpit, he repeates the thretnings, and addes therto, "Thow, that will nocht beleive my warrand, sall sie it with thy eis that day; and sall say, What haif I to do heir?" This sermont the said Mr Robert's servand wrot; and, being with his maister in Edinbruche a twa yeir thairefter, at the taking of the Castell, they ged[1] upe to the Castell-hill, saw the forwark of the Castell all demolished, and rinning lyk a sandie bray; they saw the men of wear all sett in ordour; the Captan, with a lytle cut of a staff in his hand, takin doun ower the wall upon the leathers;[2] and Mr Robert, troublet with the thrang of the peiple, sayes to his man, "Go, what haif I ado heir?" And, in going away, the servant remembers his maister of that sermont, and the words; wha was compellit to glorifie God, and say, he was a trew prophet.

Ane uther strange particular was recompted to me be Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leithe: That efter Mr Knox haid taken bed, he cam in to visit him, as he was accustomed, and asked him whow he did? He answerit, "Weill, brother, I thank God. I haiff desyrd all this day to haif yow, that I may send yow yit to yon man in the Castell, whom yie ken I haif loved sa deirlie: Go, I pray, and tell him that I haif send yow to him, yit annes,[3] to warn and bid him, in the nam of God, leave that evill cause, and giff ower that Castle; giff nocht, he salbe brought down ower the wals of it with shame, and hing against the sune: Sa God has assurit me." Mr David, whowbeit he thought the message hard, and the thretning ower[4] particular, yit obeyit, and past to the Castell; and meiting with Sir Robert Melvill walkin on the wall, tauld him; wha was, as he thought, mikle movit with the mater. Therefter communed with the Captan, whom he thought also sumwhat moved; but he past from him to the Secretar Lithintone, with whom, when he haid conferrit a whyll, he cam out to Mr David again, and said to him, "Go, tell Mr Knox he is bot a drytting prophet!" Mr David returning, tauld Mr Knox he haid dischargit the commission fathfullie; but that it was nocht weill accepted of, efter the Captan haid conferrit with the Secretar. "Weill," (sayes Mr Knox,) "I

[1] Went. [2] Ladders. [3] Yet once more. [4] Over, too.

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haif bein ernest with my God anent tha twa men; for the an I am sorie that sa sould befall him, yit God assures me ther is mercie for his saul; for that uther I haif na warrand that ever he salbe weill." Mr David sayes, he thought it hard, yit keipit it in mynd till Mr Knox was at rest with God.

The Engliss armie cam in, with munition meit for the seage of the Castell; and within few dayes the Captean is sean to rander, and com down the leathers ower the wall. He is committed to a ludging in the town with a custodie of souldarts.[1] Mr David, because of grait acquentance, comes to visit him, whom he employes to go to the Erle of Morton, and offer him his haill heritage, the band of manrent of all his frinds, and to pass af the countrie in exyll, during his will. Mr David goes that night and speakes the Erle, then being Regent, proponing to him the offers. The Regent goes asyde, and consultes with the Abbot of Dumfermling and Clark Register; thairefter Mr David comes, craving his answer. It was giffen, It could nocht be: The peiple could nocht be satisfeit, nor ther cause clerit and crowned, with[out] exemplar punishment of that man and his counsellour, the Secretar. Mr David the morn, be nyne hours, comes agean to the Captean, the Lard of Grange, and taking him to ane fore stare of the ludgin apart, resolves him it behoved him to suffer. "O then, Mr David," sayes he, "for our auld frindschipe, and for Chryst's seak, leave me nocht!" So he remeanes with him, wha paecing up and down a whyll, cam to a schot, and seeing the day fear, the sune cleir, and a scaffald preparing at the Corss in the Hie-geatt,[2] he falles in a grait studie, and alteris countenance and cullour; quhilk, when Mr David perceaved, he cam to him, and asked him what he was doing? "Fathe, Mr David," sayes [he,] "I perceave weill now that Mr Knox was the trew servant of God, and his thretning is to be accomplissed;" and desyred to heir the treuthe of that againe. The quhilk Mr David rehersed; and added thairunto, that the sam Mr Knox, at his retourning, haid tauld him that he was ernest with God for him; was sorie, for the

[1] Under a guard of soldiers.

[2] At the Cross, in the High Street.

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love he buir him, that that sould com on his bodie, bot was assurit ther was mercie for his saull. The quhilk he wald haiff repeated ower againe to him; and thairupon was graitlie comforted, and becam to be of guid and cheirfull cowrage. Sa that he dyned moderatlie; and thairefter tuk Mr David apart, for his streinthning to suffer that dethe; and in end beseikes him nocht to leave him, bot convoy him to the place of execution: "And tak heid," sayes he, "I hope in God, efter I salbe thought past,[1] to giff yow a taken[2] of the assurance of that mercie to my saull, according to the speakine of that man of God!" Sa, about thrie houres efter none, he was brought out, and Mr David with him; and about foure, the sune being wast about af the north-west nuk of the steiple, he was put af the leddar, and his face first fell to the est; bot within a bonie whyll[3] turned about to the west, and ther remeaned against the sune: At quhilk tyme, Mr David, ever present, sayes, he marked him, when all thought he was away,[4] to lift upe his hands that war bund befor him, and ley tham doun again softlie; quhilk moved him, with exclamation, to glorifie God befor all the peiple. This last part of his execution I hard also of Jhone Durie, wha was present with him on the scaffald.

Sa, in lyk maner, whatever he spak concerning the Hamiltones and the Quein, whowbeit in appeirance, in the mean tyme, bot contrar, and monie guid folks thought hard and strange, yit cam to pass, and was marked in particular to the grait gloric of God, terrour of the enemies, and joy of the godlie.

Thus, ending my course of Philosophie in St Androis, whar upon the part of God I haid offerit to me all guid occasion of godlines, lerning, and wesdome, sa mikle as was in the countrey for the tyme, [and might fall in my age;[5]] bot on my part, wha throw wantones and vanitie neglected and mispent the occasiones, haid gottin na thing bot a nam and opinion of lerning, a babling of words without wit, at least wesdome: For my light young nature was giffen mair to

[1] After his spirit had passed away. [2] To give you a token or sign. [3] A considerable time. [4] Dead. [5] Added on margin of the MS.

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be superficiall nor solid, circumferentiall nor centrik, desyring to heir and haiff the names of manie things, bot never weill degesting nor ryping out the nature of anie, bot fleiting and flowing, soon lyking and soon lothing everie thing. Onlie now and then I fand sum sweit and constant motiones of the feir and love of God within me.

I cam to Dondie, whar my uncle Roger, a man godlie, kynd, and wyse, enterit with me to understand to what calling my hart inclyned; and gaiff out that my father's intention was to haiff me a lawer. I said nocht mikle against it, bot wissed at God I might haiff the gifts and grace to be a minister. Coming ham, my father tented[1] me in the sam maner, bot nocht sa familiarlie; nather durst I utter anie thing against his opinion and judgment, bot said I was readie to obey his will and direction in all things. He commandit me then to occupie my tyme weill amangs his books till the vacans, at what tyme he wald haiff occasion to meit with sum guid man of law in Edinbruche, to whom he wald put me in service. Giff sa he meinde, indeid, because he saw na provision for the ministerie, or to essay my resolution, I can nocht tell. Going a[2] day to Bonitone, I past by the Kirk of Maritone and place wher I haid prayed, and vowed to God: the sam cam in my memorie, with a grait motion of mynd and determination to pay my vow, giff God wald giff the grace and moyen. Sa, praying and worschiping befor God, it cam in my mynd to pen a sermont upon a part of Scripture, and leave it in a buik of my father, whar he might find it; and sa I tuk the beginning of the nynt of Jhone's Evangell, of the blind man, and studeing his comentares thairon, Musculus and Marlorot, wrot it and left it in Musculus' Comentars; quhilk, when he fand it, lyked him weill; yit spak na thing, bot left me in suspence till it pleasit God to giff me full resolution. For, a lytle befor Lambes,[3] word cam that Mr Andro was com to Edinbruche, and within twentie dayes efter he cam to Baldowy; with whom when my father had conferit, and knawin what opinion he haid of me, he delyverit me ower unto

[1] Tried. [2] One. [3] Lammas; the feast of St Peter *ad vinculas*.

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him, thinking he was disburdenit of me; and sa indeid he was, as the continuation of this narrative will declar. This was in the yeir of God 1574.

Because I said befor, that Scotland receavit never a graitter benefit at the hands of God nor this man, I will schortlie sett down, first, a litle discours of his lyff befor his coming ham, and syne[1] what he brought with him. He was born in Baldowy, a place pleasand, fertill, and weill aired, lyand within a myll to the town of Montrose, upon the south-west, hard be the "Æstuarium fluminis Æskæ meridionalis," in the yeir of Chryst's birthe 1545, the first day of the monethe August, begottin of gentill and honest parents, Richard Melvill of Baldowy, brother-german of Jhone Melvill of Dysart, and Gills Abercrombie, douchter to Thomas Abercrombie, burgess of Montrose, of the house of Murthle. He was the youngest of nyne breither, all left alyve when thair father was slean with the graittest part of the gentilmen of Anguss, in the vangard of the field of Pinkie. His mother leivit[2] an honorable weidow till he was twall yeir of age, traned upe in letters in the scoll of Montrose, under Mr Thomas Andersone, esteimed the best maister in his tyme, whowbeit nocht the maist lernit. Sche left sax of hir sonnes in honest roumes;[3] all, even then or schortlie thairefter, bearing office in kirk or comoun weill, and with the best estimed in thair rank and above. They war, Richart Melvill of Baldowy, and minister of Chryst's Evangell sone efter, the eldest: Mr Thomas, a fyne schollar, weill travelit in France and Italie, Secretar-deput of Scotland: Walter, burgess, and oft bailyie of Montrose, a wyse and stout man: Roger, burgess of Dondie, a man of singular giftes of nature and God's grace, bot was nocht traned upe in lettres. I hard that fathfull pastor of Dondie, Wilyeam Chrystisone, a lytle efter his deathe, with teares say, "Alas! when God tuk this Roger Melvill, he tuk from me my father, and the carefulest father that ever Dondie haid. His nam wilbe rememberit sa lang as Dondie

[1] Then. [2] Lived. [3] Respectable situations.

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is a town."[1] Mr James, minister of Chryst's Evangell: Jhone, then guidman and rewlar of his mother's effeares, and efter a minister in the kirk: the rest war Robert, David, and Andro; wharof the first twa was keipt at the scholl till they tyrde, and war put to craftis; the last was a seiklie tender boy, and tuk pleasur in na thing sa mikle as his buik. Sa with the portion that was left him, he spendit a yeir or twa in Montrose, namlie, heiring a France man, called Petrus de Marsiliers, teache the Greik grammer, and sum thing of that language, honestlie conducit to the sam as a rare thing in the countrey, nocht hard of befor, be that notable instrument in the kirk, Jhone Erskine of Done, of most honourable and happie memorie; wherin he profited sa, that entering thairefter in the course of Philosophie within the Universitie of St Androis, all that wes teatched of Aristotle he lerned and studeit it out of the Greik text, quhilk his maisters understud nocht. He past his cuirse[2] in the New Collage, tenderlie belovit of Mr Johne Dowglass, provost of that Collage and rectour of the Universitie; wha wald tak him betuix his legges at the fyre in wintar, and warm his hands and cheiks, and blessing him, say, "My sillie fatherles and motherles chyld, it's ill to wit what God may mak of thie yit!"

Sa, ending his course of Philosophie, he left the Universitie of St Androis with the commendation of the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian, of anie young maister in the land; and with all possible diligence maid his preparation, and past to France. Be the way he was extreamlie tormented with sie-seiknes and storme of wather, sa that oft tymes, whylls be danger of schipwrak, whylls be infirmitie and seiknes, he luiked for deathe. He arryvit first in England, and again imbarking cam to Burdeaux, wher he taried nocht lang, bot embarking from that cam to Deipe; from that to Paris, whar he remeanit in the Universitie twa yeiris at his awin studies, heiring the lightes[3] of the maist scyning age in all guid lettres, the king's pub-

[1] "I haiff hard Mr Robert Bruce say oft of Roger, that giff he haid haid Mr Andro's lerning, he wald be the oddest man in Europe." Margin of MS. [2] Course. [3] "Salinacus, Pascasius, Forcatellus, Mathematiciens; Balduinus the lawer, Duretus Mediciner; Carpantarius, Quinquarborius, Hebrew." Margin of MS.

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lict professors, Andreas Tornebus in Greik and Latine Humanitie; Petrus Ramus in Philosophie and Eloquence; Jo. Mercerus in the Hebrew langage, wherupon he was specialie sett. In the last yeir of they twa, he grew sa expert in the Greik, that he declamit and teatchit lessones, uttering never a word bot Greik, with sic readines and plentie, as was mervelus to the heirars. From Paris he past to Poicteors, whar he regented in the Collage of St Marcean thrie yeirs.[1] Ther he haid the best lawers, and studeit sa mikle thairof as might serve for his purpose, quhilk was Theologie, wherto he was dedicat from his mother's wombe. And when the Collages war giffen upe, because of the seage leyed to the town, quhilk was lang and feirfull, he was employed be an honourable councellar to instruct his onlie sone. The bern profited exceiding weill, and was of a sweit inclination, takin away from him and his parents be a schot out of the campe, quhilk parted the wall of his chalmer, and wounded him deadlie in the thie. He called incontinent for his maister, whom whow soone he saw, he caucht him in his armes, and uttered the words of the Apostle in Greik, διδασκαλε, τὸν δρομον μου τετεληκα, "Maister, I haiff perfyted my course!" and sa, with monie uther godlie and sweit words, he died. That bern gaed never out of his hart; bot in teatching of me, he often rememberit him with tender compassion of mynd. He taried in that hous, quhilk was weill furnesit, during the tyme of the seadge. Ther was a corporall with a few suddarts put to keipe the house, who espyed him in his prayers and speitches to be halie and devot; and on[2] day, (being a Papist and man of warr,) with a grait aithe he challengit Mr Andro that he was a Hugonot, and wald helpe to betray the town; thairfor, because the alarme was strikken, he could nocht trust him in that hous. Mr Androw answers incontinent, "I am als honest a man to my God, and magistrat, and estat of the town, and maister of this familie, as thow art; and sa sall prove this day—do thy

[1] "Ther was grait emulation and contention in verses, and harangs betuix the twa Collages, S. Marcean and Pivareau; bot during his presence ther, S. Marcean haid without question the upper hand." Margin of MS. [2] One.

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best!" And with that starts to the nixt armour, and on with it; and all in armes to the stable, and takes the best horse be the heid. This when the corporall saw, he comes with fellon fear termes,[1] and intreats him to leave of and forgiff him. "O no, no!" sayes he, "I sall prove als honest and stout as thy selff." "O Monsieur," sayes the uther, "my captean and the maister of this hous will rebuk me and put me from it, giff yie be thus troublet; thairfor I pray yow tak me oblesit to my uttermaist, and tarie and forgiff me." Sa he tuk ease in guid part, and was never troublet thairefter. Giff it haid com to the warst, he was resolved, being weill horst, to haiff gottin him to the campe of the Admirall, wha was in persone beseageand the town.

The seage of the town being rasit, he left Poicteors, and accompanied with a Frenche man, he tuk jorney to Genev, leaving buikis and all ther, and caried na thing with him bot a litle Hebrew Byble in his belt. So he cam to Genev all upon his fut, as he haid done befor from Deipe to Paris, and from that to Poicteors; for he was small and light of body, but full of sprites, vigourus and cowragius. His companiones of the way, when they cam to the ine,[2] wald ly down lyk tyred tyks,[3] bot he wald out and sight[4] the townes and vilages withersoever they cam. The ports of Genev wer tentilie keipit, because of the troubles of France, and multitud of strangers that cam. Being thairfor inquyrit what they war, the Franche man his companion answerit, "We ar pure scollars." Bot Mr Andro, perceaving that they haid na will of pure[5] folks, being alreadie owerlaid thairwith, said, "No, no, we are nocht puir! We haiff alsmikle as will pey for all we tak, sa lang as we tarie. We haiff letters from his acquentance to Monsieur di Beza; let us deliver those, we crave na fordar." And sa, being convoyit to Beza, and then to thair ludging, Beza, perceaving him a schollar, and they haiffing neid of a Professour of Humanitie in the Collage, put him within a twa or thrie dayes to tryell in Virgill and Homer; quhilk he could acquait so weill, that but farder[6] he is placed in that roum

[1] Very fair or smooth terms. [2] Inn. [3] Dogs, hounds. [4] Inspect, examine. [5] Poor. [6] Without further ado or examination.

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of profession; and at his first entrie, a quarter's fie peyit him in hand. Sa that whowbeit thair was but a crown to the fore[1] betwix tham bathe, and the Frenchman weak-sprited, and wist nocht what to do, yit he fund God's providence to relieve bathe him selff and helpe his marrow[2] till he was provydit.

In Genev he abead fyve years; during the quhilk tyme his cheiff studie was Divinitie, wheranent he hard Beza his daylie lessons and preatchings; Cornelius Bonaventura, Professour of the Hebrew, Caldaik, and Syriac langages; Portus, a Greik born, Professour of the Greik toung, with whom he wald reassone about the right pronuntiation thairof; for the Greik pronuncit it efter the comoun form, keiping the accents; the quhilk Mr Andro controllit be precepts and reasone, till the Greik wald grow angrie, and cry out, "Vos Scoti, vos barbari! docebitis nos Græcos pronunciationem linguæ nostræ, scilicet?" He hard ther also Francis Ottoman, the renounedest lawer in his tyme. Ther he was weill acquented with my eam,[3] Mr Hendrie Scrymgeour, wha, be his lerning in the lawes and polecie and service of manie noble princes, haid atteined to grait ritches, conquesit a prettie roum within a lig to Genev, and biggit thairon a trim house called "the Vilet," and a fear ludging within the town, quhilks all with a douchtar, his onlie bern, he left to the Syndiques of the town.

About the end of fyve yeirs, the Bischope of Brechine, and Mr Andro Pulwart with him, cam ther; and tareing a whyll, purposit hamwart; with whom Mr Andro Melvill, efter the receaving of letters from his brethering and me, with grait difficultie purchassit leave of the kirk and magistrates of Genev, [wha wald on na wayes haiff contented to part with him, giff his conscience haid suffered him to reserv his gifts anie langer onoffered to his cowntrey, and imployed for the benefit of his frinds. Beza, in his Letter to the Generall Kirk of Scotland, alleages, that as the graittest taken of affection the Kirk of Genev could schaw to Scotland, that they haid suffered tham selves to be spuiled of Mr Andro Melvill, wherby

[1] Remaining. [2] Fellow, companion. [3] His uncle by the mother's side.

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the Kirk of Scotland might be inritched,[1]] and takin jorney cam hamwart. From Lions they traversit the Franche Compté to the heid of the river of Loir, and cam down the sam be water to Orleans, haiffing in companie, sevin or aught dayes, a captean, a mediciner, and a preist, superstitius Papists at thair meitting kythed in ther speitche and meattes, bot be mirrie and solid reasoning withall, becam flech-eatters on Fredday, and the captean nocht far from the kingdome of heavin or[2] they parted. The portes of Orleans wer streat keipet, (being bot a yeir and halff efter the horrible massacres.) Brechine and Mr Andro Polwart was on fut, and Mr Andro weill mounted on horse, because he haid wraisted[3] his leg, they past the twa futmen, and deteining the horseman, the souldarts[4] inquyres what he was? He answerit, "a Schottes man." "O! yie Scottes men are all Hugonotes," sayes the gard. "Hugonotes!" says he "what's that? we ken nocht sic." "O," sayes the souldart, "yie haiff nocht mess." "Forsuthe," sayes he mirrelie, "our berns in Scotland gaes daylie to mess!" "Guid companion," sayes the uther, lauching, "go thy way." Coming to thair ludging, he tells his nibours, and garres them lauche: "Bot surlie," say they, "we war verie fleyed[5] our pasport sould haiff bein loked,[6] and finding us com from Genev, sould haiff bein troublet." "Yea," sayes thair host, "tak it for a speciall providence of God, for within this twall monethe, monie thowsands for les hes lost thair lyves." Going out of the town again at the turn of a rew,[7] they meit the procession; Breachin and his pædagog was befor, Mr Andro a lytle efter. Brechin turns bak and sayes, "What sall I do?" "Fordwart!" quod he; and so he does. Mr Andro haulds out his syde clok[8] with his armes als thought he haid bein bearing sum thing under his oxstars,[9] and so passes by. But his hart bet him thairefter oft and sear,[10] that he sould haiff sa stoutlie counsellit the uther, and usit a piece of dissimulation him selff. Coming to Paris, ther they

[1] What is contained within brackets is inserted on the margin of MS. [2] Ere, before. [3] Twisted, sprained. [4] Soldiers. [5] Afraid, terrified. [6] Narrowly inspected. [7] Street. Fr. *rue*. [8] Long cloak. [9] Under his arms. [10] His heart or conscience smote him afterwards frequently and severely.

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remeaned dyvers dayes; whar Mr Andro, meitting with the Lord Ogilbie, his countreyman, is requeisted be him to go to the Jesuits' Collage, whar he reasonit with Father Tyrie sindrie dayes; bot the tyme being sa dangerus, and of sum minassing speitches of the Bischope of Glasgw, he was counsellit to hast af the town.[1] Sa they cam from Deipe ower to Ry in Eingland, from thence to Londone, whar they remanit a space; and bying horsses, cam hame Loudon-way, be Berwik, to Edinbruche. And this for a schort recitall of his lyff till his coming ham.

As to that he brought ham with him: It was that plentifull and inexhaust theassour of all guid letters and lerning, bathe of humen and devyne things; and that quhilk superexcelles, ane profund knawlege, upright sinceritie, and fervent zeall in trew relligion, and to put the sam in use for the profit of his Kirk and countrey; ane unwearied peanfulnes and insatiable pleasour to giff out and bestow the sam without anie recompence or gean. Yea, rather sa far as his small moyen might reak,[2] conduceing and inviting all guid ingynes to receave and imbrace the saming. Wherby within these sax and twentie yeirs he hes inritched his nation with incorruptible substance, mor without all compear nor in anie age sen it was a kingdome, [or manie nations in the warld this day, giff ther war honour and mentinance for lerning,[3]] quhilk the diduction of this

[1] "At Witsonday he cam out of Paris, the quhilk day King Charles, that maid that horrible massacre, died of an issew of blod, bursting out at all the conduits of his body; wharon, in London, he maid that Epigram:

Naribus, ore, oculis atque auribus undique et ano,
Et pene erumpit qui tibi, Carle, cruor,
Non tuus iste cruor: Sanctorum at cede cruorem,
Quem ferus hausisti, concoquere haud poteras!

At nease, at mouthe, at ein, at ears, at wand,
That blud, that bursts from all thy conduits weast,
Is nocht thyne, Charls, bot of that holie band,
Quhilk thow did drink, but could nocht weill digeast!" Margin of MS.

[2] As far as his small means might stretch.

[3] This is added on the margin.

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storie will verifie and cleir at large. The nixt simmer cam ham his librarie, ritche and rare, of the best authors, in all langages, artes and sciences; cleirlie declaring, be his instruments, what a craftesman he was.

He was nocht weill come to Edinbruche, when word was of him at Court, and the Regent Erle of Morton called unto him Mr George Buchanan, Mr James Halibourton, coronall, and Alexander Hay, soone efter Clark Register, and directes tham to dell with Mr Andro to content to be my Lord Regent's grace domestic instructour, and to giff a few notes upon his chaptour read daylie, and he sould be honorablie advanced at the first occasion. The Regent's meining was to haiff him and his giftes framed for his purpose, to restrean the fridome of application in preatching, and authoritie of the Generall Assemblies, and bring in a conformitie with Eingland in governing of the Kirk be Bischopes and injunctiones; without the quhilk, he thought, nather the kingdome could be gydet to his fantasie, nor stand in guid aggriement and lyking with the nibour land. For this form of polecie he usit to mak schose of the men of best giftes, and first try tham at Court giff they wald be conformable and serve his purpose, and syne[1] prefer thame to bischopries and government of the Kirk, as he did with twa thairefter; and haid proceidit fordar, giff God haid nocht disapointed him. Mr Andro, whowbeit nocht weill acquented with thir purposes then, yit lyked nocht to be in Court, bot rather to be in sum Universitie, and profess thair as the King's Lectors in Parise; and sa, as God directed him, refusit, and cravit his grace's favour to repose a whyll with his frinds, till God callit him to sic a roum quhilk he thought meittest.

Sa he cam to Baldowy to his brother, my father, whar he remeaned that hervest quarter, and whar, within a few dayes efter his coming, I was resigned ower be my father hailelie unto him to veak[2] upon him as his sone and servant; and, as my father said to him, to be a pladge of his love. And surlie his service was easie, nocht to

[1] Then, afterwards. [2] To *vaik*, or await on his leisure. Lat. *vacare*.

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me onlie, bot even to the fremdest man[1] that ever served him; for he schosed for his servantes onlie schollars, and giff they haid done anie guid at thair book, he cared nocht what they did to him. That quarter of yeir I thought I gat graitter light in letters nor all my tyme befor; whowbeit at our meitting, in my conceat I thought I could haiff taked to him in things I haid hard, as he did to me as a Maister of Arts; bot I perceavit at annes that I was bot an ignorant bable, and wist nocht what I said, nather could schaw anie use thairof, bot in clattering and crying. He fand me bauche[2] in the Latin toung, a pratler upon precepts in Logik without anie profit for the right use, and haiffing sum termes of Art in Philosophie without light of solid knawlage; yit of ingyne and capacitie guid aneuche, wherby I haid cunned[3] my *dictata*, and haid them readie aneuche. He enterit thairfor and conferrit with me sum of Bowchanan's Psalmes, of Virgill and Horace; quhilk twa, namlie Virgill, was his cheiff refreschment efter his grave studies; wherin he lut me sie, nocht onlie the proper Latin langage and ornaments of poesie, bot also mair guid Logik and Philosophie then ever I haid hard befor. I had tean[4] delyt at the Grammer Schole to heir reid and sung the verses of Virgill, taken with the numbers thairof, (whowbeit I knew nocht what numbers was till he tauld me,) and haid mikle of him *par ceur;* bot I understud never a lyne of him till then. He read a Comedie of Tyrence with me, schawing me that ther was bathe fyne Latin langage and wit to be lernit: That of langage I thought weill, bot for wit I merveled, and haid nocht knawin befor. He put in my hand the Comentares of Cæsar, comending him for the simple puritie of the Latin toung; also Salust, and read with me the Conjuration of Catelin. He haid gottin in Paris, at his by-coming, Bodin his Method of Historie, quhilk he read ower him selff thryse or four tymes that quarter, annes with me, and the rest whill I was occupied in the Greik grammer, quhilk he put in hand, of Clenard; causing me understand the precepts onlie, and lear the παραδειγματα exactlie; the practise wharof he schew

[1] To the greatest stranger. [2] Deficient, inexpert. [3] Conned, learned. [4] Taken.

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me in my buik, going throw with me that Epistle of Basilius, and cawsing me lern it be hart, bathe for the langage and the mater. Thairefter to the New Testament, and ged throw sum chapters of Mathew, and certean confortable places of the Epistles, namlie the Romans. And last, entering to the Hebrew, I gat the reiding declynations and pronons, and sum also of the conjugations out of Martinius' Grammer, quhilk he haid with him, and schew me the use of the Dictionair also, quhilk he haid of Reuclius with him. And all this, as it war, bot pleying and craking; sa that I lernit mikle mair by heiring of him in daylie conversation, bathe that quarter and thairefter, nor ever I lernit of anie buik; whowbeit he set me ever to the best authors.

The Generall Assemblie was haldin in the monethe of August, soone efter his ham-coming, whar ther was grait word of him, arysing be the commendation of the Bischope of Brechine, and Mr Andro Pulwart. Sa commissionars from dyverse partes of the cowntrey maid sutt to the Assemblie for him; namlie, they of Fyff wald haiff haid him to St Androis, in the roum of Mr Jhone Dowglass, newlie departed this lyff; and thair, indeid, was he marked be the Regent to haiff bein maid Bischope of St Androis, giff he haid bein capable of Court bischopriks. Bot the maist ernest instance of Mr James Boid, latlie maid Bischope of Glasgw, and Mr Andro Hay, Superintendent of thaise partes, obteined of the Assemblie and sum of his frinds ther present, that he sould come and visit Glasgw, and sie the beginning of a Collage ther, and heir what conditiones sould be offered to him, that giff he lyked he sould condisend till abyde with tham. This Mr James Boid was a gentle man of the Lord Boid's kin, a guid man, and lover of lerning and lernd men, inducit be his Cheiff to tak the bischoprie, the gift wharof the said Lord Boid, being a grait counsallour to the Regent, haid purchassit for his commoditie; bot within a yeir or twa, when he fand nocht his Bischope plyable to his purpose, he caust his sone, the Maister of Boid, tak the Castell, and intromeat with all thairin, keipe it, and gather upe the rents of the bischoprik to intertein the samning; and this

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was done *impune*, nochtwithstanding the Regent's streat justice, because the Tulchain[1] causit nocht the kow giff milk aneuche to my Lord. Sa that I haiff hard the honest gentle man rew whow sear that ever he tuk on that bischoprie, efter he haid understand be Mr Andro of the unlawfulnes thairof, and fand sic a curse upon it. That uther, Mr Andro Hay, was an honest, zealus, frank-harted gentleman, Persone of Renthrow, and Rector of the Universitie of Glasgw, wha lyked never those bischopries, and wha specialie was the ernest suttar for Mr Andro Melvill. Sa, upon thair lettres, he tuk jorney, accompanied with twa of his breither, Mr James and Roger, and Mr James Balfour, then minister at Edinbruche, his cowsing german, and cam unto Glasgw; whar he contented, at the end of vacance, to enter and teatche in the Collage as principall maister; and thus aggreing, he returned ham again to Baldowy. At the tyme apointed, about the end of October, we tuk jorney, accompanied with his brother Jhone, and cam to Dondie, from that to St John's Town,[2] the first tyme I saw it; from that to Stirling, whar we remaned twa dayes, and saw the King, the sweitest sight in Europe that day, for strange and extraordinar gifts of ingyne, judgment, memorie, and langage. I hard him discours, walking upe and doun in the auld Lady Marr's hand, of knawlage and ignorance, to my grait mervell and estonishment. Ther Mr Andro conferrit at lynthe with Mr George Bowchanan, then entering to wrait the storie of his countrey; also with Mr Piter Young and Sanders his brother; Mr [Gilbert Moncreif, the King's Medicinar,[3]] whome with he haid bein weill acquented in Genev; also with Mr Thomas Bowchanan, then scholmaister, the wha accompanied us, of his kyndnes, to Glasgw.

We cam to Glasgw about the first of November 1574, whare we fand Mr Piter Blakburn, a guid man, new com from St Androis, enterit in the Collage, and begoun to teatche conform to the ordour of the course of St Androis. But Mr Andro, entering principall maister,

[1] See p. 31, where this is explained. [2] Perth. [3] Added on the margin of MS.

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all was committed and submitted to him; wha permitted, willinglie, to the said Mr Piter the cair of the Collage leiving, quhilk was but verie small, consisting in litle annualles then; and sett him haillelie[1] to teatche things nocht hard in this countrey of befor, wherin he travelit exceiding diligentlie, as his delyt was thairin alleanerlie. Sa falling to wark with a few number of capable heirars, sic as might be instructars of uthers thairefter, he teatched tham the Greik grammer, the Dialectic of Ramus, the Rhetoric of Taleus, with the practise thairof in Greik and Latin authors, namlie, Homer, Hesiod, Phocilides, Theognides, Pythagoras, Isocrates, Pindarus, Virgill, Horace, Theocritus, &c. From that he enterit to the Mathematiks, and teatched the Elements of Euclid, the Arithmetic and Geometrie of Ramus, the Geographie of Dyonisius, the Tables of Hunter, the Astrologie of Aratus. From that to the Morall Philosophie; he teatched the Ethiks of Aristotle, the Offices of Cicero, Aristotle de Virtutibus, Cicero's Paradoxes, and Tusculanes, Aristot. Polyb. and certean of Platoes Dialoges. From that to the Naturall Philosophie; he teatched the buiks of the Physics, De Ortu, De Cœlo, &c., also of Plato and Fernelius. With this he joyned the Historie, with the twa lights thairof, Chronologie and Chirographie, out of Sleidan, Menarthes, and Melancthon. And all this, by and attoure[2] his awin ordinar profession, the holie tonges and Theologie; he teachit the Hebrew grammar, first schortlie, and syne[3] mor accuratlie; thairefter the Caldaic and Syriac dialects, with the practise thairof in the Psalmes and warks of Solomon, David, Ezra, and Epistle to the Galates. He past throw the haill comoun places of Theologie verie exactlie and accuratlie; also throw all the Auld and New Testament. And all this in the space of sax yeirs; during the quhilk he teatchit everie day, customablie, twyse, Sabothe and uther day; with an ordinar conference with sic as war present efter denner and supper. His lerning and peanfulnes was mikle admired, sa that the nam of that Collage within twa yeirs was noble throwout all the land, and in

[1] Wholly, exclusively. [2] Over and above. [3] Then, afterwards.

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uther countreys also. Sic as haid passed ther course in St Androis cam in nomber ther, and entered schollars again under ordour and discipline, sa that the Collage was sa frequent[1] as the roumes war nocht able to receave tham. The scolmaister of the town, Mr Patrik Scharpe, was his ordinar heirar and contubernall,[2] whome he instructed, and directed in the maist commodius bringing upe of the youthe in grammer and guid authors; whom I hard oftentymes profes that he lerned mair of Mr Andro Melvill craking and pleying, for understanding of the authors quhilk he teatched in the scholl, nor be all his comentares. Sic lyk Mr Piter Blackburn, wha tuk upe the first clas. Finalie, I dar say ther was na place in Europe comparable to Glasgw for guid letters, during these yeirs, for a plentifull and guid chepe mercat of all kynd of langages, artes, and sciences.

In the simmer of the first of these sax yeirs, about the 18 yeir of my age compleit, God opened my mouthe first in publict upon the exerceis, with sic comendation out of the mouthe of Mr Andro Hay, Rector and Superintendent, namlie, even ther in publict in his addition, as I was wounderfullie incouragit to go fordwart. In the middes of that ouk,[3] I dreamed that I haid maid the exerceis in Montros, and being demissed from the breithring with comfortable commendation, I cam ower to Baldowy to my father, and entering in the place ther was nan that knew me: I past upe to the hall, and enterit in the chalmer at the end thairof, whar I met with my father, and tauld him whow I haid bein occupied, wha tuk me in his armes, and kissing me, said in my ear, "Jamie, serve God, for thow art behauldin to him!" and with that he goes and sitting down on a bedsyde, he keaves bak ower,[4] sa that his feit stak out stiff and dead. With that I walkned[5] with grait feir and commotion, quhilk abaid with me the space of an houre. Bot the burding of the exerceise lyand upon me, maid me to forget it, till going to the Rector, Mr Andro Hay, his ludging, to delyver certean buiks I

[1] Crowded, well attended.
[2] Comerade, companion. *Lat. contubernalis.*
[3] In the middle of that week.
[4] Fell over backwards.
[5] Awoke.

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haid borrowit, and at the first sight he takes me in his armes, and thrusting and kissing me, he sayes, "My hart, serve God, for thow art behauldin to him!" Ther is my dream! thought I, and tauld it to my companion going to the Collage againe. Bot within twa dayes, my uncle, Mr Andro, returning from Edinbruche, whar he haid bein taking ordour with his buiks new com hame; by his countenance first, and after a sweit and confortable delling with me, thairefter tauld me that his brother, my father, was deperted this lyff, and efter inquisition, fund it was the sam verie night I haid dreamed. Sa it pleased God to mak me warning, and furneise me confort against the heaviest newes that ever I haid hard befor in all my lyff; for as I haiff schawen befor, he was a rare man, and a maist loving father to me; at the closing of whase mouthe, God thus opened myne.

Be occasion of the recounting of this dream to my uncle, Mr Andro, he rememberit me of an uther I haid dreamed, and tauld him the ouk befor his going to Edinbruche, that my brother David was hangit, with certean circumstances, quhilk troublit me. The quhilk, at the verie instant I tauld him, he interpreted of my brother's mariage, whilk wald nocht be to his weill and confort; knawing na thing of that mater, till with the newes of my father's dethe he was informit that he haid maried his sone David in a summar[1] and hastie maner a few dayes befor his departour; quhilk was almaist a wrak to him and his hous, as heirefter we sall declare.

Nocht lang efter Mr Andro receavit letters from Monsieur du Bez, and therin amangs the rest, "*Colaceus vester, exemplar omnium virtutum, nuper apud nos vita functus est.*" This was my guid regent, wha, efter the ending of our course, haid gean[2] to France, and coming to Genev, ther died; a grait los to the Kirk of God in his countrey, for he was solidlie lernit, hailelie addicted to divinitie, with a sincear and zealus hart. Ther was never twa thinges befor that, quhilk ofter and mair heavilie I regreated in my mynd, nor the deing[3] of these my fathers, befor I haid testified my thankfull hart to tham,

[1] Summary. [2] Gone. [3] Than the death.

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efter the atteining to sum light of letters and knawlage of God; quhilk, when I was even then about to do be sum litle essay in the thrie langages, I was be the newes of thair deathe cutt aff.

That yeir also, in the monethe of Merche, I haid the benefeit to be present with my uncle, Mr Andro, at the Generall Assemblie haldin in Edinbruche. At the quhilk the question being movit about the Jurisdiction and Polecie of the Kirk, Mr Andro Melvill, withe certean uther breithring, war ordeanit to tak peanes thairanent, and giff in ther judgment to the nixt Assemblie. And in deid that mater cost him exceiding grait peans, bathe in mynd, body, and gear,[1] during the space of fyve or sax yeir, with the gean of the Regent, Erl of Morton, and his Bischope's utter indignation. Yit, with the wounderfull assistance of God, he bure it out till the abolishing of Bischopes, and establissing of the Presbyteries according to the word of God; wharby he gatt the nam of ἐπισκοποµαστιξ, *Episcoporum exactor*, the flinger out of Bischopes. Ther I hard first, in Edinbruche, Mr James Lawson, a godlie lernit man, of a wounderfull moving utterance in doctrine; whom I delyted mikle to heir, and whom I never hard bot withe teares bathe of remors and joy. As also Jhone Durie, newlie transported from Leith to Edinbruche, a man zealus and mightie in spreit, with Mr Walter Balcanquall, ane honest, upright-harted young man, latlie enterit to that ministerie of Edinbruche. Thir, informed mair throwlie be Mr Andro of the unlawfulnes of Bischopes, and the right maner of governing of the Kirk be Presbyteries, dealt diligentlie and forciblie in ther doctrine against that ane; and for that uther wakned upe the spreits of all guid brethring, and crabet[2] the Court stranglie. Bot surlie ther ministerie and exemple of lyff movit me, and tuk sic hauld upon my hart, that I went never to na place with better will nor to Edinbruche, and tyred never les in anie place nor in thair companie.[3]

[1] "Keiping Assemblies and dyettes of conference, reasoning and advysing with brethring anent that wark." Margin of MS. [2] Vexed, put out of temper. [3] "The tym was verie favorabie, for God hald glorefied his nam wounderfullie of leat, in performing strange things forspoken be Mr Knox against the Castell of Edinbruche." Margin of MS.

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M.D.LXXV.

Being at the Assemblie thairefter in August, at Edinbruche, 1575, the question was proponed, "Giff Bischopes, as they war at that tyme in the Kirk of Scotland, haid a lawfull calling or office by the word of God?" Efter advyse of certean breithring thairupon, and reasoning in publict, it was resolvit *negativè*; and that the nam "Bischope" was comoun to everie Pastor, and ordeanit that breither sould inquyre fordar, bathe in that and uther poinctes of the Discipline and Polecie of the Kirk.

Efter the Assemblie we past to Anguss in companie with Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, a man of singular gifts of lerning, wisdome, godlines, and sweitnes of nature, then Principall of the Collage of Aberdein; whom withe Mr Andro communicat anent the haill ordour of his Collage in doctrine and discipline; and aggreit, as thairefter was set down, in the new reformation of the said Collages of Glasgw and Aberdein. In Angus we maried my youngest sistar Barbara upon Mr James Balfour, then minister at Guthrie; and buried guid auld Thomas Melvill of Dysart, the mirrie man; and sa, efter vacans, returned to Glasgw.

About Michaelmas, in the yeir 1575, in the 19 yeir of my age, I enterit Regent, and tuk upe the class, and teatched the Greek grammer, Isocrates Paranesis ad Demonicum, the first buk of Homer's Iliads, Phocylides, Hesiod's ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι, the Dialectic of Ramus, the Rhetorik of Taleus, with the practise in Cicero's Catilinars and Paradoxes, &c.

Ther was then resident in Glasgw Mr Patrik Adamsone, alias Constant, minister of Pasley, a man of notable ingyne, letters, and eloquence, wha was Mr Androes grait frind and companion; and, efter he haid craftelie insinuat him selff in Mr Androes favour, and the ministerie of Edinbruche, he began to step on fordwart to the first degrie of a Bischope; and, leaving Pasley, past to Court, and becam minister to the Regent, Erle of Mortoun. About the quhilk tyme the personage of Giffen vaked, a guid benefice, lyand hard besyde the town of Glasgw, peying four and twentie chalder of victuall. This benefice is offered to Mr Andro, provyding he wald

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be the Regent's man, and leave aff the persut of the Bischopes. Quhilk he refusit, bot delt ernestlie with the Regent him selff, and be all moyen, namlie, of the said Mr Patrik, to haiff it annexit to the Collage, the rent wharof was verie small, nocht able to sustein twa maisters, without anie bursares. The Regent keipit the benefice in his hand undisponit mikle of twa yeir;[1] alleaging, that Mr Andro haid the wait,[2] wha wald defraud that Collage, and him selff bathe, of sic a benefit, because of his new opiniones, and owersie[3] dreames, anent the Kirk Discipline and Polecie. Yit, at last, the Regent, seing he could nocht be broken be bost,[4] be advyse of the said Mr Patrik, he essayes to move him be benefit, and makes a new erection and reformation of the Collage of Glasgw, annexing and mortefeing thairunto the said benefice of Giffen; quhilk was the best turn[5] that ever I knew ather the Regent or Mr Patrik to do. Bot the speciall drift was to demearit Mr Andro, and cause him relent from dealing against Bischopes; bot God keipit his awin servant in uprightnes and treuthe, in the middes of manie heavie tentationes, (whilas his coleg, Mr Piter, and uthers, nocht onlie surmeisit, bot spak out, that he was a grait hinder of a guid wark,) and by his blessing effectuat the turn be crewked instruments.

M.D.LXXVI.

The second yeir of my regenting, I teatchit the elements of Arithmetic and Geometrie out [of] Psellus for schortness; the Offices of Cicero; Aristotle's Logic, in Greik, and Ethic, (and was the first regent that ever did that in Scotland;) also Platoe's Phædon and Axiochus; and that profession of the Mathematiks, Logic, and Morall Philosophie, I keipit (as everie ane of the regents keipit their awin, the schollars ay ascending and passing throw) sa lang as I regented ther, even till I was, with Mr Andro, transported to St Androis.

That yeir, in Apryll, the Generall Assemblie, convenit at Edin-

[1] Undisposed of for the greatest part of two years. [2] Wyte, blame.
[3] Literally "over-sea," *i.e.* far-fetched. [4] Threatening. [5] Good office.

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bruche, resolved, concerning Bischopes, the nam and office to be comoun to all the Pastors of the Kirk; out of the quhilk might be schosin commissionars for visitation, planting, &c. *Item*, All Bischopes war ordeanit to tak them selves to a particular flok. *Item*, Contribution ordeanit to be maid for releiff of the exylit Frenche kirks. *Item*, Nominat for making overture of the Polecie and Jurisdiction of the Kirk: for the West countrey, James Bischope of Glasgw, Mr Andro Melvin, Mr Andro Hay, Mr James Grig, Mr David Cuningham; for Lawdien, Mr Robert Pont, Mr James Lawsone, Mr David Lindsay, and, adjoynit to tham, Mr Clement Lytle, and Mr Alexander Sim, lawers; for Fyff, Mr Jhone Windrame, Superintendent, with the principall maisters of the Universitie; for Merns and Anguss, the Laird of Din, Wilyeam Chrystisone, Mr Jhone Row, Mr Wilyeam Rind, Jhone Duncansone; for Aberdein, Mr Jhone Crag, and Mr Alexander Arbuthnot; the places ordeanit whar they sould meit, and thair diligence to be giffen in to the nixt Assemblie, to be haldin at Edinbruche in October.

In this mean tyme, the Chancellar, Lord Glamms, being a guid, lerned nobleman, wryttes to Geneva to Theodor Bez, craving his judgment in the questiones moved at our Generall Assemblies; and, be that occasion, we gett ham Bezae's Treatiss, *De Triplici Episcopatu*, quhilk did mikle guid.

All the tyme I could get, by my ordinar calling, I employed to the studie of the Hebrew toung and theologie. I read Bezae's Confession, giffen me be my uncle, diligentlie, and hard his lessons according to Calvin's Institutiones; and, being myndful of my vow and finding God to haiff blessed the first and second opening of my mouthe in publict on the exerceise, I thought guid to continow. The ordour of the Collage was, that everie regent, his ouk about,[1] convoyit the schollars to a kirk hard adjacent, whar the peiple convenit; and that regent red the comoun prayers, with a chaptour or twa. I, for my part, contented nocht simplie to reid; bot taking sum pean, when I might haiff sliped, the night befor indevorit to

[1] Each in his own turn, weekly.

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tak upe the soum of the chaptour, and giff sum notes of doctrine, with exhortation. This pleasit and confortit guid peiple verie mikle, sa that they resorted verie frequentlie my ouk; quhilk also movit the rest of the regents to essay and follow the sam form, and sa bathe profited tham selves and uthers. All the quhilk I record to the praise of the grace of my guid God alleanerlie;[1] for utherwayes, a veaner, fulishar, corrupter youthe was ther nocht in that Collage; sa that giff my God haid nocht put in me sum bit of conscience, and fear of his nam, in discharging my office, and a peice of honestie and scham befor the warld, I sould never haiff done guid, bot, by sluggishnes and wandering fantasies, easelie caried away to all deboicherie.

The breithring appointed be the Assemblie convenit at Glasgw, in Mr David Cuninghame's hous, then Subdean of Glasgw, and Dean of our Facultie of Artes; a man lernit and of verie guid accompt at that tyme, haid fear houss and yeards wherin an erle micht haiff dwelt, and a thowsand mark of rent, with the better.[2] Nan was sa frak[3] in the cause as he. He moderat the reasoning, gatherit upe the conclusiones, and put all in wrait and ordour to be reported to the Assemblie. Bot, to mark the strange sagacitie of my uncle Mr Andro, he ever suspected bathe Mr Patrik Adamsone and this Mr David, and said, he fearit they sould nocht prove frinds in the cause, they war sa courtlie. And sa fell out, indeid, as we sall heir.

The Generall Assemblie, convened at Edinbruche in October, ordeanit the travelles of the Breithring to be sighted and advysit upon, that, being brought in open Assemblie, they might proceed to determine. In the mean tyme, compeires Alexander Hay, Clark of Registar, and giffes in, from my Lord Regent's grace, a number of questiones to be resolvit be the Assemblie, anent the Polecie and Jurisdiction of the Kirk, quhilk sett tham to fardar consultation. Ther was Mr Patrik Adamsone, presented to the Bischoprik of St

[1] Only. [2] And upwards. [3] Hearty, forward.

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Androis; and being inquyrit, in the publict Assemblie, giff he wald receave that bischoprik? he answerit, he wald receave na office judgit unlawfull be the Kirk; and as to that bischoprik, he wald na wayes accept of it without the advyse of the Generall Assemblie. And, nevertheless, or[1] the nixt Assemblie, he was seasit hard and fast on the bischoprik; wherby all gossoprie[2] ged upe[3] betwin him and my uncle Mr Andro. Ther was at Court then Captan Mongumerie, a guid honest man, the Regent's domestic, wha market an accustomed phrase of Mr Patrik's in his doctrine, "The prophet wald mein this." And whow soone he saw Mr Patrik gripe to the bischoprie, he cryes out amang his companions, "For als oft as it was repeated be Mr Patrik, 'The prophet wald mein this,' I understud never what the profit meins whil[4] now!" quod he.

[To mak the Assemblie lyk the better bathe of the presenter and presented, the Regent directs his minister to the Assemblie, schawin he had receavit a letter from the Quein of Eingland, informing his grace that the Princes of Germanie war to keipe a Generall Convention at Magdeburg, for ratefieing of the Augustan Confession, whar wald be present lernit Commissionars from all Protestant princes; and that hir Majestie was to send, requyring him to do the sam. The Regent's grace, thairfor, desyrit the Assemblie to nominat the persones, and he sould mak provision. The Assemblie nominat Mr Andro Melvill, Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, and Mr George Hay; bot when ther was an appeirance of the bischoprie the ambassadrie fealit.[5]]

Mr Patrik taking him to the bischoprie, the suffragantes roum is filled atteanes[6] be Mr David Cuninghame, wha leived Glasgw and the guid cause, and becomes the Regent's minister, bot with a curs accompaning him; for he haid never that wealthe nor estimation efter quhilk he haid befor, whowbeit within a yeir advancit to the bischoprik of Aberdein; and nocht onlie sa, bot became, soone efter the Erle of Morton's execution, an of the [maist] miserable wretches in all the West country, lyand debochit and out of credit,

[1] Before. [2] Familiarity, interchange of friendly offices. [3] Were given up. [4] Till. [5] This paragraph on margin of MS. [6] At once.

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in a cot hous, him selff at the an syde of the fyre, and his cow at the uther! Thus God cursed that bischoprie of his; but as for Mr Patrik's, we will haiff mair ado with it heirefter.

[This yeir, in the wintar, appeired a terrible Comet, the stern[1] wharof was verie grait, and proceiding from it toward the est a lang teall, in appeirance, of an eall[2] and a halff, lyk unto a bissom or scurge maid of wands, all fyrie. It rease nightlie in the southweast, nocht above a degrie and an halff ascending above the horizon, and continowed about a sax oukes, or twa monethe, and piece and piece weir away. The graittest effects wharof that out of our countrey we hard was a grait and mightie battell in Barbaria in Afric, wharin thrie kings war slean, with a huge multitud of peiple. And within the countrey, the chasing away of the Hamiltones: For whowbeit the Regent, soone efter the taking of the government upon him, maid a law of oblivion, yit the Hous of Mar consentit nocht thairto, thinking the young King, whom they haid in keiping, could never be sure sa lang as the Hamiltones keipit ther roumes; and thairfor maid a read[3] against them the sam simmer, wherby the Lords of Arbrothe and Pasley, with the specialles of thair frinds, namlie, sic as war giltie of the guid Regent's murthour, fled away in Eingland. The Castell of Hamilton, keipit a whyll be Arthour of Mirritoun, was takin and demolissed to the ground, and the said Arthour execut at Stirling in my sight; wha died verie penitentlie and weill, to my grait edification, being the first execution that ever I saw, except of a witche in St Androis, against the quhilk Mr Knox delt from pulpit, sche being set upe at a pillar befor him. Lyk as, I haiff hard the sam maist notable servant of God, almost ordinarlie, threttin these Hamiltones maist ferfullie for the murder of the gud Erle of Murray, Regent. The Lord Arbrothe maried the Countes of Cassels, sistar to the Lord Glammes, then Chancellar, wharby he gat tolerance for a schort tyme. But the wintar befor the said Chancellar being cut of at Stirling, in the simmer following he was fean to flie away. The minister of Ha-

[1] Star, nucleus. [2] Ell, yard. [3] Raid, or incursion.

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milton, Mr Jhone Davidsone, a guid man, haid admonissed and thretned that Castell for ryot, hurdome, &c.; and saw in a vision, as I hard him record, a grait arm, with a sword in the neff,[1] standing above the Castell, quhilk, with swift force stricking down upon it, did overthraw the sam to the grund, and thairefter coming down throw the wood and town, did spoile and hurt the sam.[2]]

M.D.LXXVII.

The yeir following, 1577, the Generall Assemblie conveined at Edinbruche in October, whar the Heades of the Polecie war ordeanit to be drawin in conclusiones; and certean breither apointed to gather togidder the travelles of the brethring from all partes, and digest and put the sam in ordour, drawing tham in certeane propositiounes, for brevitie.

At that Assemblie, Mr Patrik Adamsone is fund to haiff intrusit him selff in the bischoprik of St Androis, against the actes and ordinances of the Kirk; and thairfor ordeanit to be proceidit against be his Synodall. Bot, as he was wounderfull craftie, he offerit to ley down all at the feit of the breithring, and be ordourit at the pleasure of the Assemblie, whow soone the sam war throuche and at a point with the mater of the Polecie; and sa, with fear promises, drifted and pat aff till he gat his tyme.

About the end of that sam October, ther was an uther Assemblie haldin at Edinbruche, at the quhilk the Heids of the Polecie war reported, digest in order. They war ordeanit, efter revising, to be put *in mundo*, and presented to the Regent's grace; and certean breithring nominat to confer with his grace thairanent, and a dyet sett at Stirling for the sam.

During all these Assemblies and ernest indevors of the breithring, the Regent is often requyrit to giff his presence to the Assemblie, and fordar[3] the cause of God; bot nocht onlie in effect refuses, bot uses grait thretning against the maist zelus breithring, schoring[4] to hang of thame, utherwayes ther could be na peace nor ordour in

[1] Hand. [2] Margin of MS. [3] Further. [4] Threatening.

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the countrey. Sa, ever resisting the wark of discipline in hand, bure fordwart his Bischopes, and pressed to his injunctiones and conformitie with Eingland; and, but[1] question, haid steyed[2] the wark, giff God haid nocht steired upe a faction of the Nobilitie against him, wha maid a grait convocation at the Faw-kirk, and haid almost com to straks, giff the Einglis Ambassatour, a guid, godlie man, and lover of our nation, Mr Robert Bowes, with the Chancellar's guidnes and wesdome, haid nocht steyit for taking ordour; wherwith a Convention was sett in Stirling of the Esteates, and the breithring nominat and apointed be the Assemblie weating on, fell out that unhappie murdour of that lerned and guid *noble* man, Lord Glammes, Chancellar, slean in a tumult be a schot of a pistolet in the head.[3] Whom when God had sa taken away from the Regent Mortoun, his contrar faction drawes a draught at annes[4] to cause the King, now about fourtein yeirs of age, to tak the government in his awin persone; wharby Morton is compellit to go to the Market Cross of Edinbruche, in solemne maner, and giff ower his Regentschipe, and all publict administration of the realme.

This Regent, Erle of Mortoun, was a man ever cast upon the best syde, and did honestlie and stoutlie in the cause. He lovit Mr Knox whill he was alyve. At his deathe and buriall he gaiff him ane honorable testimonie, "That he nather fearit nor flatterit anie fleche!" and, efter his deathe, was frindlie to his wyff and childring. He was verie wyse, and a guid Justiciar, in administration. His fyve yeirs war estimed to be als happie and peacable as ever Scotland saw. The name of a Papist durst nocht be hard of; ther was na theiff nor oppressour that durst kythe.[5] Bot he could nocht suffer Chryst to reing[6] frielie be rebuking of sinne, bot maid oppo-

[1] Without. [2] Delayed.

[3] "Mr Andro maid upon him this Epigram:—

"Tu, Leo magne, jacis inglorius; ergo manebunt
Qualia fata canes? Qualia fata sues?

Sen lawlie lyes thow noble Lyon fyne,
What sall betyde behind to dogges and swyne?" Margin of MS.

[4] His opponents at once devise a stratagem. [5] Shew himself. [6] Reign.

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sition to the ministrie of Edinbruche in publict place; nor be the right government of his Kirk be the Presbyterie of his lawfullie callit pastors and eldars, mislyked the Assemblies Generall, and wald haiff haid the name thairof changit, that he might abolishe the previlage and force thairof. Wharunto my uncle, Mr Andro, specialie opponit him selff, and thairby, and for the Bischops, incurrit his speciall indignation; [and thairabout first discordit with Mr David Lindsay, to whom he was comounlie contradictor, saying, that Maister Knox haid commendit him to the Court all his dayes; that he was a guid mid-man, and maker of brues[1] amangs men, bot sould nocht haiff place betwix God and man. Yit, in effect, the said Mr David keipit honest in the cause of the discipline till it was concludit, and efter.] He sought to insinuat him selff, efter the leying doun of his Regentrie in the King's favour and sum Counsallours, be twa things in speciall that concernit the King's weill and the realmes. Ane, that the King might be a frie King and monarche, haiffing the rewell and power of all Esteates, quhilk the Kirk's Generall Assemblie empeared.[2] Ane uther, to be conform with Eingland in the Kirk's Polecie; to haiff Bischopes to rewll the Kirk, and they to be answerable to the King, and sa the frie preatching repressed. With this, he was wounderfullie giffen to gather gear, thairby, as he said, to inritche the King withall. Thir things, whowbeit humblit, yit he amended nocht, bot keipit out of his course till he might do na mair, and then glorifiet God, as in the awin place salbe declarit.

[This yeir, in the simmer, God brought ham Mr Thomas Smeton, a man of singular giftes of lerning and godlines, a grait benefit to his Kirk, and speciall blessing of my guid God, for me in particular.[3]]

M.D.LXXVIII.

The Generall Assemblie conveinit at Edinbruche in Apryll 1578, in the Magdalen Chapell.[4] Mr Andro Melvill was schosin Modera-

[1] Reconciler of quarrels, peace-maker. [2] Impaired. [3] Margin of MS.

[4] "At this Assemblie war a number of questiones giffen in from Court be Alexander Hay, Clark Register, and the answers thairof cravit at diverse Assemblies thairefter, for the Courtes profeit." Margin of MS.

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tor, whar was concludit, That Bischopes sould be callit be thair awin names, or be the names of "Breither," in all tyme coming, and that lordlie name and authoritie banissed from the Kirk of God, quhilk hes bot a[1] Lord, Chryst Jesus. Also the haill Heids of the Polecie, put in propositiones, and sett in ordour, war ratefied and allowit, except a litle of the Diaconat to be farther advysit. *Item*, That na Bischope sould be elected or maid thairefter, nor na Minister consent thairto, under the pean of deprivation. *Item*, The leat murdour of the Lord Glames, Chancellar, regreted; and for that blud and uthers, for the King's prosperus government, undertaken newlings[2] in his awin person, and for the guid acceptation of the wark of the Polecie and Discipline of the Kirk now concludit, and to be presented to his Majestie and Counsall, ther was a Generall Fast concludit to be zealuslie keipit throwout the land.

[When the Assemblie haid concludit the Discipline, diverse of the breithring, as namlie, Mr Andro Melvill and Andro Hay, desyrit the sam to be subscryvit be the haill breithring. To the quhilk Mr Patrik Adamsone answered, "Nay, we haif an honest man, our Clark, to subscryve for all; and it war to derogat to his fathfulnes and estimatioun, gif we sould all severalie subscryve." "Weill," sayes Mr Andro Hay, "gif anie man com against this, or deny it heirefter, he is nocht honest." And to Mr Patrik he said, before thrie or fower, "Ther is my hand, Mr Patrik; gif yie com against this heirefter, consenting now sa thorowlie to it, I will call yow a knave, and[3] it war never sa publictlie!" Mr Patrik receaves the conditioun: Bot at the presenting of the conclusiounes befor the Regent and Counsall, the Regent askes Mr Patrik, gif he haid assented thairto? He denyit it, and that he haid refusit to subscryve it. Wherupon the said Conclusiones of Discipline war refused be the Counsall. The cause wharof, when Mr Andro Hay haid inquyred at diverse honorable Counsellors, they leyed the wait[4] on the said Mr Patrik; wha coming by in the mean tyme, Mr Andro Hay takes him be the hand befor the said Counsallour, and dispytfullie

[1] One. [2] Newly. [3] If. [4] Wyte, blame.

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to his face sayes, "O knave! knave! I will crown thee the knave of all knaves!" [1]]

The Assembly thairefter conveined at Stirling in July, that sam yeir; wherin the form of conclusion, as in all the former Assemblies, sa in that, was, That the Kirk, all in a voice, hes concludit the haill articles and propositiounes of the Buik of the Polecie of the Kirk, to be conform to the Word of God, and meit for the Esteat of the Kirk in this land; and ordeanes the sam, with a supplication, to be presented to the King's Majestie. The quhilk was done, and his Hienes gaiff a verie confortable and guid answer thairanent, nominating certean of his Counsall to confer with the breithring apointed be the Kirk thairupon.

That yeir my uncle dedicat to the King his Carmen Mosis, with certean Epigrames, and a chapter of Job in vers, quhilk put all men in hope of graitter warks; but partlie his grait occupationes and distractiones, partlie, as he wes wount to say, *Scribillantium et scripturientium turba;* and cheiflie, that he thought the tyme maist profitablie bestowit in doing, teatching, and framing of guid instruments for the meantenence of the treuthe and wark of the ministerie and scholles, moved him to neglect wraitting, except of verses and epigrammes, as his humor and occasiones moved him; wharof he hes, in his peapers, a grait number; and nocht a few, as *Carmina Sybillina*, lost. Bot for commendation of thrie notable verteus in him, thrie things, amangs manie ma, I man recompt:[2] Interpretation of dreames, patience, and heroic stoutnes.

The Collage haid monie pleyes in law depending that yeir, and Mr Piter Blakburn was Œconomus and speciall actor; yit, because the æstimation of Mr Andro was graitter, he desyrit him at certean peremptor dyettes to be present in Edinbruche. For sic a dyet, being to go to Edinbruche, Mr Piter comes in to his chalmer in the morning, heavie and grim-lyk. Being inquyrit be the Prin-

[1] Margin of MS. [2] Among many more, which I must recount.

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cipall what ealed him, he answerit, "I haiff dreamed an unsall[1] dream, and I am sum thing solist[2] efter it."—"What is it?" sayes he. "Methought we war sitting at our Collage burde, and a cap full of barmie drink befor us. I luiked to the cap, and I thought I saw a read-headit tead lope[3] out of it, and craled[4] upe upon the wall, the quhilk I perceved and dang down, and tramped under my feit; and as I turned, I saw an uther lope out also, quhilk, whowbeit I followed, it gat away in a holl out of my sight."—"Be nocht solist," sayes he, "Mr Piter; I will interpret your dream, and warrand the interpretation trew, for a pynt of wyne!"—"For suthe," sayes the uther, "and it be guid, a quart!"—"The Collage burd and cap is our Collage leiving, into the quhilk twa read-nebbit teades hes intrusit thamselff. They ar the twa read-neased Compeditours[5] of our Collage, against the quhilk yie haiff presentlie the actiones, viz. Jhone Grame, the first whom yie persewing at this dyet, clim als weill as he will on the wall of the law, yie sall ding down and owercome. The uther is the read-faced Commissar, Mr Archbald Beaton, wha be some wyll sall eschew presentlie, and win away. Assure thyselff, man, thow sall find it sa." Mr Piter lauches, and sayes he was worthe the wyne, whow ever it was; for the twa men war verie read and tead-lyk faced, for ploukes and lumpes. And in deid it cam sa to pass, for they brought hame a notable decreit of reduction of a few of the Freires-yeard against Jhone Grame; and the uther, by moyen and ernest solistation, gat the action delayit, and brought to arbitriment.

[I haiff also marked manie experiences in him of wounderfull sagacitie and smelling out of men's naturalls and dispositiones; sa that tho' sum haid bein never sa fair-farrand[6] and curteus, he could nocht gif tham a guid countenance nor word; quhilk, in deid, wald prove ill men. Uthers, altho' nocht of sa guid apeirance, he wald lyk of, and be hamlie with, wha wald prove weil. Of bathe the sortes, I could rackon divers be nam and surnam, but it is nocht

[1] Unlucky, unfortunate. [2] Anxious, solicitous. [3] A red-headed toad leap.
[4] Crawled. [5] Red-nosed accountants or treasurers. [6] Plausible.

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expedient; onlie an I can nocht omit, wha about this tyme was ordeanit be the Generall Assemblie to be tean ordour withall be the Synod of Glasgw, for deserting of his ministerie; wha, be his fear civill facions fund favour with all except Mr Andro, wha, delling scharplie with him for his desertion of the ministerie, gat this answer: "I will nocht profes povertie."—"O then," sayes Mr Andro to him, "yow will deny nocht onlie the ministerie, bot also trew Christianitie." This man was Mr Jhone Colvin, first apostat fra the ministerie, and syne fra trew Christian religion to foull Papistrie![1]]

Now, for his patience; whowbeit he was verie hat in all questiones, yit when it twitched his particular,[2] no man could crab[3] him, contrair to the comoun custome; as, amangs manie uther, I marked this.—My Lord Hearise haid a sone in the Collage, named Jhone, wha was drawin away from his studies and ordour be sum young men of the town, namlie, a burgess air named Andro Heriot. The Principall calles for Jhone, and reproving him, sayes, "What? hes my Lord, your father, send yow heir to spend your tyme with debauchit persones of the town?" &c. This was tauld Andro Heriot, wha, partlie of intemperat disposition, and partlie, as was supposed, be the Collage mislykers stired upe, cam to Mr Andro, the Principall, a day efter sermont, coming out of the Kirk, haiffing all his schollars and Regents at his bak, and quarrels him schamfullie with manie thows and lyes; continowing from the Kirk almaist down to the Collage, quhilk is a grait space, yea, with sword about him, with menassings and brawlles; but Mr Andro verie patientlie and meiklie answers never a word bot "God facher![4] what hes muvit yow yie neid to bost?[5] We ar ma nor yie."[6] The schollars war out of thair wittes, and fean wald haiff put hands in him; bot he rebuiked tham in sic sort that they durst nocht steir. As for my selff,

[1] The author has made the above addition on the margin of MS. [2] When it concerned his own private interest. [3] Enrage or put him out of temper. [4] Good faith! [5] Scold, threaten. [6] We are more in numbers than you are.

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for als patient as I am called, I doucht nocht[1] suffer it, bot withdrew my selff from him.

Within a schort space efter, the said Andro contractes a fiver, of the quhilk he died; and a day or twa befor, he send for the Principall, wha glaidlie cam and visit him; wha, with grait remorse, confessit his offence, and commendit the uther's grait patience, saying, That he haid win a graitter victorie of him, nor giff he haid sufferit his schollars to ding out his harnes![2] and oft tymes embrasing and kissing him for the sweit confort he bestowed on him, being sa unworthie, cryed ay for him sa lang as the breathe was in him; and sa gaiff upe the ghaist, being a lustie youthe in his mideage.

The young man, Jhone Maxuell, partlie eschewing discipline, and partlie, as was supposed, caried away be the counsall of Papists, (for he haid gottin evill groundes thairof, and all his father's houss, be Mr Gilbert Broun, Abbot of New Abey,) left the Collage, and abad[3] in the town. Bot whowsoone the Lord Heres, his father, hard of it, he cam to the town, scharplie rebuked his sone, and brought him to the Collag, efter he haid lovinglie and maist curteslie delt with the Principall, causit the haill maisters and disciples convein in the verie closs of the Collage; and ther, in presence of all, austerlie commandit his sone to sitt down upon his knees, and humblie offer him selff to what sort of discipline the Principall of the Collage and his Regent (against whome cheifflie he haid bein refractar) wald put him to. The young man obeyit humblie, and the Principall lifted him upe be the hand, efter promise of amendiment; and, efter reconciliation, he enterit him to the Regent againe, humblie presenting to him a piece of golde. What that Lord Heres was utherwayes, I leave it to the Cornicle; bot in this he left a notable exemple to all noble men and fathers to follow.

For fordar verification of his grait patience, because he wald seim verie hat and impatient: At our table, comounlie at mealles and efter, was movit be him sum question of philosophie or artes, namlie,

[1] Could not. [2] Knock out his brains. [3] Abode.

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for this end to schaw that Aristotle could err, and haid erred, contrar to S. Androis axiom, *Absurdum est dicere errasse Aristotelem.* Mr Piter Blakburn, our coleg, was a bitter propugnar of Aristotle; a verie guid and lerned man, bot rud and carlisse of nature; and when he could nocht bear out his defence be reasone, he wald do it be coler and invection upon the persone of Mr Andro, that he was arrogant, proud, and full of his awin sence; but when it cam to that, the argument seassed, for the Principall never spak a word mair. And be this form of doing he wan Mr Piter from monie baith wrang opiniones and evill fasones; for the guid, honest-harted man, frie from his coler, eschamed of him selff, amendit him selff. And this I marked ever to be Mr Androes maner: Being sure of a truethe in reasoning, he wald be extream hat, and suffer na man to bear away the contrar; bot with reasone, words, and gesture, he wald carrie it away, caring for na persone, whow grait soever they war, namlie, in maters of relligion. And in all companies, at table or utherwayes, as he understud and tuk upe the necessitie of the persones and mater in hand to requyre, he wald frilie and bauldlie hauld thair eares fow of the treuthe; and tak it as they wald, he wald nocht ceas nor keipe sylence; yea, and nocht onlie ance or twyse, bot at all occasiones, till he fand tham better instructed, and sett to go fordwart in the guid purpose. And verelie, be lang experience, I haiff knawin him to haiff done as mikle guid in sic conferences and meittings as be his publict doctrine; for sic as war willing to understand in sa doing, he pleasurit tham mair and mair; and sic as wer nocht, he suffered never to rest till he ather brought tham from ther contrarie mynd, or els discovered a perverss disposition against the truethe. Giff he haid nocht bein throuche and resolut him selff in a mater, he wald haiff hard verie patientlie and quietlie, and reasonit thairupon caldlie and camlie aneuche till he war fullie resolvit, and fand his grounds sure. But for his awine particular, in persone, gear, or fame, I knew him never hard in publict with anie man to this houre.

Now for his heroic cowrage and stoutness: The Regent, seeing

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he could nocht divert him [be] benefits and offers, he calles for him a day indirectlie, and, efter lang discoursing upon the quyetnes of the cowntrey, peace of the Kirk, and advancment of the King's Majestie's esteat, he brak in upon sic as war disturbers thairof be thair conceats and owersie[1] dreames, imitation of Genev discipline and lawes; and, efter sum reasoning and grundes of God's Word alleagit, quhilk irritat the Regent, he braks out in coler and bosting:[2] —"Ther will never be quyetnes in this countrey, till halff a dissone of yow be hangit or banished the countrey!"—"Tushe! sir," sayes Mr Andro; "*Purpuratis tuis ista minitare mihi, idem est humi an sublime putrescam: Domini est terra. Patria est ubicunque, est bene.* I haiff bein ready to giff my lyff whar it was nocht halff sa weill wared, at the pleasour of my God. I leived out of your countrey ten yeirs as weill as in it. Let God be glorified, it will nocht ly in your power to hang nor exyll his treuthe!"

[This Regent objected against the Generall Assemblie, That it was [a] convocation of the King's leiges. Mr Andro answerit, "That Chryst and his Apostles war giltie of that cryme, wha conveinit with houndrethes and thowsands, taught tham, and governed without anie leive of the magistrat; and yit did all dewtie to Cæsar, and bade giff him that quhilk was his." *Item*, Mr Andro alleaging a place of the Actes to the said Regent, the Regent sayes tantinglie, "Read yie ever of sic an act as we did at St Jhonstoun?" Answeres Mr Andro: "Gif yie be escheamed of that act, Chryst wilbe escheamed of yow!" The Reformatioun of Relligioun in Scotland was don as the men in the Gospell, wha, bringing a man seik of the palsey, careid be foursome in a bed, brak the houss abone whar Chryst was, unasking leive of the gudman and maister thairof, for the grait desyre quhilk they haid to com to Chryst for the man's helthe. Yit Chryst fand na fault thairwith; bot seing thair fathe, approved the sam, and healed the man. Sa throw zeall the kingdom of Heavin suffered violence at the beginning, and men sought to com to Chryst without asking leive of King or Cæsar.[3]]

[1] Far-fetched, over-sea. [2] Choler and scolding. [3] What is contained within brackets has been added, at a subsequent period, by the author on the margin of MS.

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Monie siclyk hes he hard, and for me reported in mair ferfull form; bot for all nevir jarged a jot ather from the substance of the cause, or forme of proceiding thairin. Bot a piece of storie I man report, steirit upe in particular against him in my persone.

The Lord Boid was grait with the Regent, and haid a cusing in our Collage, named Alexander Boid, a youthe of a grait spreit and ingyne, bot verie commersom and refractar.[1] He haid pleyit the companion wickedlie with the maister in the grammar schul, and siclyk with the first regent the first yeir of his course in the Collage. The nixt yeir he comes to me: At his entrie I delt with him fearlie, and besought him to be weill conditioned, and he sould find na thing in me bot speciall courtessie and affectione; bot giff he sould preass to missuse me, and mak trouble as he haid done to his maisters befor, for als meik as I seimed, he wald find me scharper nor anie he haid delt with. Upon this premonition he continowes halff a yeir as guid a bern as was in the seage.[2] Till taking occasion of Mr Thomas Smetone's companie, in the quhilk I mikle delyted, I past with him to Edinbruche to fetche ham his wyff; and befor my going, I tuk exact ordour with my schollars, injoyning large task to tham, and apointing of censurers and deleattors of all ther behaviour. Coming ham again, I fand the said Alexander often deleated in grait faultes, namlie, absenting him selff from the kirk, and pleying the loun on the Sabbathe. I begin to deall with him in words; he disdeanes and vilipends with misbehaviour in words and countenance; I command him to correction, he rebelles: To be schort, I wald nocht be deforcit; and he gat his deat peyit, bot indeid far within his demearit. He sittes down in a nuk fra my sight, and whill I was teatching my lessone, he takes his pen and ink-horn, and striks him selff on the face and nease[3] till effusion of bluid; he ryves[4] his buik, and dightes[5] his nease with the leaves thairof, and drawes the bluid athort[6] his face, and spots his clothes with the saming;[7] and incontinent efter the lessone rinnes out of

[1] Quarrelsome and refractory. [2] Form, seat. Fr. *siege*. [3] Nose.
[4] Tears. [5] Wipes. [6] Across, athwart. [7] Same.

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the Collage, and away and compleanes to his frinds he was sa misusit crewalie be me. The Principall and Maisters at the bruit,[1] and my desyre, takes tryell, and finds it as is spoken. He byds away fra the Collage a monethe; about the end wharof, on a simmer evening efter supper, I was coming out of the Castell with twa of my companions, whar we haid bein visiting a guid gentleman, wha, unbeset be twasum,[2] haid defendit him selff notablie, being weill fensed,[3] till his dagger cas [was] cut in pices, and brought to extream danger of his lyff, was compellit ather to slay an of tham or be slean. For the quhilk apprehendit, he was deteined in pressone in the Castell, whar we customablie visited him, and lernit of him to fence. Sa, coming from him in the kirk-yeard, my schollar lying in weat with an[4] Alexander Cuningham, sistar-sone to the Lord Boid, wha hounds out the youthe with a baton in his hand to strik me behind my bak. Heiring the sound of his feit, I turned and spak a few words, at the quhilk the boy rinnes by me and luiks for his helper, Alexander Cuninghame, wha cam with speid efter him with a drawin sword and monie bludie words. The twa that war with me saw nocht this Alexander, bot ran and tuk the boy; sa Alexander leyes out a strak at me with the sword, quhilk, declyning[5] my bodie a litle, I eschewed, and closing with him, I gripped his sword arm under my left oxter, and with my right hand caucht his quhingar,[6] haiffing na kynd of wapean upon my selff, and bids him stand. Withe this, incontinent my twa companiones commes and sinders us; sa my God keipit me that night, bothe from doing or receaving anie fordar harme. Coming to the Collage, I schew the mater to the Principall, wha first commandit all the schollars to thair bedds, perceaving tham incensit: And, fearing a wark of the Devill to deboiche tham from ther studies, enter tham in blud, and wrak the wholl Collage, yit wald noch suffer the preparative to pass untean ordour with, upon the morn conveines the Rector and Magistrats of the town, according to the ordour, and cites the parties

[1] Rumour, report. Fr. *bruit*. [2] Attacked or beset by two. [3] Skilled in the art of self-defence. [4] One. [5] Stooping. [6] Short sword.

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befor tham. I compeir; the uther is contumax, and persevers in his bost.[1] The mater is tryed exactlie. They decern Alexander Cuninghame, for his wrang, to come to the place whar it was done, and ther, humblie, bear-futted and bear-headet, to crave the Rectour, the Principall, and me, the persone offendit, forgiffnes. This being notefied to Alexander, he malings, and vowes[2] ther sould be graitter cause maid or anie forgiffnes cravit.

Ther na thing was noysit sa mikle in the countrey, as the Boids and Cuninghams wald slay the Maisters and burn the Collage. Bot the Principall jarget never a whit,[3] nor movit him selff, whowbeit sum of us war right fleyd;[4] but send and reasit Letters, and summoned Alexander befor the King and Secreit Counsall, wha compeired with a grait number of his frinds, thinking to bost us fra it; bot we cam befor the King and Counsall at St Androis, producit the proces and decreit of the Rector and Bailyies of Glasgw, and obteined the sam to be ratefiet; and the said Alexander chargit to fulfill and obey it sic a day, or then to enter in ward within the Castell of Blaknes.

Coming ham to Glasgw, and the day approtching, our speciall frinds dealt with us, namlie, the Rector, Mr Andro Hay, a man of grait moyen[5] in the countrey, to quyt that decreit and forgiff it, seing ther was na evill done, utherwayes he was certified it wald com to war,[6] for the man was neir in blod on the father syde to the Erl of Glencarn, and on the mother's to the Lord Boid, the naturall and fasones wharof he knew, [that they wald nocht suffer ther blud sched (as they alleagit) unrevengit.[7]] The Principall answers, "Giff they wald haiff forgiffnes, let them crave it humblie, and they sall haiff it; but or that preparative pass, that we dar nocht correct our scholars for fear of bangstars and clanned gentlemen, they sall haiff all the blud of my body first!" Sa the day comes, at the quhilk the Lord Boid comes to Glasgw, accompanied with all his frinds; so comes my Lord of Glencarn with his, to the number of four or fyve

[1] Threat. [2] Maligns, or curses and vows. [3] Never swerved a whit.
[4] Were much afraid. [5] Influence. [6] Worse would befal. [7] Margin.

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houndrethe gentilmen. The Principall is delt with be diverse intercessors nocht to present the place: Bot terrifie as they wald, he sayes, "They that will go with me go; they that are fleyd,[1] let them tarie!" And sa the Rector, the Principall, and I, with our schollars at our bak, in our gowns, com to the kirk-yeard, and stude at the place wher I was unbesett; the kirk-yeard being full of gentlemen, giffes place. Then comes Alexander, arrayit in his best abuilyment, in the middes of twa gentlemen, wherof an was the eldest brother of my schollar, the uther his neirest frind; and the said Alexander, bear-headit and bear-futed, and offers to fulfill the decreit giff anie wald accept of it. "Dout nocht of the acceptation," answers the Principall: "We are heir readie!" And sa the said Alexander, in presence of all his frinds, to bear him witness, recited the words of the decreit, and obeyed conform to everie circumstance. The quhilk, when the gentilmen saw, wha, for the maist part, knew nocht for what cause they cam, luche him to skorn, spendit thrie or four hounder mark in the town, and returned, as they confessit, graitter fulles nor they cam a-field!

Now to Mr Thomas Smeton, of whom I maid mention befor. I marked the wounderfull guidnes and providence of God towards his Kirk in this realme, wha, as first efter the blud of these martyrs, Mr George Wischart and Walter Miln, steired upe Mr Knox to effectuat the wark of Reformation; and taking him to his rest, send ham Mr Andro Melvill for continuance of zeall and sinceritie, with exquisit literature and knawlage, and for putting on of the ceapstean of the trew and right discipline and polecie. Sa, when the course of Papistrie begoud againe to creipe in be the alteration of the government, and Guisian counsall[2] entering about the King, then God plucked out from amangs the Jesuits a wadge of thair awin timber, wherwith to rent and cross thair deceaits. This was Mr Thomas Smeton, wha, in that jorney to Edinbruche, recompted to me the strange wirking of God with him; this in soum:[3] —That at the

[1] Afra'd, terrified. [2] The council or policy of the House of Guise. [3] A summary.

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Reformation of Religion, he being put from the Auld Collage of St Androis, past to France, whare in Paris he thought mikle upon the trew way of salvation, and be dealling of diverse of his acquentance, namlie, Mr Thomas Matteland, a young gentilman of guid literature and knawlage in the treuthe of religion, was brought to ken and be inclynde to the best way. Whar also he was acquentit with my uncle, Mr Andro, and Mr Gilbert Moncreiff. Yit lothe to alter his mynd wherin he was brought upe, and fand him selff sum tyme fullie perswadit in the mater of his fathe and salvation, he thought he [illegible] leave na thing untryed and esseyit perteining therto. And understanding that the ordour of the Jesuits was maist lerned, halie, and exquisit in the Papistrie, he resolvit to enter in thair ordour, during the years of probation; at the end wharof, giff he fand him selff satteled in his auld fathe, he wald continow a Jesuist; and giff he fand nocht amangs tham that might remove all the douttes he was cast into, it was bot folie to seik fordar; he wald yeild unto that light that God, be the ernest delling of his loving frinds and companions, haid enterit him into. And sa he enterit in the Jesuists' Collage at Paris, whar he fand Mr Edmond Hay, a verie loving frind, to whom he communicat all his mynd. Mr Edmond, seing him worthie to be win to tham, and giffen to lerning and sight, directes him to Rome; and be the way he cam to Genev, whar Mr Andro Melvill and Mr Gilbert Moncreiff being for the tyme, he communicat with tham his purpose, and cravit thair prayers. Of his purpose they could sie na guid warrand, but thair prayers they promisit hartlie. Sa, making na stey ther, he past fordwart to Rome, whar he was receavit in the Jesuists' Collage gladlie. In the quhilk Collage was a father hauldin of best lerning and prudence, wha was ordeanit to travell with sic as wer deteined in pressone, for religion, to convert tham. Of him he cravit that he might accompanie him, at sic tymes, when he went to deall with these presoners; quhilk was granted to him. Be the way as they cam from the presoners to the Collage, quhilk was neir a myll, Mr Thomas wald tak the argument of the presoners, and mentein it against the Jesuist for reasoning's cause, and indeid to be resolvit; and the

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more he insisted he fand the treuthe the stranger, and the Jesuist's answers never to satisfie him.

This way he continowit about a yeir and a halff in Rome, till at last he becam suspitius;[1] and thairfor was remitted bak to Paris, throw all the Collages of the Jesuists be the way; in all the quhilks he endevorit mair and mair to haiff his douttes resolvit, bot fand him selff ay fordar and fordar confirmed in the veritie. Coming to Paris again, he abaid ther a space, verie lovinglie interteined be Mr Edmond; till at last he could nocht bot discover him selff to Mr Edmond; to whom, he sayes, he was alse mikle behauldin as to anie man in the warld: For nochtwithstanding that he perceavit his mynd turned away from thair ordour and relligion, yit he ceased nocht to counsall him, frindlie and fatherlie, and suffered him to want na thing. And being a verie wyse man, he thinks to keipe Mr Thomas quyet, and nocht to suffer him to kythe[2] an adversar against them. Perceaving, thairfor, the young man to be giffen to his buik, he giffes him this counsall, to go to a quyet Collage, situat in a welthie and pleasant part in Lorain, whair he sould haiff na thing to do but attend upon his buiks; whair he sould haiff all the Antient Doctors, and sic buiks as yie pleasit to reid; he sould leak na necessars; thair he sould keipe him quyet till God wrought fordar with him; utherwayes he wald cast him selff in grait danger. Thair was na thing that could allure Mr Thomas mair nor this, and thairfor he resolved to follow his counsall; and taking jorney, went towards Lorain, whair be the way the Lord leyes his hand upon him, and visites him with an extream fever, casting him in uttermaist pean and perplexitie of body and mynd. Thair he faught a maist strang and ferfull battell in his conscience; bot God at last prevealing, he determines to schaw him selff, abandone that damnable societie, and utter in plean profession the treuthe of God, and his enemies' falshods, hypocrasie, and craft. Sa, coming bak to Paris again, he takes his leive of Mr Edmont, wha yit, nochtwithstanding, kythes na thing bot lovin frindschipe to him, and at his parting

[1] Suspected. [2] Turn out, prove, or manifest himself to be.

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giffes thrie counsalles: 1. To reid and studie the Ancient Doctors of the kirk, [and nocht to trow[1] the ministers;] 2. To go ham to his awin countrey; and, thridlie, To marie a wyff. From that he manifested him selff amangs the professours of religion, till the tyme of the Massacre[2] quhilk schortlie ensewit; at the quhilk being narrowlie sought, he cam to the Engliss Ambassator, Mr Secretarie Walsingham, in whase houss, lyand at Paris for the tyme, as in a comoun girthe,[3] he, with manie ma, war seaff. With whome also he cam to Eingland soone efter, whar he remeaned scholmaister at Colchester till his coming to Scotland.

At his coming in Scotland, he was gladlie content to be in companie with my uncle, Mr Andro; and sa aggreit to be minister at Pasley, in place of Mr Andro Pulwart, wha enterit to the Subdeanrie of Glasgw, when Mr David Cuninghame was bischopit in Aberdein. A litle efter his placing, Mr Andro, Principall of the Collage, put in his hand Mr Archbald Hamiltone's apostat's buik, *De Confusione Calvianæ Sectæ apud Scotos;* and, efter conference thairanent, movit him to mak answer to the sam, quhilk was published in print the yeir following, to the grait contentment of all the godlie and lernit. Mr Thomas was verie wacryff[4] and peanfull,[5] and skarslie tuk tyme to refreche nature. I haiff sein him oft find fault with lang denners and suppers at Generall Assemblies; and when uthers wer thairat, he wald abstein, and be about the penning of things, (wherin he excellit, bathe in langage and form of letter,) and yit was nocht rustic nor auster, bot sweit and affable in companie, with a modest and naive[6] gravitie; verie frugall in fude and reyment, and walked maist on fut; whom I was verie glad to accompanie, whylls to Sterling, and now and then to his kirk, for my instruction and comfort. He lovit me exceiding weill, and wald at parting thrust my head in his bosome and kis me.

He being weill acquented with the practizes of Papists, namlie, Jesuists, and thair devyces for subverting of the Kirk of Scotland,

[1] Believe. Margin. [2] The Massacre of St Bartholomew's Eve. [3] Sanctuary. [4] Wakeful, taking little sleep. [5] Pains-taking. [6] Lively, natural. Fr. *naif.*

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bathe publiclie and privatlie, ceassit nocht to cry and warn ministers and schollars to be diligent upon ther charges and buiks, to studie the controversies, and to tak head they neglected nocht the tyme, for ther wald be a strang unseatt[1] of Papists. Also he was cearfull to know the relligion and affection of noble men, insinuating him in thair companie in a wyse and grave maner, and warning tham to be war of evill companie, and nocht to send thair berns to dangerus partes. And, finalie, Mr Andro and he, mervelouslie conspyring in purposes and judgments, war the first motioners of an Anti-Seminarie to be erected in St Androis, to the Jesuist Seminaries, for the course of Theologie; and cessit never, at Assemblies and Court, till that wark was begoun and sett fordwart.

The Generall Assemblie convenit at Edinbruche, October 1578. Therin the Noble men, frequentlie conveinit,[2] war desyrit to allow of the Polecie of the Kirk by grait peanes and deliberation concludit; and, as they haid accepted the right and trew Confession of the Christian Fathe, sa of the Discipline also drawin out of the word of God. They accepted thairof, and promisit to meantein the sam to ther powar, except in sa far as the King's Majestie and Counsall was nocht resolvit, namlie, of the Diaconerie. Thir Noble men war the Erles of Atholl, Argyll, Montrose, &c., wha haid drawin the faction against the Regent Mortoun; sa it pleasit God to work.

That yeir arryvit Monsieur d'Obignie from France, with instructions and devysses from the Houss of Guise, and with manie Frenche fasones and toyes; and, in effect, with a plean course of Papistrie, to subvert the esteat of the Kirk new planted, bathe with trew doctrin and discipline. He brought with him an Monsieur Mombirneau,[3] a subtill spreit, a mirrie fellow, verie able in bodie, and maist meit in all respects for bewitching of the youthe of a

[1] Or *unsaucht*; dispeace, trouble. [2] Numerously assembled. [3] "Mr Nicol Dalgles tauld me that this Monbirneu's mother was a verie godlie lady, and schew grait curtessie to tham in France, at Burge in Berie, and warnit tham of M. Obignie's sending in Scotland; wherupon he maid advertisment to the ministers of Edinbruche." Note by the author, inserted on margin of MS.

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Prince. They within few dayes insinuat tham selffs sa in favour of the young King, that they gydit all, brought in be Mortone's mislykers, bot to the wrak bathe of him and thame. Under thair winges crape in craftie fellowes, wha maid the Reformation of Relligion, and all the guid service done for the King befor, to be bot turbulent and treasonable delling, &c.; against the quhilk the ministers of Edinbruche, lyk fathfull watchmen, maid loud and tymus warning.

M.D.LXXIX.

The Assemblie convenit at Edinbruche in the New Kirk, July 1579. To convoy the mair craftelie and quyetlie the course intendit, thair is presentit from his Majestie a Letter to the Assemblie, schawing his Hienes guid mynd towards the Kirk, and craving the Heads of the Polecie to be presented to the Parliament instant, to be past thairat. This was to conciliat the favour of the Kirk, and mak Mortoun mair odius till they war stranger. *Item*, Bischopes and Superintendents haillie removit, and Commissioners from Assemblie to Assemblie, in number sufficient for the haill realm, acording to the severall Provinces, placed in ther roum. The Bischopes ther began to withdraw tham selves fra the Assemblies, and ordour takin thairanent. The reformation of the Universitie of St Androis intendit, and sutt maid to the King's Majestie thairanent. Presbyteries ordeanit to be erected, and that the Exerceises sould be as Presbyteries in the mean tyme.

It was a maist pleasand and confortable thing to be present at these Assemblies, thair was sic frequencie and reverence; with halines in zeall at the doctrine quhilk soundit mightelie, and the Sessiones at everie meiting, whar, efter ernest prayer, maters war gravlie and cleirlie proponit; overtures maid be the wysest; douttes reasonit and discussit be the lernedest and maist quik; and, finalie, all withe a voice concluding upon maters resolved and cleirit, and referring things intricat and uncleired to farder advysment. Namlie, it is to be noted, that in all these Assemblies anent the Polecie, ther was nocht sic a thing as a careing away of anie poinct with a

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number of vottes, an or ma, or by a preoccupied purpose or led course; bot maters indifferentlie proponit, and efter beging light of God, and sersing the Scripture by conference and reasoning discussit, with large and sufficient tyme takin and diligentlie employed for that effect, all with a voice, in an consent and unitie of mynd, determines and concludes.

God glorified him self notablie with that ministerie of Edinbruche, in these dayes. The men haid knawlage, uprightnes, and zeall; they dwelt verie commodiuslie togidder, as in a Collage, with a wounderfull consent in varietie of giftes, all strak on a[1] string and soundet a harmonie. Jhone Dury was of small literature, bot haid sein and marked the grait warks of God in the first Reformation, and bein a doer bathe with toung and hand. He haid bein a diligent heirar of Mr Knox, and observer of all his wayes. He conceavit the best grounds of maters weill, and could utter tham fearlie, fullie, and fecfullie, with a mightie spreit, voice, and action. The speciall gift I marked in him was halines, and a daylie [and nightlie[2]] cearfull, continuall walking with God in meditation and prayer. He was a verie guid fallow, and tuk delyt, as his speciall comfort, to haiff his table and houss filled with the best men. These he wald gladlie heir, with tham confer and talk, professing he was bot a buik-bearer, and wald fean lern of thame; and getting the ground and light of knawlage in anie guid poinct, then wald he rejoyse in God, praise and pray thairupon, and urge it with sa cleir and forcible exhortation in Assemblies and pulpit, that he was estimed a verie fordersum[3] instrument. Ther ludgit in his house at all these Assemblies in Edinbruche, [for comoun,] Mr Andro Melvill, Mr Thomas Smeton, Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, thrie of the lernedest in Europe; Mr James Melvill, my uncle, Mr James Balfour, David Fergusone, David Home, ministers; with sum zelus, godlie barrones and gentilmen. In tyme of mealles was reasoning upon guid purposes, namlie, maters in hand; thairefter ernest and lang prayer; thairefter a chaptour read, and everie man about[4] gaiff his not and observation

[1] One. [2] Margin of MS. [3] Ready, active. [4] Alternately, one by one.

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thairof: Sa that giff all haid bein sett down in wryt, I haiff hard the lernedest and of best judgment say, they wald nocht haiff wissed a fuller and better commentar nor sum tymes wald fall out in that exerceise. Thairefter was sung a Psalme; efter the quhilk was conference and deliberation upon the purposes in hand; and at night, befor going to bed, ernest and zealus prayer, according to the esteat and success of maters. And often tymes, yea, almost daylie, all the Collage was togidder in an or uther of thair housses; for, befor Mr James Lawsone and Mr Walter war maried, they war burdit with Jhone Durie, and efter entring to thair awin housses, keipit exceiding guid fallowschipe togidder.

Heir I man remember a singular benefit of God's providence and government towards me. I was then in the floure of my age, about a twa and twentie and thrie and twentie yeirs; a young man nocht unlovlie, and of nature verie loving and amorus, quhilk was the proped schot of Sathan wharby to snare me, and spoill the haill wark of God in me. Manie lovers haid I, and sum loves also; monie occasiones, in dyvers places and sortes of persones, and nocht of inferior rank: Yit my guid God, of his frie grace and love towards me, a vean, vyll, corrupt youthe; partlie by his fear wrought in my heart, partlie by necessar occupation in my calling, and partlie be a certean schamfastnes of a bashfull nature, quhilk he pat in me, sa keipit me that I was nocht overcome nor miscaried be na woman, offensivlie to his Kirk, nor greivuslie to my conscience, in blotting of my bodie. I markit befor the occasion I haid of lerning to sing and play on instruments of music in St Androis, wharof my hart was verie desirus, [bot from grait skill, wherin God keipit me;] far graitter and sweittar haid I in Glasgw of a gentilman's houss in the town, wha interteined maist expert singars and playars, and brought upe all his berns thairin, namlie, his eldest douchtar, a verie pleasand gentilwoman, endewit with manie guid verteus. I haid everie yeir sum of this gentilman's sonnes my schollars, and be that occasion was hamlie in his houss, and maist lovinglie and hartlie interteined. Affection enterit verie extreamlie betwix that

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gentlewoman and me, bot as God and man bathe knew, honest and cheast;[1] yit sic as giff my God, and the cairfull and fatherlie admonitiones and conforts of my uncle, haid nocht supplied, it haid undone me. Manie sear[2] battels and greivus tentatiounes[3] did my God uphauld me in, and carie me throw; and at last put in my hart a purpose to seik and use that holie and lawfull remeid of mariage; and thairin, namlie to respect a helpe and confort for that calling wherunto I haid advowit my selff. Sa, be my hanting to the Generall Assemblies in Edinbruche, and takin with the godlie ordour and exerceise in the familie of Jhone Durie, and with that cairfull walkine with God I saw in him; as also with sum appeirance of God's fear and honestie I saw in the face and fasones[4] of the bern, being bot about alleavin or twall yeirs of age, I resolvit with my God to settle my hart ther, tak hir for my love, and put all uther out of my hart: And this almost a four yeir befor our mariage.

M.D.LXXX.

The Generall Assemblie convenit at Dondie, July 1580, wharat Mr James Lawsone was Moderator: The King's Commissionars war ther. Ther *Episcopatus* was utterlie abolisched, and all bruik-and that office ordeanit to demit the sam, and with dew tryall to be receavit as pastors of particular congregationes *de novo*, and that under pean of excomunication; and the Provinciall Synods immediatlie following to put the act in execution. *Item*, Anent the office of Reidars, that ther is nocht sic an office in the Kirk of God as of simple reiding; and, thairfor, all Reidars to be tryed within twa yeir, and giff they haiff nocht profited sa that they ar able to exhort with doctrine, to be deposit; and that nan sould be admitted, in tyme coming, to anie benefice that could do na mair bot reid. Also manie delationes was maid of Papists that haid flocked hame with and efter Monsieur d'Obignie, wha haid presence and credit at Court; wheranent the King's ministers, Mr Jhone Crage and Jhone Dunkanson, war admonised.

[1] Chaste. [2] Sore. [3] Grievous trials. [4] Manners.

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At that Assemblie, Captan Robert Anstruther, father-brother to the present Lard of Anstruther, wha haid spendit his haill lyff in the warres in France, and haid atteined ther to honour and ritches, moved of conscience, cam hame to end his lyff in his awin countrey, in the Reformed Kirk thairin; and offerit him selff as a penitent to the said Assemblie, for being sa manie yeirs present at mess with his maister, the King of France, knawin the ydolatrie thairof, and professing the trew religion in his hart. The Assemblie remitted him to the Synod of Fyff and Presbyterie of St Androis, to be receaved in the favour of the Kirk, as he was the wintar thairefter; and within a yeir died happelie, full of dayes. He was a verie wyse and valiant man in armes, spendit all his time in the warres with grait honour, and yit haid the hape never to sched blud with his awin hand, nor to haiff his blud schede. He left to the pure of the congregation of Kilrinny, whare he was born, and whare he died, the soum of a thowsand marks.

That yeir was the King's first progress and promene athort[1] his countrey, with solemnities of entress in manie of his Hienes' brouches;[2] and amangs the rest of St Androis, whar we war for that present come from Dondie with the supplication and articles of the Assemblie, and keiping a dyet befor the Counsall about Alexander Cuninghame, in the mater mentioned befor. Whar, on a day, the gentilmen of the countrey about haid a gyse and farce to play befor the King: His Majestie was in the new Innes of the Abay, befor the windowes wharof the schow was to be maid. Grait confluence of peiple conveined, and the place read with a fear circuit: It continowed void for the space of a lang houre, wither that his Majestie was nocht readie to behauld, or the playars to present tham selves, I can nocht tell, bot, whill all ar gasing and langing for the play, in stappes Schipper Lindsay, a knawin frenetic man,[3] and paesses[4] upe and down in the circuit with a grait gravetie, his hands in his syde, looking verie big and hiche. The

[1] Athwart. [2] Burghs. [3] A known madman. [4] Paces, struts.

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man was of a grait telyie,[1] weill bigged,[2] of a large face, and guid manlie countenance, all rouche with heire, his browes grait tuftes of heire, and als grait a tuft upon the verie neb of his nease;[3] his look was verie reasit and hiche: Wherat first the peiple maid a noyse with lauching; bot when he began to speak, he movit sic attention as it haid bein to a preatcher; and, indeid, for my part, I was mair movit with it then with monie preatchings. Ther he discoursit with grait force of sprit and mightie voice, crying upon all of all ranks and degries to heir him, and tak exemple be him, whow wicket and ryottous a man he haid bein; what he had done and conqueist be the sie, and whow he had spendit it, and abosit him selff be land; and what maist justlie for that the grait God and Judge of the warld haid brought upon him. He haid wit, he haid ritches, he haid strenthe and abilitie of body; he haid fam and estimation passing all of his tread and rank; bot all was vanitie, that maid him misken his God, wha wald nocht be miskenned, namlie, be the hichest. And turning him selff to the boss windo, whar, in the nedmaist, the Erle of Morton was standing gnapping on his staff-end, and the King and Monsieur d'Obignie above, he makes sic application to him in speciall as movit him throw the hart, and was marvellus in the eares of the heirars: For my selff, I was estonisched and movit to tears, heiring and seing the man. Amangs the rest, he warned him, nocht obscurlie, that his judgment was neir, and his dome was dichten. And, indeid, the verie sam tyme was the platt a dressin against the Erle of Morton, na wayes knawin nor suspected of anie [in comoun.[4]] Sa, that the platt leyers wald haiff suspected a discoverie, giff they haid nocht knawin the man to be lunatik and bereft of his wit. I market the Erle, standing just forneut him, mikle movit with this first interlude, as ernest and nocht play; sa, that during all the sportes that followed, he altered never the gravitie of his countenance.

In the monethe of October immediatlie thairafter, the Generall

[1] Stature. [2] Built. [3] Point of his nose. [4] Margin.

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Assemblie conveinet at Edinbruche. Ther Bischopes callit upon; all war fund absent. The actes maid against them ordeanit to be put in operation. Mr Andro Melvill, sear against his will, decernit and ordeanit to transport him selff from Glasgw to St Androis, to begine the wark of Theologie ther, with sic as he thought meit to tak with him for that effect, conform to the leat reformation of that Universitie, and the New Collage thairof, giffen in be the Kirk and past in Parliament. Wharupon compulsators of horning past out against him, and Mr Thomas Smeton ordeanit to be placed in the Collage of Glasgw in his roum.

[About this tyme rested happelie in the Lord Mr Jhone Row, minister of St Jhonstoun, a wyse, grave father, and of guid literature, according to his tyme; wha, be information of my uncle, Mr Andro, haid first, in a Generall Assemblie, be doctrine, clerit all the Heads of the Discipline, to the grait contentation of the haill Kirk; and thairefter continowit a constant promoter thairof to his end.[1]]

The vacans[2] befor, and all that yeir, I was resolved haillelie to haiff gean[3] to France; bot could na wayes obtein my uncle's guid will, nor yit the guid breithring's, whaes judgments I reverenced; yit I haid almost prevealed till this transportation was concludit. And then, partlie moved with the lov and reverence of my uncle, whom I could nocht leave, so ernestlie desyring me to tak a part of that charge with him; and partlie glad to be frie from the daylie labor of regenting in Philosophie, to ascend to the profession and daylie travell in Theologie, wherin I was blythe to spend my haill lyff, I cast away that purpose of France, and tuk me haillelie[4] to tak part with my uncle, namlie, finding the approbation of all the guid breithring and calling of the Kirk to that purpose. Yit a benefit, quhilk I haid of that purpose, to pass in France, was the studie of the Frenche toung, wharto I was mikle giffen that yeir, and wherin, to satisfie me, my uncle helped me graitlie, by conferring with me textes of Scripture; also sum thing of the best au-

[1] Margin of MS. [2] Vacation. [3] Gone. [4] Wholly.

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thors in the Frenche toung, as of Plutarche's Lyves and Heliodor's Ethiopic Historie, conferring the Greik with the Frenche; wherin I profited in bathe, namlie, in the right pronunciation of the Frenche langage, quhilk is hardest to attein unto. Be quhilk occasion I tuk mikle delyt, and reade manie things in the Frenche langage.

We tuk leive from Glasgw with infinit teares on bathe sydes, sa that sic as war our mislykers befor (wharof, except sum Boyds and that Alexander Cuninghame, ther was nan) wald haiff fean kythed frindschipe then; and leaving Mr Thomas Smeton in the Principall's, and my cusing, Mr Patrik Melvill, (sone to guid Roger, wha leatlie haid past his course in Philosophie ther,) in my roum, we cam to Edinbruche about the end of November, whare I fand my bern[1] growand in grace and favour with God and man, quhilk eased me sum what of the langour of our frinds at Glasgw.

But the grait feir and cear quhilk was in my hart of my inhabilitie to undertak and bear out sa grait a charge as to profess Theologie and holie tounges amangs ministers and maisters, namlie, in that maist frequent[2] Universitie of St Androis, amangs divers alterit and displacit, and thairfor malcontents and mislykers, occupied me sa, that I behovit to forget all, and rin to my God and my buik.

Mr James Lawsone, Jhone Dury, with the Lards of Bread and Faldownsyde, convoyit us to Londy, and so with the Lard thairof, to St Androis, and enterit us in the Collage in the monethe of December 1580. Mr Andro, Principall Maister, Mr Jhone Robertsone, wha haid bein lang in that Collage befor, and haid studiet sum thing in Theologie, a guid weill-conditionet man, but of small literature and giftes, and me. Mr Andro maid his preface, and enterit to the comoun places: So did I, and enterit to the Hebrew Grammar. Mr Jhone did as he could in the New Testament; bot was supplied thairin be the Principall, wha remitted na thing of his wounted peanes.

At our first entrie, ther was a student chalmerit[3] abon a lafted

[1] His future wife, the daughter of John Durie. See p. 80. [2] Numerously attended. [3] Who resided or lodged in a chamber.

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leache seller,[1] in the quhilk sellar wrights war working, and it was full of dry timber and spealles,[2] grait and small. The student coll ing[3] his candle in a morning, the coll falles throw the laft, and kendles the small speales lyand alangs a pleaning burde,[4] and sa athort the house. He comes out greitting and crying; quhilk, my chamber being nixt, I heir, and coming down with speid, lookes in at a window, and sies all the house athort in fyre, and the key of the dure could nocht be gottin. Giff I haid a dammist sear hart, God knowes, luiking for na thing bot the burning of the haill place at our first entrie, to the grait discourage and greiff of all guid men, and the joy of the wicked, and sic as heated[5] the wark. Wharfor, crying mightilie to God in my hart, I with the auld portar presses the breaking of the dur in vean; bot it pleased God mercifullie to luik on and pitie the mater, sending the wright boy with the key, onluikit for, and twa or thrie with water; wherby we quenched the fyre befor it tuk hald of the gests and lafting[6] above; and, indeid, the houss being sa full of dry timber and spealles, it was a wounder to sie the fyre sa soone slokned;[7] and that, quhilk I thought a speciall benefit, befor anie thing was hard thairof in the town, or noyse maid thairabout: Bot it sank sa in my hart, that I could nocht forget nor conceill it, for danger of unthankfulnes to God, wha sa mercifullie keipit that wark from sklander and discuragment at the first entres thairto.

Ther was nan that welcomde us mair than Mr Patrik Adamsone, called Bischope, wha resorted to our lessones, and keiped verie familiar frindschipe with Mr Andro, promising what could ly in him for the weill of that wark. He haid takin him to the ministeric of St Androis, and teatched twyse in the ouk exceiding sweitlie and eloquentlie; but the Sabothes, at efter noone, vaked, because of Mr Robert Hamilton's seiklines, wha was ordinar minister. And

[1] A low cellar in the New College of St Andrews, having a "loft" for drying timber. [2] Carpenters' chips and shavings of wood. [3] Snuffing. [4] A carpenter's planing-bench. [5] Hated. [6] Joists and lofting. [7] Quenched.

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thairfor, at the desyre of sum of the eldars of the kirk send from the session, I occupied the pulpit on the Sabaths at efter noone; lyk as the Principall did oftentymes in the fornoone, in absence of the Bischope. Thus it pleased God, of unspeakable grace, to hald the mouthe quhilk he haid opened, sounding his treuthe and praise, quhilk was done with grait tentationes and mikle trembling and fear in the present tyme, bot now rememberit to the graittest joy of my hart. And thus we war occupied all the ouk in the schoolls, and in the Kirk on the Sabothe; quhilk was my onlie releiff against monie foolishe thoughts and languissing cears, and held me fast upon my God, with ernest wakryffnes,[1] to beg his grace.

Ther was twa things that daylie sterrit me upe to thankfulnes towards God, and ernest endevour in my calling. That an, when I lewked upon sic as haid bein maisters and regents when I was a schollar, now to be receavers of instruction out of my mouthe, saying oft with David, "Thou has maid me wysar nor my teatchers." Another, I saw a condisciple of myne, mentioned befor, Mr David Elison be name, wha was the best schollar of his class all the tyme of our course, and going to France with the Clark Register sonnes, ther he falles in a phrenesie and daffing,[2] quhilk keipit him to his deathe; whom, when I beheld out of the pulpit in the scholles, and rememberit the mercifull working of my God with mie, my breist could nocht contein my breathe nor my eis teares. Then I had the honour, of Him to whome all honour aperteines, to be the teatcher of Mr Robert Rolloc, of most worthie memorie, the Hebrew toung, wha resorted ordinarlie to my lessone and chalmer to that effect.

M.D.LXXXI.

The Generall Assemblie conveined at Glasgw in Apryll, 1581, wherat, throw distance of place, and the new beginning of our wark in St Androis, Mr Andro thought lang nocht to be; bot at last, borrowing a guid horse from the Bischope, aff-hand takes jorney and

[1] Wakefulness, watchfulness.

[2] Lunacy and idiotcy.

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keipes that Assemblie. Therin the office of Bischopes, as they war mentioned, judged damnable. The Act of Dondie cleirliar exponit, and ordeanit to be put in execution. The ordour of Presbyteries, in all Provinces, sett down; and Commissionars apointed for establissing of the sam. [The King's Confession, published for removing suspition of Papistrie from the Court, sighted[1] and allowit. This Confession is maist notable; bot because it is publict and comoun in the housses and hands of all, I have omitted it.[2]] Bot, namlie, the Buik of the Polecie, efter almaist a ten yeirs labours, was throwlie, and in everie poinct, ratified, and ordeanit to be inregistrat in the buiks of the Assemblie, and copies thairof given furthe to all Provinces. The quhilk, because this declyning age is beginning to forget and slipe fra, I thought guid to insert in this place, wharof the tenor followes:—

THE HEADS AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE POLECIE OF THE KIRK, M.D.LXXXI.

CAP. I.

Of The Kirk and Polecie therof, in generall; and wherin it is different from The Civill Polecie.

I. CONCLUSION.

"PROPOSITION 1. The Kirk of God is, sum tymes, larglie tean[3] for all them that professes the Evangell of Jesus Chryst; and sa it is a companie and fellowschipe, nocht onlie of the godlie, bot also of hypocrites professing alwayes, outwardlie, a trew relligion.

"2. Uther tymes, it is taken for the godlie and elect onlie; and sum tymes for them wha exerceises the spirituall functiones amangs the Congregation of them that professes the treuthe.

[1] Examined, inspected. [2] This on margin of MS. [3] Taken.

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"3. The Kirk, in the last sence, has a certean powar granted be God, according to the quhilk it uses a propre Jurisdiction and Government exercit to the comfort of the haill Kirk.

"4. This powar Ecclesiastical is a powar and authoritie granted be God the Father, throw the Mediator, Jesus Chryst, unto sic wha hes the speciall government of the Kirk committed to them, be lawfull calling, according to the Word of God.

"5. The Polecie of the Kirk, flowing from this powar, is an ordour or form of Spirituall Government, exercit be the members apointed thairto be the Word of God, giffen be Chryst unto his Office-bearers, to be usit for the weill of the haill bodie of his Kirk.

"6. This powar is diverslie usit; for sum tymes it is severalie[1] exercit, (cheiflie be the teatchers,) sum tyme conjunctlie, be mutuall consent of them that bears the office and charge, efter the form of judgment: That an is comounlie callit *Potestas Ordinis;* that uther, *Potestas Jurisdictionis.*

"7. These twa kynds of powar hes bathe a author and ground, and a finall cause, bot ar different in the form and maner of execution; as is evident in the speaking of our Maister in the 16 and 18 of Mathew.

"8. This powar and Polecie Ecclesiasticall is different and distant in the awin nature fra that powar and Polecie quhilk is callet Civill, aperteinand to the Civill Government of the Comoun-weill; albeit they be bathe of God, and tend to a[2] end, giff they be rightlie usit; to wit, to advance the glore of God, and to haiff guid subjects.

"9. For this powar Ecclesiastical flowes immediatlie from God, throw the Mediator, Jesus Chryst, and is spirituall, nocht haiffing a temporall head on erthe, bot[3] onlie Chryst, the spirituall King and Governour of his Kirk, now in glorie within the heavines, at the right hand of his Father.

"10. Therfor, this powar and Polecie of the Kirk sould lein upon the Word immediatlie, as the onlie ground thairof, and sould be takin from the pure fonteans of the Scripture; heiring the voice of

[1] Separately. [2] One. [3] Unless, except.

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Chryst, the onlie King of his Kirk; and therfor sche sould be rewlit be his lawes alleanerlie.

"11. It is a tytle falslie usurpit be Antichryst, to call him selff Head of the Kirk, and aught nocht to be attributit to angell or man, of what esteat soever he be, saving to Chryst Jesus, the onlie Head and Monarche of his Kirk.

"12. It is proper to kings, princes, and magistrates, to be callit Lords and Dominators ower thair subjects, whom they govern civilie; bot it is proper to Chryst alean to be callit Lord and Maister in the spirituall government of the Kirk. Nor aught anie that bears office thairin to usurpe dominion, or be callit Lords within the Kirk, bot onlie ministers, disciples, and servants; for it is Chryst's propre office to command and reull his Kirk Universall, and everie particular Kirk, throw his Spreit and Word be the ministerie of men.

"13. Nochtwithstanding, as the ministers and uthers of the Ecclesiasticall esteat ar subject to the magistrat civilie, sa aught the persone of the magistrat to the Kirk spiritualie, and in Ecclesiasticall government and discipline.

"14. The exerceise of bathe thir Jurisdictiones can nocht stand in a persone ordinarlie.

"15. The civill powar is callit The Powar of the Sword; the uther is callit The Powar of the Keyes.

"16. The civill powar sould command the spirituall to exerceise and do thair office according to the Word of God. The spirituall reulars sould require the Christian magistrat to minister justice and punishe vyce, and to meantein the libertie and quietnes of the Kirk within thair boundes.

"17. The magistrat commandit externall things for externall peace and quietnes amangs the subjects. The ministrie handlit onlie externall things for conscience cause.

"18. The magistrats handlit onlie externall things and actiones don befor men; bot the spirituall rewlars judge bathe inwart affectiones and externall actiones, in respect of conscience, be the Word of God.

"19. The civill magistrat craves and gettes obedience be the

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sworde, and uther externall meanes; bot the ministrie, be the spirituall sword and meanes.

"20. The magistrat nather aught to pretche the Word, minister the Sacraments, nor execut the Censours of the Kirk, nor yit prescryve anie form or reull whow it sould be done, bot command the minister to observe the reull commandit in the Word of God, and punishe the transgressours be civill meanes. The minister, on the uther part, exerces nocht the civill jurisdiction, but teatches the magistrat whow it sould be done according to the Word of God.

"21. The magistrat aught to assist, meantein, and fortifie the Jurisdiction of the Kirk. The minister sould assist thair prince in all things aggreiable unto the Word of God, provyding they neglect nocht thair awin charge, be involving them selves in civill effeares.

"22. Finalie, As ministers ar subject to the judgment and punisment of the magistrats in externall things, if they offend; sa aught the magistrates to submit them selves to the discipline of the Kirk, if they transgress in maters of religion and conscience.

CAP. II.

Of the Parts of the Polecie of the Kirk, and Persons and Office-bearers, to whome the Administration therof is committed.

"1. As in the Civill Polecie, the wholl comoun-weill consistes in the governours or magistrats, and sic as ar governit or subjects; sa, in the Polecie of the Kirk, sum ar apointed to be reulars, and the rest of the members thairof to be reuled and obey according to the Word of God and inspiration of his Spreit, alwayes under that an Head and Governour, Chryst Jesus.

"2. Again, the haill Polecie of the Kirk consistes in thir things:— In Doctrine, in Discipline, and in Distribution. With Doctrine annexit the administration of the Sacraments.

"3. And according to the partes of this division arysethe a thriefauld sort of Officiars in the Kirk; to wit, of Ministers or Preach-

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ours; of Eldars or Governours; and of Deacones or Distributars. And all these may be called be a generall word, Ministers of the Kirk.

"4. For albeit the Kirks of God be reuled and governed be Jesus Chryst, wha is the onlie King, Hie-priest, and Head thairof; yit he uses the ministerie of men, as a maist necessarie midds[1] for his purpose.

"5. For sa he hes, from tyme to tyme, befor the Law, under the Law, and in the tyme of the Evangell, for our grait comfort, reased upe men indeued with the gifts of the Spreit, for the spirituall government of his Kirk, for the exerceising and bearing of his awin powar, throw the Spirit and Word, to the building of the sam.

"6. And to tak away all occasion of tyrannie, He will that they sould rewell, with mutuall consent of breithring and æqualitie, everie an according to thair functiones.

"7. In the New Testament and tyme of the Evangell, he hes usit the ministerie of the Apostles, Prophetes, Evangelists, Pastors, and Doctors, in administration of the Word; the Eldarship for guid ordour and administration of discipline, and the Deaconschipe to have cure of the Kirk guiddes.

"8. Sum of thir Ecclesiasticall functiones ar Ordinar, and sum Extra-ordinar or Temporall.

"9. The Office of Apostles, Evangelists, and Prophetes, ar nocht perpetuall; bot, serving for the first planting of the Kirk, now haiff ceassit, except when it pleasethe God extraordinarlie to steire upe sum of tham for a tyme againe.

"10. Ther ar four Ordinar functiones, or Offices, in the Kirk of God: The Office of the Pastor, Minister, or Bischope; the Office of Doctor; of the Presbyter or Eldar; and of the Deacon.

"11. Thir offices are ordinar, and aught to continow perpetualie in the Kirk, as necessarie for the Government and Polecie of the sam; and na ma[2] offices aught to be receavit or sufferit in the trew Kirk of God establissed according to his Word.

[1] Means, medium.

[2] No more.

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"12. Therfor, all the ambitius tytilles inventit in the Kingdome of Antichryst, and in his usurped Hierarchie, quhilk ar nocht of thir sortes, togidder with the offices depending therupon, in a word, aught to be rejected.

CAP. III.

Whow The Persons that be in Ecclesiasticall Offices ar admitted to thair Functions.

"1. Vocation or Calling is comoun to all that sould bear Office within the Kirk, quhilk is a lawfull way, be the quhilk qualefiet persones ar permitted to anie Spirituall Office within the Kirk of God.

"2. Without this lawfull calling it was never leisome to anie persone to middle with anie function ecclesiasticall.

"3. Ther is twa sortes of calling; ane Extraordinar, immediatlie be God, as wer the Prophets and Apostles; quhilk, in Kirks establissed, and alreadie weill reformed, hes na place.

"4. That uther calling is Ordinar, quhilk, besyde the calling of God, and inwart testimonie of guid conscience, hes the lawfull approbation and outward judgment of men according to God's Word and ordour establissed in his Kirk.

"5. Nan aught to presume to enter in anie Ecclesiasticall Office without he haiff this guid testimonie of conscience befor God, wha onlie knawes the harts of men.

"6. This ordinar and outward calling hes twa partes: Election and Ordination.

"7. Election is the chusing out of a persone or persones maist habill[1] to that office that veakes,[2] be the judgment of the Elderschipe and consent of the Congregation wherunto the persone or persones ar to be apointed.

[1] Fit, proper. Lat. *habilis*.

[2] Becomes vacant.

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"8. The Qualities in generall requisit in all them wha sould bear charge in the Kirk, consistes in soundnes of religion and godlines of lyff, according as they ar sufficientlie sett furthe in the Word.

"9. In this ordour of Election is to be eschewit, that na persone be intrusit in anie of the offices of the Kirk against the will of the Congregation over quhilk they ar to be apointed, or without the vot of the Elderschipe.

"10. Nan aught to be intrudit or put in the places alreadie planted, nor in anie roum that veakes, for anie warldlie respect. And that quhilk is called the Benefice, sould be nathing els bot the Stipend of the Minister wha is lawfullie called and elected.

"11. Ordination is the separation and sanctefeing of the persone elected to God and his Kirk, efter he be weill tryed and fund qualifiet.

"12. The Ceremonies of Ordination ar, Fasting, Prayer, and Imposition of the hands of the Elderschipe.

"13. All thir, as they ar ordinat of God, and maid able be him for the wark wherunto they ar limited within God's word, sa aught they nocht to pas the bounds thairof.

"14. All these Office-bearers sould haiff ther awin particular flocks, whom amangs they exerceise thair charge; and sould mak residence with tham, and tak the inspection and oversight of tham, everie ane in his vocation. And, generalie, thir twa things aught they all to respect; the glorie of God, and edifeing of his Kirk, in discharging the dewties in ther calling.

CAP. IV.

Of The Office-bearers in particular; and, first, Of The Pastor or Minister.

"1. Pastors, or Bischops, or Ministers, ar they wha ar apointed to particular Congregationes and Kirks, quhilk they reull be the Word of God, and ower the quhilk they watche. In respect wharof, sum tymes they are called Pastors, for feiding of thair flocks; sum tym

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ἐπίσκοποι, or Bischopes, because they watche over the Congregation; sum tym Ministers, be reasone of thair service and office; sum tyme also Presbyters, or Seniores, or Eldars, for thair age, gravitie, and maners, quhilk they aught to haiff, in taking care of the spirituall government that aught to be maist deir unto tham.

"2. They that ar called to the ministerie, or that offer tham selves thairunto, aught nocht to be elected without a certean flocke be assigned unto tham.

"3. No man aught to ingyre[1] him selff, or usurpe this office, without a lawfull calling.

"4. They wha ar annes[2] callit be God, and dewlie elected be man, efter that they haiff annes accepted the charge of the ministerie, may nocht leave thair function.

"5. The desertours sould be admonisched, and, in case of obstinacie, finalie excommunicat.

"6. Na Pastor may leave his flock without license of the Provinciall or Nationall Assemblie; giff he do utherwayes, efter admonition nocht obeyit, let the censours of the Kirk strik upon him.

"7. Unto Pastors of the Kirk aperteines the teatching of the Word of God, in seasone and out of seasone, publictlie and privatlie; alwayes teatching to edifie and discharge of his conscience be God's Word prescryvit to him.

"8. Unto the Pastors onlie aperteines the Administration of the Sacraments, in lyk maner as of the Word; for bathe ar apointed be God as meanes to teatche us, that an be the eir, that uther be the ei and uther senses; that by baithe knawlage may be transferrit to the mynd.

"9. It aperteines, be the sam reason, to the Pastor to pray for the peiple; and, namlie, for the flock committed to his charge, and to bliss tham in the nam of the Lord, wha will nocht suffer the blessing of his fathfull servands to be without effect.

"10. He aught to watche above the maners of his flock, that he may the better apply to tham, in rebuking dissolut persones, and

[1] To insinuate himself into the office by artful means. [2] Once.

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exhorting the godlie to continow in holines and the feir of the Lord.

"11. It apperteines to the Minister, efter lawfull proceiding be the Elderschipe, to pronunce the sentence of binding and lowsing upon anie persone, according to The Powar of the Keyes granted to the Kirk.

"12. It belanges to him, in lyk wayes, efter lawfull proceiding of the Elderschipe, to solemnize the band of Mariage, and bliss the persones joynet thairin.

"13. And generalie all denunciationes that ar to be maid in the Kirk, befor the Congregation, concerning Ecclesiasticall effeares, belanges to the office of the ministerie; for he is the mouthe, messinger, and herauld of God, betwix him and his peiple, in all these effeares.

CAP. V.

Of Doctors and thair Office, and of The Scholles.

"1. Ane of the twa ordinar and perpetuall functiones that travelles in the Word, is the office of a Doctor, wha may also be called a Prophet, Bischope, Eldar, or Catechisar, that is, a teatcher of the Catechisme and Rudiments of Religion.

"2. His office is to opin upe the mynd of the Spreit of God within the Scriptures, simplie without sic application as the Minister uses, to that end that the fathfull may be instructed in the right warrands of halsome doctrine; and that the puritie thairof may abyde in the Kirk, uncorrupted be ignorance and evill opiniones.

"3. He is different from the Pastor, nocht onlie in name bot in diversitie of giftes: For, to the Doctor is giffen the word of knawlage, to open upe, be simple doctrine, the mysteries of fathe; to the Pastor the gift of wisdome, to apply the sam, be exhortation, to the maners of the flocks, as occasion servit.

"4. Under the name and office of a Doctor we comprehend the ordour of Scholes in Collages and Universities; quhilk hes bein

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meanteined carfullie, alsweill amang the Jewes and Christianes as profane nationes.

"5. The Doctor, being an Eldar, as said is, sould assist the Pastor in the government of the Kirk, and concure with the Eldars, his breithring, in all Assemblies; be reasone the interpretation of the Word, quhilk is onlie judge in Ecclesiasticall maters, is committed to his charge.

"6. Bot to preatche unto the peiple, to minister the Sacraments, and to celebrat mariage, perteines nocht to the Doctor, unles he be utherwayes callit ordinarlie; whowbeit, the Pastor may teatche in the Scholles as he wha hes the gift of knawlage, oftentymes meit thairfor, as the exemple of Policarpus and uthers does testifie.

CAP. VI.

Of The Eldars and thair Office.

"1. The nam of Eldar, in the Scripture, is sumtyme the nam of age, and sumtyme of office.

"2. When it is the nam of Office, sumtyme it is taken larglie; comprehending alsweill the Pastors and Doctors, as tham wha ar comounlie callit Seniors or Eldars.

"3. In this our division, we call those Eldars whom the Apostle tytilles Presidents or Governours.

"4. Thair office, as it is ordinar, sa it is perpetuall, and alwayes necessar in the Kirk of God.

"5. The Eldarschipe is a spirituall function as the ministerie.

"6. Eldars annes called to the office lawfullie, and haiffing the gifts of God meit to exerceise the sam, may nocht leave it againe.

"7. Albeit sic a nomber of Eldars may be schosin in certean Congregationes, that an part of them may releive an uther, for a reasonable space; as was amangs the Levites, under the law, in serving of the Temple.

"8. The number of Eldars in everie Congregation can nocht be

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limitat, bot suld be according to the bounds and necessitie of the peiple.

"9. It is nocht necessar that all the Eldars be also teatchars of the Word; albeit, cheiflie, they aught to be sic, and sa worthie of double honnour.

"10. What maner of persones they aught to be, we referre it to the express Word, namlie, the Canons wrytten be the Apostles.

"11. Thair office is also, severalie as conjunctlie, to watche diligentlie upon the flock committed to thair charge, bathe publictlie and privatlie, that na corruption of relligion or maners enter thairin.

"12. As the Pastors and Doctors sould be diligent in sawing the seid of the Word, sa sould the Eldars be cairfull in seiking the fruitt of the sam amangs the peiple.

"13. It aperteines to tham to assist the Pastors, in examination of them that comes to the Lord's Table, and in visiting of the seik.

"14. They sould be cairfull to cause the Actes of the Assemblie, alsweill particular as provinciall, or generall, to be put in execution.

"15. They sould be diligent in admonising all men of thair dewtie, according to the reull of the Evangell.

"16. Things that can nocht be corrected be privie admonition, they sould bring and deleat to the Elderschipe.

"17. Thair principall office is to hauld Assemblies with the Pastors and Doctors, wha ar also of thair nomber, for establissing of guid ordour and execution of discipline. Unto the quhilk Assemblie all men ar subject that remeanes within thair bounds.

CAP. VII.

Of Eldarschips, Assemblies, and of Discipline.

"1. Elderschipes or Assemblies ar constitut of Pastors, Doctors, and Eldars, that labour nocht in the Word; of whom, and of whase severall powar, has bein spoken.

"2. Assemblies ar of four sortes; for ather ar they of particular

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Kirks and Congregationnes, an or ma, ather of a Province, ather of a haill Nation, or of all and sindrie Nationes, professing Jesus Chryst.

"3. All Ecclesiasticall Assemblies hes powar to convein lawfullie togidder, for treating of things concerning the Kirk and thair charge.

"4. They haiff powar till apoint tymes and places to that effect, and a[1] Assemblie to appoint dyet, tyme, and place for an other.

"5. In all Assemblies a Moderator sould be chosin, be comoun consent of the haill breithring convenit; wha sould pray, propone maters, put in reasoning, gather the vottes, and keipe the Assemblie in guid ordour.

"6. Tent[2] sould be tean[3] be the Moderator, that onlie Ecclesiasticall maters be handlit in Assemblies; and na melling[4] with anie thing perteining to the Civill Jurisdiction.

"7. Everie Assemblie hes powar to send furthe from them a nomber, an or ma, Visitors to sie whow maters ar handlit in the bounds of thair Jurisdiction.

"8. Visitation of ma Kirks is na ordinar office Ecclesiasticall in the persone of a man; nather may the name of a Bischope be attributit to the visitour onlie; nather is it necessar to abyde alwayes in the persone of a man, bot it is the part of the Elderschipe to send out qualefiet persones to viseit.

"9. The finall end of all Assemblies is, first to keipe the Relligion and doctrin in puretie, without errour and corruption; nixt, to keipe comlie and guid ordour in the Kirk.

"10. For this ordour's cause they may mak certean reulles and constitutions aperteining to the guid behaviour of all the members of the Kirk, in thair Visitation.

"11. They haiff powar also till[5] abolishe and abrogat all statutes and ordinances concerning Ecclesiasticall maters that ar fund noysum or unprofitable, and aggrie nocht with the tyme, or abbused be the peiple.

"12. They haiff powar till execut Ecclesiasticall Discipline and

[1] One. [2] Heed. [3] Taken. [4] Meddling, interfering. [5] To.

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punisment upon all transgressours and proude contemners of all guid ordour and Polecie of the Kirk: And sa the haill discipline is in thair hands.

"13. The first kynd and sort of Assemblies, albeit they be within particular Congregationes, yit they exerceise the powar and Jurisdiction of the Kirk with mutuall consent, and thairfor bears the nam of the Kirk.

"14. When we speak of particular Congregationes, we mein nocht that everie particular paroche-kirk can, or may, haiff thair awin particular Elderschipe specialie to landwart; bot we think thre, four, ma or fewar, particular Kirks may haiff a comoun Elderschipe unto tham all to judge in Ecclesiasticall causses.

"15. Albeit it is meit that sum of the Eldars be chosin out of everie particular Congregation, to concur with the rest of thair breithring in the comoun Assemblie, and to tak upe the delationes of offences within ther awin Kirks, and bring tham thairto.

"16. This we gather of the practise of The Primitive Kirk, whar Eldars, or Collages of Seniors, war constitut in cities and famous places.

"17. The powar of the particular Elderschipe is to giff diligent laboures in the boundes committed to thair charge, that the Kirks be keipit in guid ordour, to inquyre diligentlie of naughtie and ungodlie persones, to travell to bring tham in the way againe, be admonition, thretning of God's judgments, or be correction of censours.

"18. It apperteines to the Elderschipe to tak heid that the Word of God be purlie teatched within thair bounds, and Sacraments dewlie ministrat, the Discipline menteined, and the Ecclesiasticall guids uncorruptlie distribut.

"19. It belanges to this kynd of Assemblies to cause the ordonnances maid be the Provincialles, Nationall and Generall, to be keipit and put in execution.

"20. To mak Constitutiones concerning τό πρέπον in the Kirk, for decent ordour of the particular Kirks whar they govern, provyding they alter na rewles maid be the Provinciall or Generall Assemblies. And that they mak the Provinciall Assemblies reulles to sie as they

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sall mak; and abolishe constitutiones tending to the hurt of the sam.

"21. It hes powar to Excommunicat the obstinat.

"22. The powar of Election of tham wha beares Ecclesiasticall charges, perteines to this kynd of Assemblie within thair awin bounds, being weill erected and constitut of Pastors and Doctors of sufficient abilitie.

"23. Be Elderschipe, or Presbyterie, is meined sic as ar constitut of Pastors, Doctors, and sic as ar now called Eldars.

"24. Be the lyk reasone, thair Deposition aperteines also to this kynd of Assemblie, as of tham that teatche erronius doctrin and corrupt; that be of sklanderus lyff, and efter admonition, amend nocht; that ar giffen to schisme or rebellion against the Kirk; to blasphemie manifest; to symonie, and all corruption of brybes, falshode, perjurie, hurdom, thift, drunkennes, flyting, feghting, worthie of punisment be the law; usurie, dansing, and sic dissolutiones and crymes that importes civill infamie; and all uthers that deserves separation fra the Kirk.

"25. These also, wha ar fund altogidder insufficient to execut thair charges, sould be deposit; wharof uther Kirks wald be advertised that they receave nocht the persones deposit.

"26. Albeit they aught nocht to be deposed, wha, throw age, seiknes, or uther accidents, becomes unmeit to do thair office; in the quhilk cais, thair honour sould remean unto tham, thair Kirks sould meantein tham, and uthers aught to be provydit to do thair office.

"27. Provinciall Assemblies we call lawfull Conventiones of the Pastors, Doctors, and Eldars of an Province, gathered for the comoun effeares of the Kirk thairof; quhilk also may be callit The Conference of Kirks and Breithring.

"28. Thir Assemblies ar constitut for weghtie maters, necessar to be intreated be mutuall consent and assent of Breithring within that province, as neid requyres.

"29. This Assemblie hes powar to handle, order, and redress all things committed or done amiss in the particular Assemblies or Presbyteries.

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"30. It hes powar to depose the Office-bearers of that Province, for guid and just causses, deserving deprivation.

"31. And, generalie, thir Assemblies hes the haill powar of the particular Elderschippes wherof they ar collected.

"32. An Nationall Assemblie (quhilk is our Generall of this realm) is a lawfull Convention of the Kirks of that haill realme or nation, whar it is usit to be gadderit for the comoun effeares of the Kirk; and may be callit The Generall Elderschipe of The Haill Kirk within the Realme.

"33. Nan ar subject to repeare[1] to this Assemblie to vot[2] thairin, but Ecclesiasticall persones, in sic number as salbe thought guid be the sam Assemblie; nocht excluding uther persones that will repeare to the said Assemblie, and ther propone, heir, and reasone ordourlie.[3]

"34. This Assemblie is constitut, that things omitted or done amiss in the Provinciall Assemblies may be redressit; and things generalie serving for the weill of the haill body of the Kirk, in that realme, may be forsein, intreated, and sett furthe to God's glorie.

"35. It sall cair that Kirkes be planted in places whar they ar nocht.

"36. It sould prescryve the reull who the uther twa kynd of Assemblies sould proceid in all things.

"37. This Assemblie sould tak heid that the Spirituall Jurisdiction and Civill be nocht confoundit, to the hurt of the Kirk.

"38. That the Patrimonie of the Kirk be nocht diminisched nor abbusit.

"39. And, generalie, concerning all weghtie effeares quhilks concernes the weill and guid ordour of The Kirk Universall of this realm, it aught to interpon hir authoritie thairunto.

[1] Repair. [2] Vote. [3] It is of course to be understood, that although this privilege was so liberally granted, yet such persons who were neither Members nor Commissioners had not the power of voting in the affairs brought under the consideration of the Assembly.

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CAP. VIII.

Of The Deacones and thair Office; the last Ordinar Function in the Kirk.

"1. The word Deacon is sum tyme larglie takin; comprehending all them that bear office in the ministrie and spirituall function of the Kirk.

"2. Bot now, as we speik, it is tean[1] onlie for tham to whom the collection, and distribution, of the almes of the fathfull and of the Kirk guids does belang.

"3. The office of the Deacon, so takin, is an ordour and perpetuall Ecclesiasticall function in the Kirk of Chryst.

"4. Of what properties and beauties he aught to be that is called to this function, we remit to the manifest Scripture.

"5. The Deacon aught to be elected and called as the rest of the Spirituall Officiars, as was spoken of befor.

"6. Thair Office and powar is to collect and distribut the haill Ecclesiasticall guids unto tham to whom they ar apointed.

"7. This they aught to do according to the judgment and apointment of the Presbyteries and Eldarschips, of the quhilks the Deacones ar nocht; that the patrimonie of the Kirk and pure[2] be nocht interverted[3] to privat men's uses, nor wrangfullie distributed.

CAP. IX.

Of The Patrimonie of The Kirk, and Distribution thairof.

"1. Be The Patrimonie of the Kirk, we mein whatsumever thing has bein at anie tyme befor, or salbe in tyme coming, doted[4] and given, or be consent and universall custom of countreyes professing

[1] Taken, understood. [2] Poor. [3] Perverted, misapplied. [4] Endowed, gifted by legal deed or latter-will, &c. Lat. *dotare*.

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Christian religion, apointed to the publict use and utilitie of the Kirk.

"2. Sa that under this Patrimonie we comprehend, first, all things gevin, or to be gevin, to the Kirk and service of God; as lands, bigings, possessiones, annualrents, and all sic lyk wherwith the Kirk is dotted, ather be donation, fundation, or mortification, or anie uther lawfull tytles, be kings, princes, or anie inferiour persones, given to God and his Kirk, with the continuall oblationes of the fathfull.

"3. We comprehend also all sic things, as be Lawes, Custome, or use of Countreyes, hes bein applyed to the use and utilitie of the Kirk; of the quhilk sort ar the Teinds, small and grait, Manses, Gleibs, and sic lyk; quhilk, by comoun and municipall lawes and universall custome, ar possessed be the Kirk.

"4. To tak away onie thing of this Patrimonie be unlawfull meanes, and convert it to the particular and profean use of anie man, we hald it a detestable sacrilege befor God.

"5. The guids Ecclesiasticall aught to be collected and distribut be the Deacones, as the Word of God apoints; that they wha bears office in the Kirk may be provydit for, without cear and sollicitude.

"6. In the Apostolicall Kirk, the Deacones war apointed to distribut whatsoever was collected of the fathfull to the necessitie of the saincts, sa that nan lakit amangs them.

"7. These Deacones was nocht onlie collectors of that quhilk was gathered in maner of Almes, (as sum suppose,) bot of uthers guids movable and unmovable, of lands and possessiones, the pryce wherof was brought and leyit at the feit of the Apostles.

"8. This office continowed in the Deacones' hands, wha intromeated with the haill guids of the Kirk, ay whill the esteat thairof was corrupted be that Antichryst, as the ancient Canones does witness.

"9. The sam Canones makes mention of a four-fauld distribution of the Patrimonie of the Kirk; wharof a part was apointed for the Pastors or Bischopes, for thair sustentation and hospitalitie; the second to the Eldars and Deacones, and all the Clargie; the thrido

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to the Pure,[1] Seik persones, and Strangers; the fourt for the Fabric and uphauld of the Kirks, and uther effeares, namlie, extraordinar.

"10. We add heir unto the Scholles and Scholmaisters, quhilk may be weill susteined of the sam guids, and ar comprehendit under the Clargie; to whom we joyne the Clerks of the Assemblies, alsweill Particular as Generall, Syndics or Procurators of the Kirk's effeares, Takers upe of the Psalme,[2] with sic lyk uther Ordinar Offices of the Kirk, sa far as they ar necessar.

CAP. X.

Of The Office of a Christian Magistrat.

"1. Albeit all the members of the Kirk be haldin, everie an in thair vocation, to advance the Kingdome of Jesus Chryst, sa far as lyes in thair powar; yit, cheiflie and namlie, Christian Princes, Kings, and Magistrates, ar hauldin to do the sam.

"2. For they ar callit in the Scriptures, Nurishars of the Kirk, forsamikle as be tham, (at least aught to be,) meantened, fosterit, uphauldin, and defendit against all that wald procure the hurt of the sam.

"3. Sa it aperteines to the office of a Christian Magistrat till assist and fortefie the godlie proceidings of the Kirk in all behalffs; and, namlie, to sie that the publict esteat and ministerie thairof be meanteined and susteined as aperteines, conform to the Word of God.

"4. To sie that the Kirk of God be nocht invadit nor hurt be false teatchers, or hyrlings, nor the roumes thairof occupied be dum dogges and ydle-bellies.

"5. To assist and meantein the Discipline of the Kirk, and punishe tham civillie that will nocht obey the censures of the sam; without confounding, alwayes, the an Jurisdiction with the uther.

"6. To sie that sufficient provision be maid for the Ministerie, Scholles, and Pure; and giff they haiff nocht sufficient for avating[3]

[1] Poor. [2] Now termed Precentors. [3] Awaiting.

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on thair charges to support thair indigences, even with thair awin rentes, giff neid sa requyre.

"7. To hauld hand to them alsweill concerning thair awin persones, saveing tham from opin injurie and violence, as concerning thair rentes and possessiones, that they be nocht defraudit, rubbet,[1] nor spoiled thairof.

"8. Nocht to suffer the Patrimonie of the Kirk to be applyed to profean and unlawfull usses, or to be devorit be ydle-bellies, and sic as haiff na lawfull function in the Kirk, to the hurt of the Ministerie, Scholles, and Pure,[2] and uther godlie usses, wherupon the saming aught to be bestowit.

"9. To mak Lawes and Constitutiones aggreiable to God's Word, for the advansment of the Kirk, and Polecie of the sam; without usurping upon anie thing nocht perteining to The Civill Sword, but belanging to the offices that ar mere Ecclesiastical, as is the Ministerie of the Word and Sacraments, using of Ecclesiasticall Discipline and spirituall execution thairof, or anie part of the powar of The Spirituall Keyes, quhilk our Maister gaiff to his Apostles and thair trew successours.

"10. And altho Kings and Princes, that be godlie, sum tymes be thair awin authoritie, (when the Kirk is corrupted, and all things out of ordour,) place Ministers and restore the trew service of the Lord, efter exemple of sum godlie Kings in Juda, (the quhilk they did be direction of Prophets,) and divers godlie Kings and Emperours, in the light of the Gospell; yit whar the Ministerie of the Kirk is annes[3] lawfullie institut, and they that ar placed in offices lawfullie callit, then all godlie Princes and Magistrates aught to heir and obey thair voice, and reverence the Majestie of the Sone of God, be them speakand.

[1] Robbed. [2] Poor. [3] Once.

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CAP. XI.

Of The present Abbuses remeaning in The Kirk, quhilk we desyre to be Reformed.

"1. It is the dewtie of the godlie Magistrat to meantein the present libertie, quhilk God, of his mercie, hes granted to the Pretching of the Word, and the right Administration of the Sacraments within this realm; sa it is to provyd that all Abbuses, quhilk as yit remeanes within the Kirk, be removit and utterly takin away.

"2. Therfor, first, the Admission of men to Papisticall Benefices, sic as serves nocht, nor hes na function in the Reformed Kirk of Chryst, as Abates, Comendators, Pryores, Pryoresses, and uther tytles of Abbayes, whase places ar now, for the maist part, be the judgment of God, demolished and purgit of Idolatrie, is plean abbusion, and is nocht to receave the Kingdome of God in Chryst amangs us, bot rather to refuse it.

"3. Sic lyk they that war called of auld the Chaptours and Convents of Abbayes, Cathedrall Kirks, and lyk places, serve for na thing now, but to sett Fewes and Takes[1] (if anie thing be left) of the Kirk-lands and teindes, in hurt and prejudice thairof, as daylie experience teatches; and thairfor aught to be alluterlie[2] alterit and abolished.

"4. Of the lyk nature ar the Deacones, Archdeacones, Chantors, Thesaurars, Chancellours, and uthers haiffand the lyk tytle flowand from the Pape and Canon Law onlie, quhilk hes na place in a Reformed Kirk.

"5. Mikle les is it lawfull that persones, amangs thir men, haiff fyfteen, saxteen, twentie, or ma Kirks, all haiffing charge of saulles, and bruik the patrimonie thairof, ather be admission of the Prince, or of the Kirk, in this light of the Evangell; for it is bot mocage[3] to crave reformation whar sic lyk hes place.

[1] Tacks, leases. [2] Entirely, altogether. [3] Mockery.

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"6. And albeit it was thought guid for avoiding of graitter inconvenients, that auld possessours of sic benefices wha embrassit The Religion, sould enjoy, be permission, the twa part of the rentes quhilk they possessit of befor, during thair lyff tyme; yit it is nocht tolerable to continow in the lyk abuse, and giff tl air places and uther benefices of new to als unmeit men, or rather unmeittar, wha ar nocht myndit to serve in the Kirk, bot leive an ydle lyff, as the uthers did wha bruiked them in tym of blindnes.

"7. And in sa far as in the ordour tean at Leithe, anno 1571, it appeirs that sic may be admitted, being fund qualefiet, &c., ather that pretendit ordour is against all guid ordour, or els it man be understud nocht of tham that be qualefied to worldlie effeares to serve in the Court, bot sic as ar qualefiet to teatche God's Word, haiffing the lawfull Admission of the Kirk.

"8. As to the Bischope, if the nam επισκοπος be properlie takin, they ar all an with Ministers, as we befor declarit; for it is nocht a name of Superioritie and Lordschipe, bot of Office and Watching.

"9. Yit because in the corruption of the Kirk this nam, as uthers, hes bein abbusit, and yit is lyk to be, we can nocht allow this fachion of chusing of Bischopes, nather of the Chaptours that ar electores of tham, to sic a sort of office as they ar chosine.

"10. The trew Bischopes sould addict tham selves to a particular flok, quhilk sindrie of tham refuses; nather sould they usurpe lordschipe ower thair breithring and inheritance of Chryste, as these men do.

"11. Pastors, in sa far as they ar Pastors, hes nocht the office of Visitation of ma Kirks joyned to the Pastorschipe, without it be giffen to tham.

"12. It is a corruption that Bischopes sould haiff fordar boundes to visit nor they may, possiblie, or lawfullie.

"13. Na man aught to haiff the office of Visitation, bot he that is lawfullie chosine by the Presbyterie thairunto.

"14. The Elderschipe, being weill establissed, hes powar to send out Visitors, an or ma, with commission to visit the bounds within

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thair Elderschipe; and sic lyk, efter compt tean[1] of tham, ather to continow or remove them, as the Presbyterie thinks meit, to the quhilk they salbe alwayes subject.

"15. The Temporall Jurisdiction, joynit in the person of a Pastor, is corruption.

"16. It agreis nocht with the Wor l of God, that a Bischope sould be a Pastor of Pastores of manie flockes, and yit without a flock certean, and without ordinar teatching.

"17. It agreis nocht with the Scriptures, that they sould be exeimed[2] fra correction of thair Breither, and Discipline of the particular Elderschipe of the Kirk whar they sould serve; nather that they sould usurpe office of Visitation of uther Kirks, nor anie uther function besyde uther Ministers, bot sa far as beis committed to tham be the Kirk.

"18. Heirfor, we desyre the Bischopes that now ar, ather to aggrie to that ordour that God's Word requyres of tham, and as the Generall Kirk will prescryve unto tham, nocht passing the bounds, nather in Ecclesiastical nor Civill effeares, or els to be deposit from anie function of the Kirk.

"19. We deny nocht, in the meantyme, bot Ministers sould assist thair Prince, when they ar requyrit, in all things aggreiable to the Word and thair calling, whither it be at Counsall, Parliament, or utherwayes; provyding, that they nather neglect thair awin charges, nor, be flaterie of Princes, hurt the publict esteat of the Kirk.

"20. Bot, generalie we say, na persone, under whatsoever tytle of the Kirk, and specialie the abbusit tytilles of Papistrie, as Prelattes, Convents, and Chapters, aught till[3] attempt anie act in the Kirk's name, ather in Counsall, Parliament, or without, haiffand na Commission of The Reformed Kirk within this realme.

"21. And be Act of Parliament, it is provydit, that the Papistical Kirk and Jurisdiction sould haiff na place within the sam; and na Bischope, nor uther Prelat, in tyme coming, sould use anie Jurisdiction flowing fra that authoritie.

[1] Taken. [2] Excepted, exempted. Lat. *eximere*. [3] To.

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"22. And again, that na uther Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction sould be acknawlagit within this realm, bot that quhilk is and salbe within The Reformed Kirk, and flowing thairfra.

"23. Sa we esteim holding of Chaptours, in Papisticall maner, ather in Cathedrall Kirks, Collages, or uther Conventuall places, usurping the nam and authoritie of the Kirk, to hurt the patrimonie thairof, or use onie uther act to the prejudice of the sam, sen the yeir of our Lord 1560, to be abbusion and corruption, contrair the libertie of the Kirk Reformed of Jesus Chryst, and lawes of this realme; and thairfor aught to be annullit and reducit, and in tymes coming alluterlie[1] dischargit.

"24. The dependances also of this Papisticall Jurisdiction ar to be abolished, of the quhilk sort ar the mingled Jurisdiction of the Commissars, in sa far as they mell[2] with Ecclesiasticall maters, and haiff na commission of the Kirk thairto; but war erected in the tyme of our Soveraine Lord's mother, when things war out of order. It is an absurd thing, that sindrie of tham, haiffing na function of the Kirk, sould be Judges to Ministers, and depose tham from thair roumes.[3] Therfor, they wald ather be dischargit from Ecclesiasticall maters, and anie melling thairwith, or it wald be limitat to tham in what maters they might be Judges, and nocht hurt the libertie of the Kirk.

"25. They, also, that war befor the Ecclesiasticall esteat in the Pape's Kirk, or that ar admitted of new to Papisticall tytilles, and now ar toleratit be the Lawes of this Realme, to place the twa part of thair Ecclesiasticall rents, aught nocht to haiff anie fordar libertie bot to intromet with the portion assignet and granted to tham for thair lyff tyme; and nocht, under the abbusit tytles quhilk they hade, dispone the Kirk rents, sett takes and fewes thairof at thair pleasour, to the wrak of the Kirk, and of the pure laborars that dwell upon the Kirk-lands, contrair to all guid conscience and ordour.

[1] Wholly, altogether. [2] Meddle, interfere with. [3] Places, situations.

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CAP. XII.

Certean Speciall Heids of Reformation craved.

"1. Whatsoever hes bein spoken of the Offices of the Kirk, the severall powar of the Office-bearers, thair conjunct powar also; and last, of the patrimonie of the Kirk, we understand it to be the right reformation that God craves at our hands, that the Kirk be ordourit thairto, as with that ordour quhilk is maist aggreiable unto the Word of God.

"2. Bot because sum things wilbe twitched, in particular, anent the esteat of the countrey, and that quhilk we seik principalie to be reformed in the sam, we haiff collected tham in thir heids following:—

"3. First, seeing the haill countrey is devydit in Provinces, and thir Provinces again ar devydit in Paroches,[1] alsweill to bruche as land,[2] and in everie parochine a reasonable Congregation, ther wald be placed an or ma[3] Pastors to feid the floks, and na Pastor or Minister to be burdeanit with particular charge of ma flocks or Kirks then an alleanerlie.

"4. And because it wilbe thought hard to find out Pastors to all the Paroche-kirks of the realme, alsweill to landwart as in townes, we think, be the a vyse of sic as commission may be giffen to be the Kirk, and the Prince, Paroches in landwart or small villages may be joyned twa or thrie, or ma in sum places togidder, and the principall and maist commodius Kirks to stand and be repearit sufficientlie, and qualefiet Ministers placed thairat; and the uther Kirks nocht fund necessarie sufferit to decay, thair kirk-yeards alwayes being keipit for buriall-places; and in sum places, whar neid requyres, ane parochine, whar the Congregation is ower grait, may be devydit in twa or ma.

"5. Doctors wald be apointed in Universities, Collages, and uther

[1] Parishes. [2] As well burgh as landward. [3] One or more.

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places neidful, and sufficientlie provydit for, to open upe the meining of the Scriptures, and to haiff the charge of saulles, and to teatche the rudiments of relligion.

"6. As to the Eldars, ther wald be sum to be censors of the maners, ane or ma, in everie Congregation; but nocht an Assemblie of Eldars in everie particular Kirk, but in towns onlie and famous places, whar resort of men of judgment and abilitie, to that effect may be haid; whar the Eldars of particular Kirks about may convein togidder, and haiff comoun Eldarschipe and Assemblie place amangs them, to treat of all things that concernes the congregationes ower whom they haiff the owersight.

"7. And as ther aught to be men apointed to unit and devyde the paroches as necessitie and commoditie requyres, sa wald ther be apointed be The Generall Kirk, with the assent of the Prince, sic men as feires God, and knew the esteat of countries, that war able to denominat and assinge[1] the places whar the Assemblies of particular Elderschips sould convein, taking consideration of the Dioceises as they war devydit of auld, and of the esteat of the countries and Provinces of the realme.

"8. Lykwayes, as concerning Provinciall or Synodall Assemblies, consideration war alswa to be haid, whow manie and in what places they war to be hauldin, and whow often they sould convein, aught to be reservit to the libertie of The Generall Kirk, and ordour to be apointed thairin.

"9. The Nationall Assemblies of this countrey, callit comounly the Generall Assemblies, aught alwayes to be reteined in thair awin libertie, and haiff thair awin place; with powar to the Kirk to apoint tyme and places convenient thairfor. And all men, alsweill magistrats as inferiours, to be subject to the judgment of the sam, in Ecclesiasticall causses, without anie reclamation or appellation[2] to anie Judge, Civill or Ecclesiasticall, within this realme.

"10. The libertie of Election of Ecclesiasticall persones callit to bear function in the Kirk, observit without interrupted continow-

[1] Assign. [2] Without reclaiming or right of appeal to another tribunal.

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ance unto the corruption of Antichryst, we desyre to be restored and reteined within this realm; sa that nan be intrusit [1] upon anie Congregation, ather be Prince or anie inferiour persone, without lawfull Election and consent of the peiple ower whome the persone is to be placed; as the practise of the Apostolicall Primitive Kirk, and all guid reasone and ordour, craves.

"11. And because this Ordour, quhilk God's Word and all guid reasone craves, can nocht stand with Patronages and Presentationes to Benefices, usit in the Pape's Kirk, we desyre all sic as trewlie feires God earnestlie to consider, That forsamikle as the names of Patronages and Benefices, togidder with the effect thairof, flowed from the Pape and closit of the Canon Law, wharby unmeit and corrupt persones ar intrusit and placed in Kirks haiffand *curam animarum;* and forsamikle as that maner of proceiding hes na ground in the Word of God, bot repugnes flatlie to the saming,[2] owerthrawing the ordour and libertie of Election, they aught nocht to haiff place in the light of Reformation; and, thairfor, whasoever will trewlie embrace God's Word, and desyre the Kingdome of his Sone, Jesus Chryst, to be advanced, they will also embrace and receave the Polecie and ordour quhilk the will of God and upright esteat of his Kirk craves: Utherwayes, it is in vean that they haiff professed the Gospell.

"12. Nochtwithstanding, as concerning uther Benefices and Patronages thairof, that hes nocht *curam animarum*, sic as ar these Altarages, Prebends foundit on temporall lands, Annuels, and sic lyk, may be reservit to the ancient Patrones to dispone thairupon, when they veak,[3] to Schollars and Bursares, as they ar requyred be Act of Parliament.

"13. As to the Kirk-rents in generall, we desyre that ordour to be admitted and meanteined amangs us that may stand with the sinceritie of God's Word, and practise of the Kirk of Chryst.

"14. To wit, that was befor spokin, the haill Rent and Patrimonie of the Kirk, (excepting small Patronages befor mentioned,)

[1] Intruded. [2] Is flatly repugnant to the same. [3] Fall vacant. Lat. *vacare.*

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may be devydit in four portiones: Ane thairof to be assigned to the Pastor, for his interteinment and hospitalitie: Ane uther to the Eldars, Deacones, and uther Officiars of the Kirk, sic as Clarks of Assemblies, Takers upe of the Psalmes, Beddels, and Kirk-maisters and keipars, sa far as they ar necessar; joyning in speciall maner the Doctores and Scholles, that thair ancient foundationes may be helped whar neid requyres: The thrid portion to be bestowit upon the Pure members of the fathfull, and Hospitalls: The fourt and last, for Reparation of the Kirks, and uther extraordinar charges as ar profitable for the Kirk, as also for the comoun weill, as grait need sall requyre.

"15. We desyre, thairfor, the Ecclesiasticall guids to be uplifted and distributed fathfullie to whom they apertein, and that be the ministerie of the Deacones, to the quhilk office properlie the collection and distribution thairof belanges; that the Pure may be answerit of thair portion thairof, and they of the Ministerie left without care and sollicitude; as also the rest of the treassours of the Kirk may be reservit and bestowit on the right uses.

"16. Giff these Deacones be elected with sic qualeties as God's Word craves to be in tham, ther is na feir that they sall abbuse tham selves in thair office, as the profean Collectors did of befor; yit because that this vocation appeires to manie to be dangerus, let tham be oblist, as they war of auld, to a yeirlie compt to the Pastors and Eldarschipe; and iff the Kirk and Prince think expedient, let cautioners be oblist for thair fidelitie, that the Kirk-rents na way be delapidat.

"17. And to the effect this ordour may tak place, it is to be provydit that all uther intromeittours with the Kirk-rents, Collector generall or speciall, whither it be be apointment of the Prince or utherwayes, may be dischargit of fordar intromission thairwith; and suffer the Kirk-rents, in tyme coming, to be hailelie intrometit with be the ministerie of the Deacons, and distributit to the usses befor mentioned. And also to the effect, that the Ecclesiasticall rents may suffice to those usses for the quhilk they ar apointed, we think it necessar to be desyrit that alienationnes, setting of fewes

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or taks of the rents of the Kirk, alsweill landes as teindes, to the hurt and diminution of the auld rentalles, be reducit and annullit, and the Patrimonie of the Kirk restorit to the auld integritie. In lyk maner, that the Teinds, in tyme coming, be sett to nane bot to the laborars of the ground, or els nocht sett at all, as it was aggreit upon and subscryvit be the Nobilitie, in the First Buik of Discipline, anno 1560.

CAP. XIII.

The Utilitie that sall follow, of this Reformation, to all Esteattes.

"1. Seing the end of this Spirituall Government and Polecie, wharof we speik, is that God may be glorified, the Kingdome of Chryst Jesus advancit, and all they that ar of his mysticall body may live peaceblie in conscience: Therfor, we dar bauldlie affirm, that all sic wha hes trew respect to these ends will, evin for conscience' cause, glaidlie agrie and conform them selves to this ordour, and advance the sam sa mikle as lyes in them; that, thair conscience being sett at rest, they may be replinished with spirituall gladnes, in dewtifull obedience to that quhilk God's Word and the testimonie of thair awin conscience does crave, and refusing all corruption contrare unto the sam.

"2. Nixt, we sall becom an exemple and patron [1] of guid and godlie order to uther Nationnes, Countries, and Kirks professing the sam Religion with us; that as they haiff glorified God in continowing in the sinceritie of the Word hitherto, without all errours, praise be to that grait Keippar! so they may haiff the lyk occasion, in our conversation, when, as we conform our selves to that Discipline, Polecie, and guid Order, quhilk the sam Word and puritie of Reformation craves at our hands. Utherwayes, that feirfull sentence salbe justlie said and sein: "The servand that knaws the wil of his Maister and does it nocht, salbe beatin with manie whipps."[2]

[1] Pattern. [2] Shall be beaten with many stripes or strokes.

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"3. Mairower, giff we haiff anie pitie or respect to the Pure[1] members of Chryst, wha sa graitlie increas and multiplie amangs us, we will nocht suffer tham to be lang defraudit of that part of the Patrimonie of the Kirk quhilk justlie belangs unto tham. And be this order, giff it be dewlie put in execution, the burding of tham salbe takin af us, to our grait comfort; the streites salbe cleingit[2] from the crying and murmuring of them; as we salbe na mair a sklander to uther nationes as we hithertiles[3] haiff been, for nocht takin ordour with our Pure, and causing of the Word quhilk we profes to be evill spokin off, giffing occasion of sklander to the enemies, and offending the conscience of the simple and godlie.

"4. Besyd this, it salbe a grait ease and commoditie to the comoun peiple, in releiving of thair burdings, and uphaulding thair Kirks for thair instruction and saulles' helthe, and residence of God amangs tham; as also for the saiftie of thair bodies, in biging and haulding upe of briggs[4] and uther publict warks, for the comlines and polecie of the countrey; also ane ease to the laborars of the ground, in peyment of thair teinds, and all uther things wherinto they haiff bein hithertils riguruslie handlit be these fals callit Kirk-men, thair taksmen, sutters, and extortioners.

"5. Finalie, to the King's Majestie and haill Comoun-weill, this profit sall redounde, that the curse of sacrilage, (quhilk wounderfullie eates upe and consumes all that auld luk and welthe in the patrimonie of his croun and rents, guid and gear of all his leiges,) being removit, the Lord sall bliss all, in sic sort as thair salbe na want, bot plentie and store of all guid things. The Lord wil open the heavines, the erthe and sie sall giff thair incres, and all salbe satisfeit with aboundance. And when the ordinar necessarie effares of the Kirk, Scholles, and Pure, ar satisfeit, the superplus being collectit and put in the threasors of the Kirk, may be profitablie imployed and liberalie bestowit upon the extraordinar support of the effeares of the Prince and Comoun-weill, and specialie of that part of the Kirk-rents quhilk is apointed for the Reparation of the Kirks and fabric thairof.

[1] Poor. [2] Cleansed. [3] Hitherto. [4] Bridges.

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"6. Sa we conclud, all being willing to apply tham selves to this Order, the peiple suffering tham selves to be rewlit thairby, the Prince and Magistrats tham selves nocht being exeimit;[1] and they wha ar placed in Ecclesiasticall esteat, rightlie rewling and governing, God salbe glorifiet, the Kirk ædifiet, the bounds thairof inlargit, Chryst Jesus and his Kingdom sett upe, Sathan and his subvertit, and God sall dwell in the middes of us, to furnise all guid and keipe from all evill, in his Sone, the Lord Jesus; wha, with thair Eternall Sprit, abyds holie and blessed for ever. AMEN."

ENDS THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE POLECIE.

In the yeir 1580, in the wintar, brak out a notable effect of Monsieur d'Obignie's course and coming in Scotland. For the King, sitting at Counsall a day with his nobles, amangs the quhilk the Erle of Mortoun last Regent was, in comes Captean James Stewart, a brother of the house of Ochiltrie, advancit in creadit of Court be D'Obignie, and maid Captean of the King's Gard, quhilk of new was then tean upe,[2] and fallin down on his knies, accused the Erle of Mortone of hie treasone: Wharupon the said Erle was incontinent committed to warde in the Castle of Edinbruche; the Erle of Angus, his cusing, chargit to ward benorthe Tay, with certean cheiff men of that nam. And thairefter Mortoun was transported from Edinbruche to Dumbartane, whar he remeaned till the monethe of May. In the mean tyme, his landes and gear war disponit to Monsieur Obignie, maid and called, then, Duc of Lennox; sa of a noble and ritche prince as ever governde in Scotland, he becam a pure prisoner, wha skarslie haid to furnise his necessitie. In the monethe of May he was brought till Edinbruche, and keipe in Robin Gurlayes house, with a band of men of wear; and the verie

[1] Exempted, excepted. Lat. *eximere*.

[2] Taken up, established.

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dayes of his puting to assyse and execution, I hapned to be ther in Edinbruche, and hard and saw the notablest exemple, bathe of God's judgment and mercie, that to my knawlage ever fell out in my tyme. For in that Tolbuthe, whar oftentymes, during his government, he haid wrysted and throwin[1] judgment, partlie for gean,[2] wharto he was gein,[3] and partlie for particular favour, was his judgment overthrowin; and he, wha above anie Scotsman haid maist gear, frindschipe, and clientell,[4] haid nan to speak a word for him that day, bot the graittest part of his assysars being his knawin unfreinds,[5] he was condamned to be headit on a sklaffauld; and that head, quhilk was sa wittie in warldlie effeares and polecie, and haid commandit with sic authoritie and dignitie within that town and judgment-seat, to be sett upe on a prik[6] upon the hichest stane of the geavell[7] of the Tolbuthe, that is towards the publict streit. The quhilk sentence, in my sight, was put in execution upon the morne.

But, in grait mercie, when the Lord haid stryped him naked and bear of all these things warldlie, and of a cable maid a twynde thride to go in at the narow ei of that neidle, he gaiff him, efter unfeinyit repentance, sic fathe and assurance of his favour in Chryst, that he maist magnanimuslie contemned insulting of enemies, bewaling of frinds, all warldlie dignitie, ritches and pleasures, and tuk him with his Chryst, be deathe, to owercom and gett the croun of lyff. The Ministers war at him that night of his condemnation, and the morn befor he was brought out; whom he satisfeit verie weill, be justefeing God, his Word and ministerie thairof, and acknawleging his sinnes; bot na art nor part of the King's father's murdour wherfor he was condemnit. Jhone Durie and Mr Jhone Davidsone, whom he haid hardlie usit, the an for his pretching, the uther for his buik against the four kirks, cam to him, of whom he cravit pardone; and wha taried with him, and was maist movit for his ceas.[8] He keipit the sam countenance, gestour, and schort sententius form of langage upon the skaffalde, quhilk he usit in his princlie government. He

[1] Wrested and twisted, or perverted. [2] Gain. [3] Given. [4] Clients, followers. [5] His known or avowed enemies. [6] Spike, spear's-point. [7] Gable. [8] Case, condition.

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spak, led about and urgit be the commanders at the four newkes[1] of the skaffald; bot efter that ance he haid verie fectfullie[2] and gravelie uttered, at guid lainthe, that quhilk he haid to speak, thairefter almaist he altered nocht thir words: "It is for my sinnes that God has justlie brought me to this place; for gif I haid servit my God als trewlie as I did my King, I haid nocht com heir! Bot as for that I am condem'd for be men, I am innocent, as God knaws. Pray for me." All men and peiple of all rankes bewalit his deathe exceidinglie, except onlie they wha haid particular hatred against him; for Papistrie durst nocht be hard of in his dayes of government, and the land injoyed never graitter peace and plentie. I could wreit mikle mair of my heiring, seing, and knawlage, anent this mater and the things that followed, giff my purpose war to wrait the storie of civill effeares in our tyme; but that nocht being, I content to haiff recordit the wark of God, quhilk I saw with my eis, and hard with my eares; for the quhilk I could nocht bot at my returning to St Androis glorifie God, be rehersall thairof in opin audience from pulpit.

That yeir, 1581, the Generall Assemblie convenit, in October, at Edinbruche; in the quhilk, certean breither war apointed to consult whow the Parliament sould nocht inleak[3] the Spirituall Esteat, Bischopes being removit. To the quhilk deliberation the Assemblie was dryven unto be Curt; the grait gydar wharof, the Duc of Lennox, by Guisian counsall and direction, nocht daring put at relligion pleanlie, pressit the restoring of the esteat of Bischopes, and haid latlie intrusit Mr Robert Montgumerie in the Bischoprik of Glasgw, without all ordour of the Kirk, *pleno jure principis*, (quhilk vexit the Breithring of Glasgw wounderfullie, sa that I wat nocht whow manie score of dyettes they war compellit to keipe in that earend.) The Breithring apointed be the Assemblie returnes thair advyse in that mater; the quhilk being considderit be the Assemblie, all in a voice determines, That concerning vot in Parlia-

[1] Corners, angles. [2] Powerfully. [3] Want, be deficient in.

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ment, and using of Civill and Criminall Jurisdiction, Commissioners sould be directed from tyme to tyme from the Generall Assemblies to the Parliaments, to discharge the Kirkes dewtie, and do for the sam in all hir effeares. And the heritable Bailyies of Regalities sould use all things perteining to the jurisdiction of civill and criminall causses.

The Ministers of Edinbruche all this whyll was maist fathfullie and wacryflie[1] giffing the warning to all, anent the cours and practise of Papists; and, thairfor, at this Assemblie, Mr Walter Balcanquall was accuisit be the Court, *sed frustra.*

At that tyme it was a pitie to sie sa weill a brought upe Prince till his bernhead[2] was past, to be sa miserablie corrupted in the entress of his springall[3] age, bathe with sinistrus and fals information of all proceidings in his minoritie, and with evill and maist dangerus grundes and principalles in government of Kirk and Comoun-weill. Then was he maid to think warst of the best men that ever servit in this Kirk and Countrey; to think the haill maner of Reformation of Religion to haiff bein done be a privie faction, turbulentlie and treasonablie; to suspect the noble men and haill ministerie that stude for the cause of Religion and his croun against his mother's faction; yea, to tak course against them, and put at tham as his unfrinds.[4] Amangs the rest, Captan James[5] put the opinion of absolut powar in his Majestie's head; whom, in sa doing, I can compear to nane sa weill as to Philomelus, the Captean of the Phocenses, wha being about a maist sacrilegius purpose to owerthraw and spulyie the Kirk of Delphus, and cut out of the pillars thairof the decreits of the Amphictions, whase sacrat judgment governed the comoun-weill of all Greice, and sa to subvert bathe religion and polecie, he compellit the Pythian preist to go upe on the Tripos, to giff him a response. The woman, urgit violentlie, sayes, "Yow may do what yow will." The quhilk wourds Philomelus gripped at, and taried na langer for the oracle, but gaiff

[1] Wakefully, watchfully. [2] Infancy, childhood. [3] Stripling. [4] Enemies. [5] Stewart.

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out amangs his armie, and to all, that he haid gottin a plean licence of Apollo to do what he wald.[1] Sic lyk Mr Patrik Adamsone, Bischope of St Androis, a grait counsellour in these dayes, amangs manie uther evill grounds wharof we will heir heirefter, inculcat this: "That a Christian King sould be the cheif governour of the Kirk, and behovit to have Bischops under him, to hald all in order, conform to antiquite and maist flurissing esteat of the Christian Kirk under the best Emperour, Constantine. And that the discipline of the Kirk of Scotland could nocht stand with a frie kingdome and monarchie, sic as was his Majestie's in Scotland," &c. Mutche lyk Bischope Caiphas, wha thought that Chryst's kingdome and the Roman impyre could nocht stand togidder: Or Herod, wha heiring that Chryst the King was borne, was troublit, and all Jerusalem with him, and thairfor send, &c.

But nochtwithstanding of this constitution of Court, by a remarkable providence of God cam furthe the Cornicle of Mr Georg Buchanan, printed with privilege, and the Buik of the Polecie of the Kirk concludit in Assemblie.

That September, in tyme of vacans, my uncle, Mr Andro, Mr Thomas Buchanan, and I, heiring that Mr George Buchanan was weak, and his Historie under the press, past ower to Edinbruche annes earend,[2] to visit him and sie the wark. When we cam to his chalmer, we fand him sitting in his chaire, teatching his young man that servit him in his chalmer to spell a, b, ab; e, b, eb, &c. Efter salutation, Mr Andro sayes, "I sie, Sir, yie are nocht ydle." "Better this," quoth he, "nor stelling sheipe, or sitting ydle, quhilk is als ill!" Thairefter he schew[3] us the Epistle Dedicatorie to the King; the quhilk, when Mr Andro haid read, he tauld him that it was obscure in sum places, and wanted certean words to perfyt the sen-

[1] "Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. Hist. lib. 16. Lyk as Stratocles, in Athens, maid a decree of Demetrius, παν ὅτι ὁ Βασιλευς Δημητριος κεγευση τῦτο και προς θεους ὁσιον και προς ἀνθρωπους εινοι δικαιον.—Whatsumever King Demetrius commandath, that to be holie toward God and just toward men. Plut in vita Demetrii." Inserted by the Author on margin of MS. [2] For the express purpose. [3] Showed.

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tence. Sayes he, "I may do na mair, for thinking on another mater." "What is that?" sayes Mr Andro. "To die!" quoth he; "bot I leave that and manie ma things for yow to helpe."[1]

We went from him to the printar's wark-hous, whom we fand at the end of the 17 Buik of his Cornicle, at a place quhilk we thought verie hard for the tyme, quhilk might be an occasion of steying[2] the haill wark, anent the buriall of Davie.[3] Thairfor, steying the printer from proceiding, we cam to Mr George again, and fund him bedfast by[4] his custome; and asking him, whow he did? "Even going the way of weilfare," sayes he. Mr Thomas, his cusing, schawes him of the hardnes of that part of his Storie, that the King wald be offendit with it, and it might stey all the wark. "Tell me, man," sayes he, "giff I have tauld the treuthe?" "Yis," sayes Mr Thomas, "Sir, I think sa." "I will byd his fead,[5] and all his kin's, then!" quod he: "Pray, pray to God for me, and let Him direct all!" Sa, be[6] the printing of his Cornicle was endit, that maist lerned, wyse, and godlie man, endit this mortall lyff.

Efter that Generall Assemblie, in October, Mr Patrik Adamsone aggreit to all the poincts of the Buik of Polecie, and concerning the office of a Bischope; and calling to dinner Mr Andro Melvill, my uncle, Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, and uthers divers, he subscryvit thairto; quhilk his subscription is yit in my uncle's custodie. *Item*, that wintar he past ower to a Convention of the Esteates; and efter he fand nocht Curt[7] as he luiked for, he drest him[8] to the Ministers of Edinburche, schawing tham whow that he cam ower to Court with Balam's hart, of purpose to curse the Kirk and do evill; bot God haid wrought sa with him, that he haid turned his hart to the contrare, and maid him, bathe in reasoning and votting, to stand for the Kirk, promising to schaw fordar and fordar fruicts of his conversion and guid meining. Wharat Jhone Dury was sa rejoysit, that he treated him in hous, and wrot ower at lainthe to me in his

[1] "He was telling him also of Blakwod's answer to his buik, *De Jure Regni*."—Margin of MS. [2] Stopping. [3] David Riccio. [4] Contrary to. [5] Feud, enmity. [6] By the time that. [7] Favour at Court. [8] Addressed himself.

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favour. Wherupon I past down to his Castell at his ham-coming, and schew him what information concerning him I haid gottin from the breithring of Edinbruche; thanking God thairfor, and offering him, in cais of continuance, the right hand of societie. Wherat rejoising, he tauld me the mater at lainthe, and, namlie, concerning the grait motiones and working of the Spreit. "Weill," said I, "that Spreit is an upright, halie, and constant Sprit, and will mair and mair kythe[1] in effects; bot it is a fearfull thing to lie against him!"

But to return to Mr Andro Melvin. The light of his lerning, and hatt[2] of his zeall to haiff reformation in the kirk and scholles of St Androis, brack nocht soonner out, when the darknes of ignorance and cauldnes of Christian profession uttered them selves in his contrare. Manie and grait adversares he haid; but the Lord, wha haid sanctefeit him for his wark, gaiff him notable victories ower all. First, the Maisters wha war displacit out of the New Collage, as Mr Robert Hamilton, minister of the town, commandit be the Generall Kirk to leave the office of principalitie in the Collage, and tak him to his ministerie, vexit him with persut of compts of the Collage; but he rejected that upon the Commissionars wha haid the powar of the Reformation, whom, be moyen and importunitie, the said Mr Robert maid to relent, and direct him again upon Mr Andro, to his great vexation, till it pleasit God to cutt schort the lyff of the said Mr Robert, even when he was about to intend action against Mr Andro. Yet that cause ceassit nocht, bot was followit out in the personnes of his weidow and bernes, be a man of grait wit, peanes, and moyen,[3] an of Mr Androe's awin companiones, whase comfort he haid fund in Glasgw, and now luiked for, coming to St Androis, to sic a guid wark. This was Mr Thomas Buchanan, first scholmaister in Stirling, and syne Provest of Kirkheuche in St Androis, and minister of Syres; a man of notable gifts of lerning, naturall wit, and uprightnes in the cause of the Kirk against the Bischopes, bot haid his awin

[1] Manifest itself. [2] Heat, zeal. [3] Influence.

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imperfectiones, namlie, of extream partialitie in the cause of his frinds and dependars, quhilk maid him to alter with Mr Andro; and in that cause of Mr Robert Hamiltone's, [whase relict he maried,] and his collegges, to often greive Mr Andro: Bot, in end, a glib of the Collage gear settlet that, allowit be the saids Commissionars, Mr Andro bearing with it, because he could nocht mend it. Ane uther, that haid bein Regent in that Collage under Mr Robert Hamilton, was Mr Jhone Caldcleuche, a daft wousten[1] man. He bosted[2] that he wald houche[3] Mr Andro, with mikle mair daft talk; and a day he comes in to Mr Androe's chalmer, being alan in it, and askes him, weill rudlie, giff he knew him? "Na," sayes Mr Andro, "I knaw you nocht." "I sould be knawen," sayes he, "as a Maister in this Collage; my nam is Mr Jhone Caldcleuche." "Ho!" quoth Mr Andro, "Is this yie that will houche men?" And with that put to the chalmer dure, and sayes, "It is even best tym now!" Bot the uther calmit atteanes,[4] and beginnes to speak with mair reverence; whom Mr Andro, by manlie courage and force of reasone, sa dantoned and tamed, that the Maister was fean to tak a bursare's place in the Collage, and live thairin as a humble student. I was in the chalmer abon and hard all, and cam doun at last to the ending of it.

Thir fascheries[5] war skarse weill sattelit, when out braks a graitter contradiction. This was of the Regents of Philosophie, namlie in St Leonard's Collage, wha heiring, in Mr Androe's ordinar publict lessones of Theologie, thair Aristotle, amangs the rest of the philosophers, the patriarches of heresie, as ane of the ancients termes tham, mightelie confuted, handling the heids anent God, Providence, Creation, &c., maid a strange steir[6] in the Universitie, and cryed, "Grait Diana of the Ephesians," thair bread-winner, thair honour, thair estimation, all was gean,[7] giff Aristotle sould be sa owirharled[8] in the heiring of thair schollars; and sa dressit publict orationes against Mr Androe's doctrine. But Mr Andro insisted

[1] *Woustour* or *woistare?* A silly, boasting fellow. [2] Threatened. [3] Literally ham-string. [4] At once, immediately. [5] Troubles, annoyances. O. Fr. *fascheries*. [6] Stir, excitement. [7] Gone. [8] Overturned, upset.

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mightelie against tham in his ordinar lessones; and when thair counned[1] haranges cam at thair Vickes and promotiones of Maisters, he lut[2] tham nocht slipe, but af-hand answerit to tham presentlie with sic force of treuthe, evidence of reasone, and spirituall eloquence, that he dashit tham, and in end convicted tham sa in conscience, that the cheiff Coryphoes amangs tham becam grait students of Theologie, and speciall professed frinds of Mr Andro, and ar now verie honest upright pastors in the Kirk; whom, for honour, I nam; in speciall, Mr Jhone Malcolm, minister at Jhonse Town, and Mr Andro Duncan at Carell. And certeanlie the treuthe was, that ignorance, with a proude opinion of knawlage, because they knew na better, wrought all this. For efter the first zeall of Reformation, in Mr Knox and Mr Guidman's dayes, the cauldnes of Mr Robert Hamiltone's ministerie, and ignorance and negligence of tham that sould haiff teatched Theologie, maid, that Regents and schollars carit na thing for Divinitie; yea, it was evin a pitie to sie that ignorance and profannes that was amangs tham. And as for Langages, Arts, and Philosophie, they haid na thing for all, bot a few buikes of Aristotle, quhilk they lernit pertinatiuslie to bable and flyt[3] upon, without right understanding or use thairof. Bot within a yeir or twa, Mr Andro, be his delling in publict and privat with everie an of tham, prevalit sa, that they fell to the Langages, studeit thair Artes for the right use, and perusit Aristotle in his awin langage; sa that, *certatim et serio*, they becam bathe philosophers and theologes, and acknawlagit a wounderfull transportation out of darknes unto light. Bot, indeid, this was nocht done without mikle feghting and fascherie,[4] and the authoritie of the Generall Assemblie interponit, in end.

The thrid thortar[5] and debat quhilk he haid was with the provist, bailyies, and counsall of the town, about thair ministerie. The Session of the Kirk haid a custome to send twa of thair eldars everie ouk[6] to desyre Mr Andro and me to helpe tham on

[1] Carefully conned or prepared. [2] Let. [3] To babble and wrangle about.
[4] Fighting, or contention and trouble. [5] Opposition, literally thwarting. [6] Week.

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the Sabbathe, during the want of a minister and absence of the Bischope. Sa Mr Andro, coming in the pulpit, spak the treuthe of all thingis with grait ardentness and zeall; and being acquent with sum corrupt proceidings of the rewlars against equitie and justice, and perceaving they lyked nocht of guid men to be thair minister, sic as Mr Andro wald haiff haid, bathe for the weill of the Town and Universitie, namlie, of that wark of Theologie, sic as Mr Thomas Smeton or Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, he causit tham heir thair doings in the deaffest eare! This was takine sa hiche, that a grait space ther was na thing bot affixing of plackarts upon the Collage yett,[1] bosting with batoning,[2] burning and chassing out of the town; wherwith, to speak the treuthe, I was mikle fearit, seing Town, University, and all malcontents against us attannes; and luikit for na thing, day for day, but steiring upe of sum tumult for ane evill turn. But Mr Andro, with ane heroicall spreit, the mair they stirit and bostit, the mair he strak with that twa-eagit[3] sword; sa that a[4] day he movit the Provest, with sear rubbing of the ga[5] of his conscience, to ryse out of his seatt in the middes of the sermont, and with sum muttering of words to goe to the dure, outthrow the middes of the peiple: For the quhilk, being delt with be the Presbyterie, and convicted in his conscience, the said Provest maid publict satisfaction be acknawlaging of his offence, and craving God and the congregation forgiffnes. Another day he tuk a placcard, affixed upon the Collage yet,[6] knawin, be the Italian and French toung, to be wrytin be James Lermont, appeirand[7] of Balcomie; and in the application of his doctrine, quhilk was wounderfull persing[8] and vehement, he produces the wryt, and haiffing the said James sittand befor him in the Kirk, he thretnes him in particular with a judgment, that manie years efter was marked to strik upon the said James, to this effect: "Thow Frencheist, Italianist, jolie gentleman, wha has defyled the bed of sa manie maried, and now bosts[9] with thy bastonados to defyll this Kirk, and put hands

[1] Gate. [2] Threatening to cudgel. [3] Two-edged. [4] One. [5] Gall.
[6] Gate. [7] Younger, or heir-apparent. [8] Piercing. [9] Threatens.

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in his servants, thow sall never enjoy the fruicts of mariage, be haifing lawfull succession of thy bodie; and God sall bastone thie in his righteous judgments!" This was rememberit when the said James, being Lard of Balcomie, leived manie yeirs in mariage without chyld, and taken be the Heiland-men coming out of the Leaws,[1] was siccerlie bastoned,[2] and sa hardlie used, that soone thairefter he died in Orkney, in the yeir 1598.

The fourt feght that he haid was against the Pryor and his gentlemen-pensionars, wha colluded with the rewallars of the town to hald the ministerie vacand; and in the mean tyme tuk upe the stipend, and spendit the sam, with the rest of the kirk-rents of the Pryorie, at the goff, archerie, guid cheir, &c. Thir things, be Mr Andro and I, war rounden[3] out of pulpit to tham: quhilk for to stay, they preparit a purs with a number of fourtie shilling pices in it, and sending for me to the Chalmerling's hous, efter guid interteinment, they offerit it to me for my peanes takin, in pretching and suppleing the default of a Minister. I answerit, It was trew my peanes haid deservit that and mair at thair hands; whowbeit I haid recompence, in all aboundance, at the hand of God, in honoring me with the message of his Word and service. Bot my peanes was nocht takin for the hinderance of that ministerie, bot for forderance of the saming; and I fearit, giff thay gatt a fason of a ministerie sa easelie provydit, they wald be lang of bringing in an of the notable men nominat to that ministerie, under whase feit I wald be glad to sit, with my pen, and with whom I wald be blaithe[4] to helpe, as I could, for nought: And sa refusit thair money. This, when the Presbyterie understud, be[5] Mr Andro and me, and espying that our helping on the Sabathes hinderit the placing of a man of giftes in that ministerie, (for they haiffing George Blak to minister the sacraments and marie, and us to teatche, wald content thairwith and seik na mair,) thairfor the Presbyterie dischargit us from pretching anie mair, and ordeanit me to pen a letter, to be red the nixt

[1] The Island of Lewis. [2] Smartly or severely cudgelled. [3] Whispered, insinuated. [4] Blythe, glad. [5] By, through.

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Sabbathe, schawing the reasones of our leaving af pretching. Quhilk being done, and publicklie read, certean of the rewlars of the town, namlie, Mr David Russell and Wilyeam Lermont, ragit thairat, and pennit against the nixt day an answer, in effect and termes unreverent; denying the authoritie of the Presbyterie, calling it pretendit, and inveying against the sam: For the quhilk cause, the persone that red it, Ringand[1] Rewll, taker upe of the Psalmes,[2] being callit befor the Presbyterie, schew that Mr David Russell and Wilyeam Lermont commandit him to reid it; bot, pure man, he gat his reward, for he never threave nor did guid efter that, bot died with madnes and miserie. The saids Mr David and Wilyeam being callit, the Pryor and Provest compeires with tham, thinking to bang out the mater; bot God assistes Mr Andro sa, that he dasht tham all, and maid them fean to go packing. The Generall Assemblie nocht being far to, the Presbyterie remittes the mater thairto, and summoned the said Mr David and Wilyeam to compeir befor the Assemblie, quhilk they did with thair assistars; bot they war condemnit be the Assemblie, and ordeanit to mak publict repentance in the Kirk of St Androis, and Mr Andro to receave the saming; the quhilk they did solemnlie, and sa becam better-conditioned thairefter.[3]

By this occasion I man mark be the way, it was a confortable thing in these dayes to haiff a guid cause in hand, and stand be it; for whowsoever it was resisted and crossed in particular Sessiones, Presbyteries, or Assemblies, yit sure it was to be redressed and brought to a guid poinct at the Generall Assemblies, because of the friedom, grait authoritie, and uprightnes in zeall that was thairin, to the grait terrour of the wicked, and confort of the godlie: Sa mikle the mair is the loss thairof to be deplored in this declyning age and tyme!

The fyft and graittest enemie of all was the Bischope, Mr Patrik Adamsone, craftelie and quietlie concurringwith the Court;

[1] Ringan, *i.e.* Ninian. [2] Precentor. [3] "Mr David Russall, for falshod, was efter, in the yeir .... deposit from his office of Commissar Clarkschipe, with a not of infamie; and Jhone Arnot placed in his roum." Margin of MS.

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bot alwayes, as yit, under profession of grait frindschipe, and sa maist dangeruslie seikand his distruction, with the utter overthraw of the libertie of Chryst's Kirk and kingdome. [Bot the Lord notablie upheld and preservit his awin servant, and brought his enemies to confusion;] as in the haill narrative and storie following will be manifest.

M.D.LXXXII.

The Generall Assemblie convenit at St Androis the 24th of Apryll, anno 1582; Mr Andro Melvin schosin Moderator. To it was Mr Robert Mongomerie, intrusit Bischope of Glasgw, summoned; wha compeired, with letters of horning to discharge the Assemblie, yit he durst nocht use tham, sic was the frequencie of barrones and breithring, with sa grait authoritie and zeall. And sa, for acceptation of the Bischoprik *pleno jure*, and troubling of the breithring of Glasgw, he was deposit *in perpetuum*, and thretnit with excommunication, till he humblie presentit him selff with teares befor the Assemblie; and then Jhone Dury, wha was maist seveire against him, rease out of his seat, and caught him in his armes.[1] But at that sam tyme Mr Wilyeam Clark, my predecessour, a wyse, godlie, sweit man, said unto me, "It will never be this man that will trouble and hurt the Kirk; bot yie will find that Mr Patrik Adamsone will do it, wha is this man's counsallar, and eausses him now to yield for the tyme." At that Assemblie was apointed a generall Fast, to be keipit in the monethe [of] Junie following; the causses wharof was conspiracie of Papists, oppression and thraldom of the Kirk, &c.

In the monethe of Junie that sam yeir, an uther Generall Assemblie was conveinit in Edinbruche, wherat Jhone Dury, for his plean

[1] "Yit the sam Mongumerie insisted and troublet the Breithring of Glasgw thairefter, and thairfor was excommunicat; and the excommunication annullit be ane act of Counsall, and letters publisched thairupon, receavit thairefter, in Court, and interteined in the King's presence be the Duc; and the sam sentence thairefter, in the Parliament 1584, be an act thairof, annullit." Note by Author on margin of MS.

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speitches against the Duc, and proceidings of the Court, was accusit; bot hoping for na speid thair, he was callit befor the King and Counsall, at Dalkeithe; whar narowlie eschaping the Duc his cookes (wha cam out of his kitching with speittes and grait knyves) with his lyff, as he often tauld me, he was, be act of Counsall, banisched out of Edinbruche; bot the Generall Assemblie commandit the Presbyterie of Edinbruche to keipe his roum frie,[1] and place nan thairin. In this Assemblie, manie Greiffes and Articles war pennit, and commissionars apointed to present tham at the Convention of the Esteats, to be haldin at Perthe in the monethe of July nixt following.

The Convention keiping at Perthe, Mr Andro Melvin, Moderator, with the rest of the Commissionars, went thither with the Greiffes and Articles of the Kirk, wha gat verie evill countenance, and manie secret terrors.

[GREIFFES OF THE KIRK, GIFFEN IN AT PERTH.

"Unto your Majestie maist humblie meines[2] and schawes your Grace's maist fathfull and obedient subjects, the haill Ministers of God's Word within this your Grace's realme, convenit in the Generall Assemblie, haldin at Edinbruche the 27th of Junij: That whar upon the occation of diverse grait and evident dangers appeiring to the haill Kirk of God, and professours of his treuthe in this countrey, finding the authoritie of the Kirk abrogat, Ecclesiasticall censures contemnit, and violence usit against sum of our breithring unpunished; wharof the lyk hes never bein sein within this realme, nor in anie uther whar trew relligioun hes bein pretchit and resseavit: And fearing lest your Majestie, for leak[3] of information, might neglect in tyme to provyd remedie for the inconvenients lyklie to ensew thairupon, we convenit our selves, in the fear

[1] To keep his living, place, or pulpit, vacant. [2] Complains. [3] Lack.

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of God, and your Hienes obedience, and efter diligent consideration of the present esteat, be comoun consent thought necessar, be our Commissionars, to open upe and present to your Grace certean of our cheiff and weghtie Greiffes, without hastie redress wharof the Kirk of God and his trew relligion can na wayes stand[1] and continow in this your Majestie's countrey.

"First, That your Majestie, be devyse of sum counsallours, is caussit to tak upon your Grace that spirituall powar and authoritie quhilk properlie aperteines to Chryst, as onlie King and Head of his Kirk; the ministerie and executioun wharof is giffen to sic only as beares office in the Ecclesiasticall government of the saming; sa that, in your Grace's persone, sum men presses to erect an new Papdom, as thought your Majestie could nocht be full Head and King of this comoun-welthe, unles alse weill the spirituall as temporall sword be put into your Grace's hands, unles Chryst be bereft of his authoritie, and the Jurisdictiones confoundit quhilk God hes devydit; quhilk directlie tendes to the wrak of all trew relligioun, as be the speciall Heades following is manifest: For benefices ar giffen be absolut powar to unworthie persones, intrusit in the office of the ministerie without the Kirk's admissioun, directlie against the lawes of God and actis of Parliament; wharthrow the Kirk's leivinges comes in profean men's hands, and siclyk as sell their saulles, and mak schipwrak of conscience, for pleasur of men, and obteaning sum warldlie commoditie.

"1. Eldarschips, Synodall and Generall Assemblies, ar dischargit, be letters of horning, to proceid against manifest offendars, and to use discipline of the Kirk, and censures thairof, according to God's Word.

"2. Jhone Durie, be act of Counsall, is suspendit from pretching, and banisched from his flock.

"3. Excommunicat persones, in contempt of God and his Kirk, ar interteined in cheiff Lords' housses; and namlie, Mr Robert Mongummerie authorised and causit to pretche, and brought in your Majestie's house and presence, quhilk is a sear[2] wound to the con-

[1] Subsist. [2] Sore.

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science of tham that loves your Majestie, and knawes your Grace's upbringing, and a heavie sklander to all nationnes professing the trew relligioun.

"4. An act of delyverance of Counsall is maid against the proceidings of the ministerie, withe a sklanderus narrative suspending simplie, and disanulling, the excommunicatioun justlie and ordourlie pronuncit against Mr Robert Montgoumerie, an rebell and obstinat offendar and troublar of the Kirk of God, and open proclamation maid according thairto.

"5. Contempt of Ministers, and dinging[1] of manie doing thair offices, and especialie the violent drawing of Mr Jhone Howysone out of the Judgment-seatt, whar he was placed Moderator of the Presbyterie of Glasgw, his crewall and uttragius handling and careing to preasone, lyk a theiff, be the Provest and Bailyies of Glasgw, and thair complices: And, efter complent maid, na ordour takin with the doars thairof, but contrairwayes interteining tham as gif the saming haid bein guid service.

"6. and 7. The Minister of Glasgw was, be force of armes, displaced out of his roum,[2] quhilk, without reprotche, he hes occupied thir monie yeirs; the gentle men of the countrey being convocat for that effect. Also violence was usit, be an of your awin Gward, to pull him out of the pulpit the day of Communioun, in presence of the haill congregatioun, in tym of sermont; and na fault fund thairwith.

"8. The Officiar of the Kirk was cassin in preasone,[3] your Grace being present, and thair keipit a lang tym, for executing of Letters directed against a sklanderus man.

"9. The Ministers, Maisters of Schoolles, and Collage of Glasgw, the verie schollars thairof, in tym of publict fast, war, be letters of horning, compellit to leave thair flockes and scholles destitut; and sensyne,[4] from tyme to tym, and place to place, have bein continowit and deleyit; thairby to consum tham be exorbitant expences, and to wrak the kirks and schoolles whairof they have the charge.

[1] Striking, beating. [2] Place, situation. [3] Cast into prison. [4] Since then.

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"10. The Students of the Collage war invadit, and ther bluid crewalie sched, be the Bailyie and commonitie, gatherit thairto be sound of comoun bell, and stroak of drum; and be certean seditius persones inflambet[1] to have slean tham all, and brunt the Collage: And yit na thing don to the authores of the tumult and seditioun.

"11. Hands schakin with the bludie murderars and persecutors of the peiple of God, be letters and propynes[2] ressavit and sent.

"12. The Duc oftymes promisit to reform his hous, and na thing don thairin.

"13. The Lawes maid for mentenance of the trew relligioun, and punisment of the enemies thairof, ar nocht put to executioun; sa that all things gaes louse,[3] and warse lyk till ensew.[4]

"Monie uther things ther be that crave present reformatioun, wherwith we think nocht expedient to trouble your Majestie, untill we sie what ordour beis takin with these greivus[5] compleants. Beseikand[6] your Majestie maist humblie, for the love of God, wha hes placed and establissed your Majestie in this royall throne, hitherto wounderfullie menteined and defendit, cearfullie to luik upon thir maters as becomes the lieutenant of God, and thankfull Christian King; and withe the advyse of tham that feir God, and tenders your Grace's esteat, and weill and quietnes of this comounwelthe, sa to redres the premisses, that first Chryst, above all, may be acknawlagit; his messingers, without feir or stope, to execut thair office; the cours of the Gospell advancit; and sic exemple maid of punisment of tham wha sa licentiuslie and contemptuuslie have wrangit and injurit the Ministers and professours of God's Word, that uthers heireftir be effrayit[7] to interpryse the lyk."[8]]

To that Convention cam the Erle of Hountlie, weill accompanied with his frinds, in whase favours, to the grait hurt of the Forbasses, the King gaiff out a decreit-arbitrall. Newes war sparpelit athort[9]

[1] Inflamed. [2] Gifts, presents. [3] Go loose. [4] Worse is like to ensue. [5] Grievous. [6] Beseeching. [7] Afraid, terrified. [8] The whole of the preceding document has been supplied by the Author on the margin of the MS. [9] Spread, divulged across, or athwart the country.

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the countrey, that the Ministers war all to be thair massacred; quhilk moved me go repear[1] to Perthe with diligence, to tak part with my uncle and father in Chryst. Coming ther, Sir James Melvill of Hahill schawes me whow evill my uncle and I was thought of at Court, because of our sermonts in St Androis the tyme of the fast, and our doings and sayings at Assemblies, and counsallit us to depart af the town; quhilk I schew Mr Andro, and willit sa to do, bot in vean: "For I thank God," sayes he, "I am nocht fleyed[2] nor feible-spirited in the cause and message of Chryst. Com what God pleases to send, our commission salbe dischargit!"

At last the Commissionars of the Kirk war callit, wha, coming in befor the King and his Counsall, delyverit thair Greiffes and Articles; quhilk being read, Captan James[3] beginnes to threttin, with thrawin brow, and bosting langage.[4] "What!" sayes he, "wha dar subscryve thir treasonable Articles?" &c. Mr Andro answeres, "We dar, and wil subscryve tham, and gif our lyves in the cause!" And withe all starts to, and taks the pen fra the Clark, and subscryves, and calles to the rest of the breithring with couragius speitches; wha all cam and subscryvit. This bauldnes, when the Duc and Captan perceavit, they gatherit thairon that the Kirk haid a bak,[5] and becam effrayit; and, efter sum calmer langage, dimissit tham in peace, whom everie an supposed they sould haiff bein hardliar delt withall.

In the monethe of August therefter, certean of the Nobilitie and Barrones of the realme repearit to the King at Ruthven, in the Erle of Gowrie's hous, and schew his Majestie whow all things went wrang be the misgoverning of that new Counsall com latlie from France, to the grait offence and greiff of all his guid subjects, the heavie vexation of the Kirk, and extream perrell of the comoun-weill; cravit, thairfor, maist humblie of his Majestie, that he wald content till[6]

[1] Repair. [2] Terrified, affrighted. [3] Stewart. [4] With frowning brow and threatening language. [5] Had backing or support. [6] To.

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abandone the said Counsall, and tak him to be counsallit be his auld Nobilitie, as his princelie progenitours haid done, and the fundamentall lawes of Scotland cravit; and sa furthe, as at mair lainthe is conteined in a Declaration of them, published soone thairefter in print. And sa the King and the Duc war dissivered,[1] and never saw uther againe.

This brought a grait releive to the Kirk, and the honest breithring of Glasgw and Edinbruche, that war soar troublit be the said Duc. Whowbeit, the treuthe is, for aught I know, (and I know whatever the specialles of the Kirk knew, that I am sure,) the Kirk was nather art, part, read nor counsall in that mater, nather luiket for anie sic thing at thair being in St Jhonstone. And what ever the instruments war and respected, they could nocht but rejoise in God, and thank him for delyvering King, Kirk, and Comoun-weill of sic cownsall, as sett tham selves plainlie to pervert all.

Within few dayes thairefter, Jhone Durie gat leive to ga ham to his awin flok of Edinbruche: At whase retourning ther was a grait concurs of the haill town, wha met him at the Nather Bow; and, going upe the streit, with bear heads and loud voices, sang to the praise of God, and testifeing of grait joy and consolation, the 124th Psalm, "Now Israel may say, and that trewlie," &c., till heavin and erthe resoundit. This noyes, when the Duc, being in the town, hard, and ludgit in the Hie-gat, luiked out and saw, he rave his berde[2] for anger, and hasted him af the town; and remeaned in Dumbartan, at the Wast Sie, whar, or[3] he gatt passage, he was put to als hard a dyet as he causit the Erle of Morton till use ther, yea, evin to the tother extremitie that he haid usit at Court: For, wheras his kitching was sa sumptuus that lumpes of butter was cast in the fyre when it soked,[4] and twa or thrie crownes warit upon a stok of keall dressing,[5] he was fean till eat of a magre guse, skowdrit with bar stra.[6]

[1] Dissevered, parted. [2] Tore his beard. [3] Ere, before. [4] Grew dull. [5] Were expended on the dressing of a single stock or head of kale or colewort. [6] He was fain to eat of a lean goose scorched with barley straw.

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In that monethe of October, the Generall Assemblie convenit at Edinbruche, whar, with freche courage, the Bischopes war sett upon, and seveire ordour takin with tham; also sic as haid been evill instruments to the Duc against the Kirk war takin ordour with. Amangs the rest, Mr David Macgill, Advocat, for penning of sklanderus and wicked proclamation, publissed against the Kirk. This was a man of als grait, solide, and naturall a wit as in our tyme, excelling thairin all his colleages of the Session and lawers,[1] bot without all sense of God, and with a prydfull disdean and contempt of the ministerie. I hard him als dispytfullie and lightlifullie, being in his awin house, tak upe my uncle, Mr Andro, being send with uthers from the Assemblie to him, as movit me, being present, utherwayes estimed nocht verie impatient, to almaist debord,[2] nocht onlie with toung, bot hand. Bot, or he died, with a terrible strak of conscience, God tamde him lyk a lamb; sa that Mr Andro coming to him againe, and I with him, was as the Angell of God in his eis; cust his hat to the ground, and could skarslie luik him in the face, till he hard out of his mouthe the words of consolation, the quhilk he gaped for as a gorbet,[3] and receavit as Cornelius the instruction of Piter; yea, the meinnest of the ministerie that cam to visit him, was mair to him then giff the King and the Lords haid com to him. I thought often that was a cleir accomplisment of Esaias' prophecie, "The lyon sall eat stra lyk a bullok," &c. He died maist happelie and sweitlie, efter divers yeirs humiliation, with these words in his mouthe, "Lord, in thy light, let me sie light."

At that Assemblie, I was ernestlie suted, be the Town of Stirling, to be thair Pastor; bot the wark of Theologie being yit in the tender bridding leaff,[4] my uncle, Mr Andro, could nocht consent thairto, nor the Kirk, with his miscontentment,[5] command; whowbeit, my mynd was to the ministerie, remembering ever my vow, and nocht the mair unwillinglie, that I haid the purpose of my mariage in hand.

[1] Lawyers. [2] To exceed proper bounds, to lose self-command. Fr. *deborder*. [3] A young nestling or unfledged bird, (literally a young crow.) [4] In the tender young leaf bursting from the bud. [5] Displeasure.

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M.D.LXXXIII.

The yeir following, 1583, in the end of Apryll, and begining of May, the Generall Assemblie conveinit at Edinbruche. That Assemblie was frequentlie keipit[1] be the nobilitie, (for ther was presentlie a Convention of the Esteates at Edinbruche,) wha requeisted the Assemblie to approve thair proceidings, in repearing to his Majestie at Ruthven, &c. The breithring's judgment was, That God haid glorified his nam, and wrought thairby to the grait ease and comfort of his Kirk, as they haid fund hithertils;[2] as for the instruments, they could nather approve nor disprove, bot wissit with thair hartes they might be fund sanctified veshalles[3] of mercie to the Lord. To the quhilk effect, at least, they desyrit an act to be insert in the Buiks of the Assemblie; to the quhilk the Kirk wald nocht condiscend till they haid the King's guid will and consent thairunto. The quhilk his Majestie, sending Coronall Wilyeam Stewart, new com ham, and of grait credit, and Mr David Lindsay, to the Assemblie, in large termes and maner assented unto; and sa it past, as is exstant in the Buiks of the Assemblie. Amangs the rest, Jhone Dury haid a[4] day in his doctrine a verie cleir and pertinent comparisone for the purpose, of the blind man in the 9th of Jhone's Evangill. When the Pharisies said that Chryst was but a sinner, Whow could he do anie guid? "I can nocht tell," sayes the blind man, "bot a thing I am sur of, that I was blind, and now I sie." This he applyed with grait evidence and approbation of the heirars.

At that Assemblie I maried my wyff, the first day of May, and gat the blessing of the best breithring of the Kirk; the quhilk, my blessed God of Heavin be blessit for, I haiff fund wounderfull effectuall to this houre, for als grait helpe and comfort in my calling, even in the middes of her heavie disease and impotencie, as anie brother in the land hes. And whowbeit, the haill course of my lyff sen syne[5] has bein, in outward appeirance, bot a scholl of afflictiones, yit (alas! for thankfulnes) and maist halsome[6] and happie scholl, with a mix-

[1] Numerously attended. [2] Hitherto found. [3] Vessels. [4] One.
[5] Since that time. [6] Wholesome.

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ture of als manie provisiones, preservationes, privat profits, pleasurs, joyes, and consolationnes, as ever anie of the secret annes[1] of the Lord receavit.

In the monethe of Junie thairefter, at the beginning thairof, a heavie tertian fever, called comounlie "the excese,"[2] owertuk me; quhilk pynned me extreamlie, namlie, in the hat[3] of it, that ten or twall hours I wald ly burning thairin and reaving, and ryse againe without anie swyt. This continowed till the middes of the monethe of August.

All this whyll, sen the Generall Assemblie in Apryll, *anno* 1582, and befor, untill this August, a lytle befor Bischope Adamsone keipit his castle, [lyk a tod in his holl,[4]] seik of a discase of grait fetiditie, and oftymes under the cure of women suspected of witchcraft, namlie, an wha confessit hir to haiff lernit medecin of an callit Mr Wilyeam Simsone, that apeired divers tymes to hir efter his dead,[5] and gaiff hir a buik, &c. This woman being examined be the Presbyterie, and fund a witche, in thair judgment, was giffen to the Bischope to be keipe in his castle for execution, bot he sufferit hir to slipe away; bot within thrie or four yeirs thairefter sche was takin, and execut in Edinbruche for a witche.

[It was reported for veritie to us, that the Bischope consulted with these witches anent the King's esteat, of the countrey, and his awin; and gat a response, that he sould stand sa lang as the King stud. Bot the devill, as he uses to do, deceavit him ther. Bot, verelie, about these witches we war plane and scharpe with him; bathe from pulpit, in doctrine, and be censur of our Presbyterie.[6]]

Nochtwithstanding, the King coming to St Androis about the end of July, and seperating him selff ther from the Lords that haid seasit about him at Ruthven, the Bischope becomes a haill man at-teanes,[7] and occupies the pulpit befor the King, lustelie declaming, as it was markit, in a possessit and inragit maner, against Ministerie,

[1] Ones. [2] Fever and ague. It is also met with in the MS. under these various forms—*axes*, *axis*, *axysis*, and *axies*. [3] In the last stage of the fever. [4] A fox in his hole or den. Margin. [5] Death. [6] This is added by the Author on the margin of the MS. [7] Becomes at once, all of a sudden, a whole man.

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Lords, and all thair proceidings; and he that often professit from pulpit, befor, that he haid nocht the sprit of application, gat the gift of application be inspiration of sic a sprit as neve spak in the Scriptures of God. And because it was reported for treuthe, that the Duc in Paris haid deid a Papist, he maid opin contradiction thairto, affirming, for certean, that he deid a guid Protestant, quhilk he provit be schawin of a skroll in his hand, quhilk he callit the Duc his Testament: Bot an honest merchant woman, sitting befor the pulpit, and spying it narowlie, affirmed it was a compt of a four or fyve yeir auld dett, that a few dayes befor sche haid send to him; wharof sche gat na mair peyment nor[1] the Duc his executors maid hir!

At that tyme, Sir Robert Melvill cam to the Collage to Mr Andro, and, as a frind, schew[2] him whow evill the King was informit of him, besaught him thairfor to go to the King, and purge him selff of these calumnies. Quhilk Mr Andro refusit to do, saying, purgation presupponit foulnes, wherof his conscience, nor na man, was able justlie to accuse him in anie kynd of undewtifulnes to the King's Majestie: Giff his Majestie desyrit his coming to him for his advyse, in maters of the Kirk or comoun-weill, or anie uther dewtifull obedience, he wald maist humblie do it with all observance; but he wald nocht be an indirect accusar of him selff to his Soverain.

The Counsallours and Courteours now giffes out, that the King captived befor, thought him selff at libertie, and sa settes tham to be evin, bathe with the Lords of the Read of Ruthven and with the Kirk, quhilk they sklanderit as allowars of treassone. Yit craftelie, for the space of halff a yeir or mair, dissembling with the Lords, they begin to put at some of the Kirk. And, in the monethe of November, Jhone Durie of new is dischargit Edinbruche; and coming ower to St Androis, whar I haid taken upe hous, efter the vacans,[3] he finds his douchtar, my wyff, bot beginnand to convales

[1] Than. [2] Shewed. [3] Recess, vacation.

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of a deadlie hat fiver,[1] (wharout of sche haid cullit[2] with a bleding excessive, sa that, for ought the mediciners could do, it steyed nocht four and twentie hours till lyff was almost flitting; bot the Lord haid mercie on me, and sparit hir for a speciall wark of comfort to me against the day of a grait evill;) and tareing bot a few dayes, behoved to go to his ward in Montrose, to the quhilk I convoyit him. Be the way, a lytle befor we cam to the furde of the Water of Lownan, a sow comes in the hie rod befor us, and trottes on toward the furd, swomes ower befor us. Now, the water was weill grait in speat,[3] whar, we being in the middes thairof, my father, Jhone Durie's horse lyes down in the water, and committes his rydar to swoming with the stream; bot it pleasit God, I being nixt under him, caught him be the cott neak,[4] and taking a gripe of my horse mean,[5] he wad[6] and wan to land: Wharof I incuragit him, speattes of afflictiones war to sease on us, bot the Lord sould delyver out of them all. Sa, coming in that countrey, I acquented him,[7] and recommendit to all our frinds; whom he finding thairefter ever loving and frindlie, fand my mariage a speciall providence of God towards him.

That was a dark and heavie wintar to the Kirk of Scotland, eclipsed and bereft of thrie grait lights! Of Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, in the beginning thairof; Mr Thomas Smeton, in the middes, (of quhilk sort I wat nocht giff[8] ther was manie scores in all Christiandome for all sort of lerning and godlines;) and, in the end of the wintar, Mr Wilyeam Clark, my predecessour, a man, whowbeit nocht in rank of lerning with the uther twa, yit the light and lyff in the part he dwelt in, mikle belovit and regratted of all sorts of persones that knew him, namlie, that he haid the charge ower: Ower sure a presage of a grait calamitie and owerthraw schortlie till ensew upon the Kirk of Scotland! Amangs divers Epitaphes wherwith Mr Andro bewalit[9] this so grait a loss, I man heir insert an, becaus it stiks recentlie in my memorie:

[1] Hot or burning fever. [2] Cooled. [3] Was very great or full with a fresh, or *spait*. [4] Neck of his coat. [5] Horse's mane. [6] Waded. [7] Introduced him, or made him acquainted with all his friends. [8] Grant, allow. [9] Bewailed.

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Vix, heu! vix raptum, deflevimus Arbuthnotum;
Vix, heu! justa datis solvimus exequiis.[1]
Et premit altera mors, et funere funus acerbat,
Et magno extincto lumine, majus obit.
Ille quidem Arctoa tenebras de nocte fugabat;
Fulgebas medio Glasgua stella die.
Quod si luce sua spoliata est noxque diesque
Nostra, Eheu! quantis obruimur tenebris.
Aut ergo e tenebris revoca lucem, aut hominum lux,
Christe, redi, ut nobis stat sine nocte dies!

TURNED IN SCOTS.

Yit skarse, alas! haid we bemeande our deir Arbuthnot's dead,
Yea, skarse, alas! his exequies haid we and funerales maid,
When corps with corps does urn us cear, and deathe with deathe does pres,
And on grait light extinguised,[2] an other fealles, alas!
That an the dark and drowsie night be northe did dryve away;
That uther as the[3] Sun did schyne be southe at mids of day.
Giff sa, then, bathe our night and day be spuliyet of thair light,
Sa feirfullie hes us owerwhelmde of darknes what an hight?
Then ather Chryst from darknes now the light retourn againe,
Or com our light, that but all night, our day may ay remaine!

MR WEIL I AM[4] CLARK'S EPITAPHE.

That thow a Maister was, as yet thy Schollar's skill can prove;
That thow art weill, full weill, confirmes thy godlines and love.
A cunning Clark, right cleirlie knawin, be nature and be art,
And all the thrie, in that thow play'd sa weill a Pastor's part;

[1] Inferiis. Margin of MS. [2] "Alas! put out." On margin. [3] "Thow Glasgw star as." *Ib.* [4] "Weil I am," a play on William.

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Then happie Master Weil I am Clark, by nam thow sall abyd,[1]
As Carell, with Anster, Pittenweim lyes leauche[2] by Fyff's cost syd!

Bischope Adamson, for all[3] his lang seiknes, becam then nocht onlie able to pretche, and keipe Conventiones of Counsall and Esteates, and weat upon Court, bot also, in the wintar, to tak jorney and go in ambassage to Eingland, and all to practise the alteration of the haill esteat and discipline of the Kirk. [The Presbyterie had enterit in proces with him, and remitted him to the Synodall, and that to the Generall (Assembly;) in the quhilk he was suspendit from the office of the ministerie, as corrupt, bathe in doctrin and lyff, and ordeined to be forder proceidit against. In the meantyme, to eschew the censors of the Kirk, and practise the wrak thairof, he undertakes this jorney.[4]]

Coming to Londone about Yull, he informit the Quein the warst of the ministerie and guid nobilitie, and the best of the Court of Scotland. He practised with the Bischopes for Conformitie, and gaiff tham *dextra societatis;* he delt for lernit preatchours to be placed in the best rowmes[5] of Scotland, knawing weill the best men of the ministerie of Scotland war to be displaced; he wrot verie craftelie to Geneva and Tigurie, and send tham propositiones and questiones desyring to haiff thair judgment; and, finalie, left na stan onturned ower that might mak for the wark of Sathan, to beseige and demolishe the walles of Jerusalem.

Whill he is a bissie Bischope about thir things in outting, as the cours was layed, they war nocht ydle at hame; for, in the beginning of Februar, Mr Andro Melvin is summoned to compeir befor the King and Counsall within les nor thrie dayes,[6] to answer to sic things as war to be leyit to his charge, anent certean speitches uttered be him from pulpit, seditius and treasonable. Mr Andro compeired, accompanied with sum of his schollars and frinds, amangs

[1] "Thy nam als lang sall byd." On margin. [2] *Laiche*, low. [3] Notwithstanding. [4] This is added by the Author on the margin. [5] Places, situations. [6] "Summoned on Setterday, to compeir on Mounday nixt." Margin of MS.

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whom was Mr Robert Bruce; and I being in Angus, convoying my mother-in-law to hir housband, gon away a day befor his summonding, maid diligence, and cam to Edinbruche the day of his second compeirance. The quhilk day he declyned the judicator of the King and Counsall, being accusit upon na civill cryme or transgression, but upon his doctrin uttered from pulpit. The quhilk, when the King and Captan James,[1] then maid Grait Chancellar, with roarings of lyones, and messages of deathe, haid taken sa hat, that all the Counsell and Courtes of the Palice war filled with fear, noyes, and bruttes, Mr Andro never jarging,[2] nor daschit[3] a whit, withe magnanimus courage, mightie force of sprit, and fouthe[4] of evidence of reasone and langage, planlie tauld the King and Counsall, that they presumed ower bauldlie in a constitut esteat of a Christian Kirk, the kingdome of Jesus Chryst, passing by and disdeaning the prophets, pastors, and doctors of the Kirk, to tak upon tham to judge the doctrin, and controll the ambassators and messingers of a King and Counsall graitter nor they, and far above tham! "And that," sayes he, "yie may sie your weaknes, owersight, and rashnes, in takin upon yow that quhilk yie nather aught nor can do," (lowsing a litle Hebrew Byble fra his belt, and clanking it down on the burd befor the King and Chancelar,) "Thair is," says he, "my instructiones and warrand; let sie quhilk of yow can judge thairon, or controll me thairin, that I haiff past by my injunctiones!" The Chanclar, opening the buik, findes it Hebrew, and putes it in the King's hand, saying, "Sir, he skornes your Majestie and Counsall." "Na, my lord," sayes Mr Andro, "I skorn nocht; bot with all ernestnes, zeall, and gravitie, I stand for the cause of Jesus Chryst and his Kirk."

Manie tymes put they him out, and callit him in againe, whylles delling with minacings, and whylles with fear[5] words, to brak him; bot he grew mair and mair in wesdome, stryngthe, and courage, whowbeit, nan was sufferit to com in with him; and when he cam out, haid skarslie lasour to draw his end, mikle les to tak anie advyse

[1] Stewart. [2] Swerved, flinched. [3] Abashed. [4] Abundance. [5] Fair.

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with his frinds and brethring. In end, they proceides; admittes an accusar, wha bruikit that nam for ignominie manie yeirs efter, "Wilyeam Stewart the Accusar," a pensionar of the Pryor of St Androis; receaves the articles of accusation; admittes and takes the deposition of a number of witnesses, summoned out of St Androis, namlie his graittest mislykers: Mr Andro ever adhering to his declinator, and at all tymes, as occasion servit, telling tham his mynd mightelie anent the treuthe and weght of the cause of Chryst and his Kirk, and wrangs done thairunto, quhilk he wald be advengit of sum day. And when they haid don all, lytle or na thing for thair purpose gat they provin, bot decernes that Mr Andro, for his unreverent behaviour befor his Majestie and Counsall, sould be put in ward in the Castle of Edinbruche during the King's will.

In the mean tym, Mr Androe's breithring and frinds is informit, be sic as knew the plattes leyed, that ther was na guid meined to Mr Andro, and, if he war annes fast,[1] he wald nocht be lowsit again, unles it war for the skaffald. This maid him to keipe him quyet a night and a day, during the quhilk tyme I travelit amangs the counsallors. Manie gaiff me fear[2] words, and said ther was na danger; bot our best frinds read a *dictum*, wrytten on the wall, sounding, "Louss and Leiving." We understud, fordar, that the decreit of the Counsall was alterit, and the ward apointed to be Blaknes, a foull holl, keipit be Captan James' men. Sa, whill we was all in grait and heavie anxietie, and maist dulfull doutsomnes, what to counsall—upon the an part, thinking it a hard and sear[3] mater to bereave the Scholles and Kirk of Scotland of sic a light and leadder, and thinking that moyen[4] and tyme might mitigat the King, and procure his libertie; upon the uther part, knawing the course and plattes leyed be the enemies, and seing the violent form of Captean James' government, we thought it hardar to jeoperd the lyff[5] of sic a man, as might be reserved for a better tyme—being, I say, in this dutfull debeat[6] amangs our selves, and everie an with his awin

[1] If he were once laid fast in ward. [2] Fair, smooth. [3] Sore. [4] Means or influence. [5] Put his life in hazard or jeopardy. [6] Doubtful debate.

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hart nocht knawin weill wharto to inclyne, Mr Andro him selff comes out in publict, resolut and cheirfull, and bad us all be of guid cowrage, for God haid resolvit him of the best, and he was assurit wald be with him. Sa we go to dinner in Mr James Lawsone's hous, wha with all his gheasts[1] war exceiding heavie harted, and oftentymes could nocht contein, bot mix thair teares with thair drink. Onlie Mr Andro eat, drank, and crakked[2] als merrelie and friemyndit as at anie tyme, and mair; and (according to his continuall form at meat, and in all companie) tuk occasion of guid conference and discours, pertinent for the tyme and stat of maters, to his awin wounderfull incouragment, and our grait comfort, interlasing[3] alwayes sum mirrie interludes, and drinking to his Captean and ward-fellowes, bidding us mak us ready to follow, &c. Sa, efter denner, he gaiff it out, and non knew uther, bot a verie few, that he wald obey the charge, and enter in ward, giff the King commandit, and God sa directed him. Wherupon the meassar[4] gettes acces, giffes him the charge, with his warrand, till[5] enter in the Castell of Blaknes within four and twentie houres, the quhilk he receaves reverentlie; bot, within an houre or twa, his brother Roger and he slippes out at the Port, hand for hand, and ludges that night whare God haid preparit; and within four and twentie houres enterit in Bervik, in place of the Blaknes! [A certean of Captan James horsmen haid immediatlie befor riddin out at the sam Port till attend upon him, and convoy him to Blaknes, ther annes[6] to mak him sure.[7]]

Ther was na thing behind bot bitter teares and heavie lamentation, partlie for the present lose, bot mikle mair for the esteat that was till ensew upon the Kirk, quhilk everie an apprehendit in graitter and graitter missour of horrour and feirfulnes. Bot above all, that notable and maist fathfull minister of God, Mr James Lawsone, wha, seing sa terrible a tempest breiding and coming on the schippe of the Kirk, and the wyesest, stouttest, and ableast schippars and

[1] Guests. [2] Talked or conversed cheerfully. [3] Interlacing, interspersing. [4] Macer. [5] To. [6] For once. [7] Added by the Author on the margin.

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mariners removit, apprehendit the danger sa hiely, and drank in the greiff and melancholie sa deiplie, quhilk being augmentit, and na wayes mitigat, be that quhilk followit, namlie, the undewtifulnes of his flock, wasted his vitall sprites be piece-meall, and, within few monethes thairefter, cutted the thrid[1] of his maist stedable[2] and comfortable lyff to the Kirk of Scotland.

As for my selff, to confes the treuthe, I was almaist exanimat[3] with heavines of hart, the quhilk, if it haid nocht resolvit in aboundance of teares, my lyff haid bein suffocat; for the quhilk cause I tuk me to a chalmer, and closing the dur, let my affectiones brak out, and go louse at randon, quhilk a speciall loving frind of myne, wating on me, sufferit for the space of an houre; bot efter, knokkit sa, and spak to me, that bathe for love and reverence it behovit me till[4] opin; wha nocht onlie usit all the comforts he could, bot wated upon me, and convoyed me ham to St Androis: This was Andro Wod of Streavithie.

Mr James Lawsone, and Mr Walter Balcanquall, his only colleg that remaned, maid, according to thair disposition, the pulpit of Edinbruche to sound mightelie in the praise of Mr Andro, and to the detestation of the fact of the Counsall, that haid sa proceidit against him; also, they prayit for him in particular, at all thair ordinar sermontes, quhilk moved the peiple verie mikle, and gallit the Court.

At my coming to St Androis, my wound, skarslie stemit,[5] beguid to blude apace,[6] finding na thing, whar ever I cust my eis, bot mater of melancholie. His bookes war in danger, [he] being put to the horn; and thairfor I addressit me with diligence to pak tham upe, and put tham asyde, and skarse was ther ane quhilk I haid knawin in his comoun use that ranckled nocht my wounds againe, sa that that labour was fellon[7] peanfull and heavie to me. Bot, above all, it was a daylie hart-brak to me to sie that notable wark, sa weill

[1] Cut the thread. [2] Available. [3] Overcome, half-dead. Lat. *exanimis*. [4] To. [5] Stemmed, staunched. [6] Began to bleed apace. [7] Very, extremely.

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begoun, yeilding, in the first spring-tyme of it, sic appeirance of plentifull fruicts, with sic[1] a calamitie cuttit of from all hope of hervest. I thought I felt continualie a cauld heavie lumpe lyand on my hart, lyking for to chok me; and sure I am it haid cost me my lyff, giff the mightie hand of my God haid nocht curit bathe bodie and saull; and efter the curing thairof, furnesit, by[2] all conscience of abilitie and expectatioun, sum missour of strynthe and gifts to tak a piece of courage, and hauld in the spunk[3] of lyff in the wark, till God sould haiff mercie, and retourn for the restauration thairof.

For finding, as in the spring-tyme, nature beginning to purge, I helped the sam with a melancolique purgation; quhilk wrought lang, and in grait quantitie, evidentlie be the cullor, kything[4] the peccant humour. And soone thairefter, finding sum curage, bathe naturall and spirituall, I fell to wark, and by[5] my awin houres for the langages quhilk I keipet befor, I supplied, as I could, the thrie dayes of Mr Androe's publict Lessones in the comoun places of Religion, and teatched the twa cheiff controvertit heads, *De Verbo et Ecclesia*, in the monethes of Merche and Apryll.

By and besyde[6] the inward hand of my God, to whom alan perteines all praise, I haid twa utward speciall comforts. An was the Maisters and members of the Universitie, wha kythed an uther mynd to the wark then I luiked for, and gaiff thair presence and guid countenance and assistance to my Lessons, to my grait comfort and incuragment. The uther was of twa speciall daylie frinds and companiones: the ane Mr Robert Bruce, the uther Mr Robert Durie, wha keipit companie with me continualie, to my grait uphald and forderance in God's Word. [Mr Thomas Buchannan also was my guid nibour and frind, at that tyme, and all his dayes.[7]] Of that an wharof, namlie, for the grait praise of the caire and providence of God towards his Kirk, I man[8] remember sum thing mair at lainthe.

[1] Such. [2] Beyond. [3] Spark. [4] Manifesting. [5] *Forbye*, besides, [6] Over and above. [7] Supplied from margin of MS. [8] Must.

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Mr Robert Bruce, second sone to the Lard of Arthe, brought upe in letters, past his course of Philosophie in the Universitie of St Androis; and thairefter, be his father furnesit, was sent to France, whar, and in the Universitie of Lovan, in the Law Countreyes, he studiet, namlie, till[1] Humanitie and the Jurisprudence, quhilk his father and frinds haid sett to be the end of his studies. Thairefter, coming hame, he is directed till attend on Court and Session, for his father's effeares and his frinds, till the Lord began to call upon him, and wourk[2] stranglie in his conscience, sa that he haid na rest nor confort, bot in the Word of God and companie of guid men. Yit the manifald effeares of his father and frinds continualie importuning him, maid him to stryve against the working of his hart; bot in vean, for he was fean at last plainlie to schaw his father, that ther was na rest nor lyff for him, unles he haid leive to go to the studie of Theologie, and be in companie of Mr Andro Melvill, in St Androis. Sa his father permitted at last, and he cam to us at the beginning of that sam wintar, at the end wharof Mr Andro was put att, whom maist lovinglie and fathfullie he assisted till his departour out of the countrey, and syne retourned again to us, and sett him selff mair ernestlie then ever befor to his studies; and that nocht onlie to be a heirar, but to essay what gift God wald giff him of utterance of that quhilk he studeit. And all this movit, yea, drawn as it war perforce, with a mightie inwart working, quhilk sufferit him never to gett rest bot when he was about that purpose, he said to me a[3] day, in releiving of his mikle and sear occupied mynd, in privat conference purmeineing[4] in the fields, that or he cust him selff again in that torment of conscience quhilk was leyed on him for resisting the calling of God to the studie of Theologie and Ministerie, he haid rather go throw a fyre of brinston halff a myll lang!

Sa, befor he wald open his mouthe at our table, whar ordinarlie ther, meall about,[5] the students opened upe a chapter, and gather-

[1] To. [2] Wrought. [3] One. [4] Walking. O. Fr. *pourmener*, (*promener*.)
[5] At each meal alternately, in their turn.

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ed sum nottes thairupon, he desyrit to haiff sum exerceise in privat with me and Mr Robert Dury; and sa, annes in the ouk[1] first, thairefter thryse, our tyme about, in a large wyde hous of the Collage, we handlit a chapter, till that way we past throw the Epistles to the Romanes and Hebrews: But, or[2] we cam onie way fordwart in the Hebrews, Mr Robert tuk the haill exerceise to him selff, and haid us auditors, to our grait joy and comfort. Therefter, we drew him to the scholl, whar the students haid ther privat exerceises befor the Maisters; from that to the table, and syne[3] to the morning doctrine on the Sabbathe, to quhilk a multitude of the best peiple of the town resorted. Sa it pleased God at that tyme, to my singular uphauld and incuragment in his service, to begin to trean upe and fram[4] that maist notable preatchour for the tyme of restitution of his deceyit and captived Jerusalem.

During this tyme, the first intelligence, be wryt, I gott of Mr Andro, was of the Bischope's bissines, a just copie of whase Articles he send me hame; the quhilk I haiff thought meit heir to insert, for cleiring of the controversie betwix the Kirk and him, and to schaw whow craftelie and malitiuslie that sycophant calumniattes the Ordour and Conclusionnes of Discipline befor sett down; thairby to haiff catchit a vantage, giff he could haiff gottin, be sic information, a censour of the Breithring of the French Kirk, Genev, Tygurie, &c., and to mak us and our Discipline odius to the Quein and Kirk of Eingland:

ARTICLES QUHILK THE BISCHOPE OF ST ANDROIS GAIFF OUT IN EINGLAND TO THE FRENCHE KIRK AT LONDONE, SEND TO GENEV, TYGURIE, &c. 1583.

THE ORDOUR APOINTED BE THE MINISTERS OF SCOTLAND OBTRUDIT TO THE KING BE THAM.

"1. As ther [is] a difference betwix the Civill Polecie and Go-

[1] Once a week. [2] Ere, before. [3] Then, afterwards. [4] Frame, mould.

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vernment of the Kirk, sa is ther divers governours apointed for the an and for the uther.

"2. The Civill Magistrat rewlit in his politik effeares only, and the Spirituall Governours in the effeares of the Kirk.

"3. As Spirituall Rewlares does exceid thair bounds, if they interpryse upon civill and politik matters; so does the Prince or Civill Magistrat, if he pretend in maters Ecclesiasticall.

"4. The exemple of Uzziah, King of Juda, declares that Kings sould be affrayed to middle with maters perteining to the Kirk.

"5. It is an heresie to a Prince to usurpe the tytle to be called The Head of the Kirk.

THESE ABOVE WRYTTIN CONCERN THE PRINCE'S DEWTIE: THESE THAT FOLLOW CONCERN THE GOVERNMENT AND POLECIE OF THE MINISTERIE.

"1. The Ordour wharby the Kirk sould be governit, alsweill in preatching of the Word, ministration of Sacraments, as Discipline Ecclesiasticall, is sufficientlie and fullie sett furthe in the Scriptures, and hes neid of na farder; and the Ministers of the Word of God sould haiff na injunctionnes giffen[1] to tham in pretching of the Gospell, bot sould speak as the Word of God puttes in thair mouthe.

"2. The Government of the Kirk consistes in thrie sortes; in Pastor, Doctor, Senior,[2] wha aught to haiff the haill Discipline of the Kirk in thair powar; and Pastors to be sic as hes a particular flok, wha lykwayes sould be called Bischopes.

"3. The office and esteat of Bischopes, as they ar of Provinces and Dyoceis, can nocht stand with the Word of God.

"4. Everie Pastor within his awin Congregation sould haiff a nomber of Seniores or Eldars, of laic men,[3] to assist tham in counsall for the government of the Kirk; and in everie compas, or reasonable precinct of boundes, thair sould be erected a Presbyterie, consisting in the Pastors and Doctors, and sic uther laic persones, as be election may be associat within the sam. And these Presby

[1] Given. [2] Elder. [3] Laymen.

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ters sould haiff cair of the doctrine and maners within thair bounds, and of the Election of Pastors, when anie of tham sall happin to inleak;[1] and powar of excommunication, and disposition of benefices.

"5. The Synodall Assemblie does consist in manie Presbyteries; lyk as the Presbyteries in manie particular Kirks; and in the Presbyteries and Generall Assemblies an Moderator is to be chosin, be the consent of the rest, at everie meitting; and his powar to continow to the nixt Assemblie thairefter.

"6. Thair is appellation from the particular [Kirk] to the Presbyterie, from the Presbyterie to the Synodall, and from the Synodall to the Generall, if anie man be hurt or greivit. And the Generall Assemblie does consist of the Commissionars, quhilk ar directed from the Synodall Assemblies to the Generall: And, in lyk maner, the Assemblie Generall sould haiff a Moderator chosin at everie meitting.

"7. The Assemblie Generall hes powar to mak Lawes, Canones, and Constitutionnes, for the effeares of the haill Kirk, and to determine in all maters Ecclesiasticall, in Election of Pastores, Deposition, Suspension, Excommunication, Heresie, and whatsumever effeares perteining to the Kirk.

"8. The Assemblie Generall may appoint tymes of thair convention from Assemblie till Assemblie, and convein tham selves without anie licence impetrat of the Prince for that effect.

"9. The Assemblie Generall hes also powar to direct Commissionars to the King's Parliament; quhilks Commissionars sould haiff the powar and authoritie of the Kirk, and nocht sic as ar Bischopes, except they be from tyme to tyme authorised with thair commission.

"10. The Assemblie Generall hes also powar to direct, of thair awin nomber, certean to visit the Kirks, as occasion sall fall. And ther is na ordinar powar to visit, except they haiff commission of the Kirk, and be directed from the Generall Assemblie to that effect.

[1] To be deficient or awanting, *e.g.* by death, &c.

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"11. Benefices ar the invention of the devill, and na man aught to possess rent or leiving; bot Deacones sould lift upe the Kirk-rents, and distribut the sam, according to the ancient canones.

"12. Patrones and Patronages ar nocht to be tolerated in the Reformit Kirk, as occasiones of intolerable corruptionnes. Bot the Patrons sould resing[1] in favours of the Deacones: And giff Patrones sould be permitted, they sould nocht haiff the choise of the election of the persone; bot efter the persone is elected be the Parochine[2] or Presbyterie, then the Patrones aught to confer the leiving onlie to the persone intrant, and the distribution of the said leiving immediatlie to be giffen to the Deacones.

"13. Ther belanges to the Patrimonie of the Kirk all sic temporall and spirituall lands, teinds, rents, as hes bein at anie tyme foundit or dotted[3] thairunto; and it is a sacrilage to the Prince, or anie inferior persone, to middle thairwith, except the Deacones onlie to the use forsaid.

"14. Giff the Prince wald contravein the Actes of the Generall Assemblie, he may be alsweill excommunicat as anie inferiour in the realme.

FOLLOWES THE JUDGMENT OF THE BISCHOP OF ST ANDROIS, QUHILK HE PRESSED TO HAIF HAD CONFIRMED BE THE LERNED DOCTORS AND MINISTERS OF GOD'S WORD IN EINGLAND, GENEV, OR ELSQHER, FOR SUPPLANTING OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

1. *For the Prince.*

"1. It is ane of the graittest parts of the Princlie office, to appoinct a godlie Ordour to the Kirk, and to tak head that the sam be meanteined and keipit.[4]

"2. It proceidit from the tyrannie of the Paipe, till arrogat to the Clergie the haill Government of the Kirk, and to exclud ther-

[1] Resign. [2] Parish. [3] Left, bequeathed, or endowed. [4] "Giff thir grunds be fast stuken to or nocht, this tym's experience may tell! 1690." The above note has been inserted by the Author on the margin of MS.

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fra Christian Princes and godlie Magistrates, wha sould be nurishes[1] of the Kirk, and keipars of bathe the Tables.[2]

"3. Princes, in thair awin cowntries, ar cheiff heades under Chryst, as weill in Ecclesiasticall Polecie as Temporall; and thair judgment in bathe is soveran.

"4. Giff the Rewlars of the Kirk hes done wrang, appellation is lawfull to the Princlie powar, be whase authoritie the saming sould be redressit.

2. *For the Ministrie.*

"1. It is maist necessar that a guid Ordour and Form be prescryvit in the Kirk, alsweill in the service of God as in publict doctrin, that all things may be don ordourlie, and na man transgres the limites and bounds apointed in the Scripture, under pretext of the libertie of the Spreit of God.

"2. The Government of the Kirk does consist in the authoritie and powar of the Bischope, to whom ar committed the dyoceise and provinces in government.

"3. The Office of Bischope is of the Apostolic institution, and maist aggreable to the primitive puritie of the Kirk of God.

"4. The Ordination and ordinarie Judgment of Pastors belangit to the Bischope, without whase authoritie, whasoever does presume to the Pastorall cure enters nocht at the dur, bot ower the dyk.[3]

"5. Doctors hes na power to preatche, bot be the apointment of Bischops; nather haiff they anie fordar powar in governing the Kirk.

"6. Seniors or Eldars, of the laic sort, is nocht agreable with the Scripture, nor ancient puritie of The Primitive Kirk.

"7. Presbyteries to be apointed of gentilmen, or lords of the ground, and uthers associatt with the Ministers, is na uther thing bot till induce a grait confusion in the Kirk, and an occasion of continuall sedition.

"8. The ordour of apointing Moderators in Presbyteries or As-

[1] Nurses. [2] Of the Law. [3] Over the wall.

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semblies to be alterit at thair meitting, is nather Canonicall efter the Scriptures, nor aggreiable to the ordour of The Primitive Kirk; in the quhilk it hes bein locall in the Bischope's seat, and nocht elective and variable, as was the Wardeanes of the Frires.

"9. The Synodall Assemblie sould be moderat and governed be the Bischope, in everie Province and Dyocie, and be him sould ordour be takin that the Kirks be weill servit.

"10. The Generall Assemblie of a realme hes nocht powar to convein tham selff bot upon a grait and weghtie occasion intimat to the Prince, and licence granted thairto.

"11. Ther is na Assemblie that hes powar till establise lawes and constitutiones within the realm, bot sic as ar allowit of the Prince and his Esteat.

"12. The resort of the Prelates of the Kirk to the King's Parliament and grait Counsall, for the weghtie effeares of the realme, is maist necessar; and that Ministers sall presum to direct of thair number to the Counsall and Parliament, it is an intolerable arrogancie.

"13. Visitation is an office necessar in the Kirk, and proper to the function of a Bischope, and sic as ar apointed be him for that effect.

"14. Benefices and Patronages hes bein zealuslie and godlie apointed be our antecessours; and Christian Pastors may with saiff conscience injoy the saming. And the Deacones to be apointed ower the Kirk-rents is an preposterous imitation of The Primitive Kirk, without anie kynd of reasone.

"15. The Patrimonie of the Kirk is that quhilk, be the lawes and esteates of countreyes, belangs to the Kirk and interteinment thairof, and nocht that aboundance wherwith the Roman Kirk did owerflow."

Thir last Articles, plean contradictorie to the establissed Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, the said Bischope of St Androis presented to the Bischopes of Canterberry and London; also to the Ministers of The Frenche Kirk at Londone, and to sindrie uther

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lernit men, alleaging tham to be foundit upon the Scriptures, and maist sinceare antiquitie; willing tham, be vertew of a commission giffen to him be the King's Majestie of Scotland, to intreat of thir maters, to confirm the sam be thair subscription and approbation. And mairower, he wrot to Genev and Tigurie sinistrus information of all our proceidings, and as best might serve to purchase, and haid bein never so lytle a hinkling[1] of ther pen till haiff born out his course, and maid vant of for his creadit at Court. Bot, as my uncle directed me, I maid his bissines knawin at hame, and informit all the guid breithring of his proceidings, and send copies of his Articles abrode throwout the contrey.

And, on the uther part, Mr Andro, wha warred[2] him far in credit without the contrey, [amangs the best and maist lerned,] namlie at Genev and Tigurie, wrot unto the Kirks at lainthe, in the breithring's nam, and informit tham of the man, and all his proceidings and purpose in his delling with thame. The quhilk Epistle, because it cleires bathe the cause and storie better nor[3] I can set it down, I haiff translated, and thought maist meit to be insert in this place.

[EPISTLE FROM MR ANDRO MELVILL]

TO THE MAIST REVEREND FATHERS, AND OUR MAIST LOVING BRETHRING IN THE LORD JESUS, THE PASTORS OF THE KIRK OF GENEVA AND TIGURIE.

"It is now almaist fyftein yeirs, Reverend Fathers in God, and Breithring in the Lord, maist Worschipfull, sen that grave and lerned men, and that quhilk is cheiff burning with wyse and sincere zeall of the glorie of God, and helthe of his Kirk, informed with your precepts, and instructed with your exemples, hathe, in the first planting of our Kirks, conjoyned with the puritie of Doctrine the holines of Discipline: And that thair uniforme consent and aggreiment in all poinctes witnessed unto the haill warld, might lest unto the posteritie, they subscryvit your Confession. In the futt-

[1] Inkling, hint. [2] Surpassed, excelled. [3] Than.

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steppes of the quhilk guid and godlie renoumed men, we therefter insisting, haiff, nixt efter the heavinlie oracles of the Word of God, following the doctrine and constitution of your Kirk, keip the sam course unto this present day; and farther, also leanning on the mercie and guidnes of our God, and on the strynthe of his Holie Spreit, we dout nocht constantlie, without weireing, to hald the sam unto the end. Of the quhilk, our purpose and constant aggriment with yow in doctrine and discipline, we haiff fund of God's guidnes this fruict, that induring sa manie yeirs na heresie hes sprung out in our Kirks; nan com from uther places hes taken rut, entered anie thing deiplie, or remeaned anie space of tyme in the hart of anie man, mikle les to haiff growin upe or cropen abrode.[1] Na obstinat Papist or trespassour, publictlie knawin, hes it sufferit lang to converse amangs us, untean[2] ordour withe. Sa it hes pleasit the Lord to bles the labours of his servantes, undertakin according to the direction of his Word; and unto this day to heape sa grait and incredible happines, of his awin singular guidnes, upon the Congregationes of Scotland.

"But in the mean tyme, alas! whill as we answerit nocht unto sa grait and rare a grace and guidnes of God toward us, be that thankfulnes of mynd, obedience to his Word, and diligence in our dewties, that becam us, behauld, of the fearfull judgment of God, but indeid justlie deservit, Sathan sa blinds with avarice and ambition ane nocht of us albeit amangs us,[3] bearing the office of a Minister, that forgetting, as sayes the poet, bathe his awin scham and the helthe of his breithring, and (that quhilk is mair miserable!) casting af all guid conscience, and making shipwrak of his fathe, goes fordwart without ceassing to mix heavin with erthe, and with utter confusion to trouble all things. For, when he haid left his flok, and unwitting of the Kirk haid croppin in[4] Court; when he haid nocht onlie with subtill craft and polecie intrudit him selff in the esteat of fals Bischopes, of new sprung upe againe from the holles, the quhilk he haid oppugned of befor, bot also haid taken planlie unto him

[1] Crept abroad. [2] Untaken. [3] One not of us, although among us. [4] Crept into.

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that fals usurped authoritie quhilk in his sermonts publiclie he haid damned,[1] quhilk opinlie in a maist frequent Assemblie Generall of the Kirk he haid oftentymes abjurit, and the quhilk, be sindrie subscriptiones and hand-wryttes, he haid renuncit and giffen ower; when, as he haid addicted him selff to the maist vyle servitude and slaverie, and with the sworn enemies to the guid esteat of the Countrey, Kirk, and Relligion, in a maist filthie cause joynit and bandit him selff; when, that in doutfull maters, and disparit helthe of his body, he haid nocht onlie consulted with witches concerning the esteat of King and Countrey, bot also for releiff of his seiknes he haid ernestlie sought the helpe and support of devilrie and witchcraft; when, that efter a stubburn sylence from pretching the space of a haill yeir, under clok of sicknes and infirmitie, he haid, to foster and steir upe the pernitius affectionnes of the Court, maid twa maist turbulent and seditius sermonts; when he haid, with the Machiavellians of the Court, and the Pape's trafectars at ham,[2] devysit maist crewall counsalles against the lyff, lands, and esteat of the best and maist zealus noble men, and uthers guid gentilmen and subjects of the countrey; when he haid don monie uther things, quhilk nather tyme sufferes, and scham forbiddes, to wryt; and now, when formall proces upon the forenamed maist odious and hynous crymes was lead and deducit against him befor the Presbyteries and Assemblies, and for that cause, efter that he was inhibit, as maist sklanderus and unworthie till use the function of ministerie, unto the tyme that the last censor of the Kirk might strik upon him, to cut him of from the body of the sam as a maist contagius and corrupt member, he obteines a frie legacie from his Majestie to pas to uther nationnes, whar, under pretence and clok of curing his diseases and seiking of his helthe, he might moyen[3] all the meanes and wayes he could (as his verie deids hes declarit) to vex and trouble the Kirk, the quhilk now he haid leyit in his hart to slay and distroy as his deadlie enemie. Yie will giff us, as we hope, this leive, (Reverend Fathers and Breithring in the Lord,) in the cause of

[1] Condemned. [2] Traffickers at home. [3] Compass or effect. Fr *moyenner*.

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God and his Kirk, simplie and planlie to deall with yow, for that onlie a cearssar of the hart is witnes[1] that we yeild na thing in this present narration to our privat affections, bot rather owerpas[2] manie things, of sett purpose, quhilk the cause it selff requyres.

"In London, then, letting him selff out as Ambassator for his Majestie, he thifteiuslie intreated oftentymes of secret purposes with the Ambassators of France and Spean. Withe our nibour Bischopes (for ther amangs our nibours he remeaned, nather purposed he at the beginning to go anie farder) he haid sic conference, be the quhilk he traducit the best of our nobilitie and subjects as seditius and treasonable, he giffes him selff to sic devysses and counsalls, be the strainthe and effect wharof, at this tyme, the maist lernit and fathfull Pastores in bathe the kingdomes ar forced ather haillelie[3] to keipe sylence and leave the ministerie, or then by flight and exyll to saiff thair lyves, or els to essay the filthie weirines of stinking pressones; or then of necessitie to do that quhilk onlie remeanes againe thair dewtie and conscience, to subscryve to the ambitius tyrannie of the fals Bischopes, and to the impietie of manie corrupt rytes and ceremonies.

"Of this comes those Archiepiscopall Letters, wrytten to yow and the Breithring of Tygurie; be the quhilks that mervelus, cunning, and fyne artifice, in feinyeing and dissembling what he will, bathe does burding us with false and forgit crymes, and bring the government of our Kirk, traducit be manie calumnies, into dout and question, albeit he is les ignorant then anie man: And our awin conscience beares us record, us to haiff pressed ernestlie to that, that the Discipline of the Kirk might be taken out of the Word of God, sa far as could be, and that it sould nocht pas a jot from the judgment of your Kirks. Wharfor, lyk as it sould be superfluus to us to open upe and declar our judgment unto yow, namlie, concerning maters of Discipline, seing whatsoever we haiff in that mater, we willinglie and planlie confes to haiff receaved it of yow; and that we altogidder agrie with yow in all poincts, sa

[1] For that only searcher of the heart is witness. [2] Overpass, omit. [3] Wholly.

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mervelouslie does our mynds and willes, be the vertew of God's Spreit, concent in an harmonie; sa will we nocht, for fear bathe of temeritie and impudence, prescryve unto yow anie form of answering, or maner of wrytting againe to the Bischop's Letters and Questionnes. Of this onlie, at this tyme, wald we haiff yow persuadit, that the guid ordour of the Kirk, the quhilk Adamsone durst first undermynd secretlie, and thairefter opinlie oppung,[1] and now at last wickedlie to calumniat, fathleslie to mean-swear, and malitiuslie to deteast as Papall tyrannie, mother of confusion, and faggot of sedition, hes bein receavit within our Kirks, conform to the Word of God, and maner of the constitutionnes of your Kirks, ever sen the first tyme that Papistrie was chassit away; and incontinent approvit be the vottes of the haill esteates of the countrey in Parliament, and, piece and piece, at last, of the mercie of God, hes bein brought to sum mediocritie of perfection, sa far, at the least, as the smalnes of that missour quhilk God hes bestowit upon us might attein unto; and quhilk thrie yeirs ago hes bein approvin, sealled upe, and ratefeid be the profession of the mouthe, holie and feirfull aithe of the Lord interponit, and subscription of the hand of the King him selff, and everie an of his subjects, grait and small, of what ordour, rank, and esteat soever they war; and that be the express letters patents of his Majestie, commanding all and sindrie, under the hiest pean, to do the sam.

"Now, altho these things be sa in verie deid as is declarit, and this our Discipline be corroborat be divers and manifold use and experience, maister of fooles, in all partes and in everie occasion fallin out continuallie thir xxv yeirs bypast; nevertheless the adversar, efter that he haid maid the maist godlie and stout, alsweill of the nobilitie as of inferiour esteates, wha haid bein the speciall instruments of God in the defence and establisment of Relligion and the cause of the King, be conducit and suborned accusars, waillit[2] out of the number of sic men wha haid sauld[3] tham selves in saull and body to work all kynd of iniquitie and villanie for warldlie pre-

[1] Impugn, oppose. [2] Chosen, selected. [3] Sold.

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ferment, and be[1] fals forgit crymes maist craftelie and deceatfullie leyit upon tham, ather to be accusit of thair lyves and want the head,[2] or to be comprehendit and casten in prisson, banissed, and forfault, to the intent, that nan sould be left to ganstand thair godles course. This adversar, I say, causit the King's Majestie incontinent, and these Papisticall Epicureans and bludie clients of the Hous of Guise and Quein Mother, be the quhilks his Grace is hauldin in fearfull bandes and abuse, to convocat a Parliament of the thrie Estats of the countrey, to bring the saming into vyle and bund slaverie. For nather durst they reasone of the maters proponit, nor thairefter giff thair vottes and judgments frilie, according to the wounted libertie of the Esteates of Scotland, and the laudable government of our nation; bot, in a new and maist strange maner, the King's will being maid a law and reasone for all things, the Presbyteries ar utterlie perverted, the Pseudo-Episcopall tyranie restorit, the King, be a plean law, receaves a full and absolut powar to command and rewll in maters alsweill Ecclesiasticall as Civill; the sentences of excommunication, lawfullie pronunced be the Presbyteries, be thair authoritie is disanulled, and declarit to be of na forse or effect; and, finalie, all Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, and nixt under the King, all powar of rewling in the Kirk, is giffen to the fals Bischopes, quhilks war of befor, when the Kirk stude, ather maist justlie excommunicat, or lying under the proces of the Kirk's censours, as knawin maist sklanderus and unhonest persones throwout all the countrey.

"Amang the quhilk the cheiff captan and rewlar, even the author, and forger, and cheiff executor of all this wickednes, is Patrik Adamsone, the fals Bischope of St Androis; wha, steying upon this perpetuall and pontificiall *dictatura*, mervelus it is whow craftelie he rages against the Pastors of the Kirk, and all guid men, for bathe he propynes certean Articles, (skartit[3] togidder be him,) or rather blottes of that comlines and ordour quhilk sould be in Chryst's Kirk, drawin newlie out of the dregges of the cupe of the Antichryst

[1] By. [2] Be beheaded. [3] Scraped, scratched.

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unto the lawfull Pastors to drink; and als, be the authoritie of the King, obtenes tham to be subscryvit, under the pean of banisment, incarceration, or depriving of tham from thair ministerie. Be the quhilk Articles, bathe that libertie of preatching the Word being oppressed, is attemperat unto the lusts and pleasures of men; and steat of Publict Prayer, with the simplicitie of ryttes in ministration of the Sacraments and celebrating of Mariage, is filthelie adulterat, and manie uther things against the express Word of God is committed. He hes pitiuslie destroyed the Collage a fyve yeirs since, at the command of the King and be a speciall Act of Parliament consecrat to holie erudition and vertew, that onlie a[1] Anti-Seminarie of the knawlage of the tongues and sincere Theologie, in all the realme of Scotland, sett doun and planted against the manifald Seminaries of the bissie Jesuites; casting out thairof all the Professors and Students, and spulyeing[2] the Bibliothek and wryttings thairof: It nocht being obscure what Sathan purposes by this doing; to wit, that the light of heavinlie knawlage being extinguisit, we be involved again in the mist and darknes of Jesuiticall sophistrie; that we, wha began in the Sprit, may end in the fleche; that the vynyeard of the Lord, spoilled of the savegarde and defence of his hedge, might be eatten upe of wyld beasts; and, finalie, the walles of Jerusalem cast down, the sanctuarie may be brunt and defylit.

"Unto the holie peace, concord, and unitie with our nibours, to whase frindschipe we ar joyned sa streatlie, first be bands of religion, libertie, and conquest thairof by thair speciall helpe and meanes, and thairefter confirmed with manifald benefites, they prefer the favour and frindschipe of the Guisians, and the rest of these monstruus Read-eattins[3] in France, quha celebrat that bludie drunken feast of Bartholomew in Paris, with that horrible butcherie of the holie martyres of God, the quhilk our Court now affirmes justlie to haiff bein massacred! Yea, they have persuadet our Joas

[1] Single, one only. [2] Plundering, spoiling. [3] A Red-ettin, or giant; a fabulous Rawhead-and-bloody-bones, who conspicuously figures in Scotish Legends.

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to receave in Athalia in the association and fellowschip of the Scepter and Croun, without whase guid will, benediction, and full delyverance, they contend that nather can he happelie ring[1] and lawfullie at hame, nor obtein the empyre of the whole Ill of Britannie. Be the bludie counsall and direction of the quhilk Athalia, all things hes proceidit, sen Monsieur Obignie's first coming in Scotland; in sic sort, that, according thairto, a thrie yeirs ago, the Erle of Morton, Regent of Scotland, and now latlie the Erle of Gowrie, bothe most stout and valiant advengars and defendars of Relligion and the King's cause, be the fals sentence of corrupted judges, war circumvenit and oppressed. At whase pleasure and will, albeit captive, the best nobilitie and peires of the land, the frakest[2] and maist zealus in Relligion, *in dicta causa* unhard, ar forfaulted, apointed for the slauchtar, and drawin to the gibets and comoun place of execution, and all thair guids and geare, as the clothes of the innocent to the hangman, ar giffen to the saulles[3] clyent of Guise and Athalia. The quhilk merciless men, with the guids and gear of the noblest, best, and maist innocent, as with the spuilzie of thair enemies, ar gorgiuslie arrayit, and accompanied warlyke with a sort of limmers and godles suddartes,[4] most feirfull and dolorous to the guid and godlie, and profitable and plesand to the ungodlie and wicked. They abrogat and braks God's lawes, and maks wrang and unjust, and puts tham scharplie in execution; sa that in na place ever could that be mair treulie spokin,

Jam late impietas grassatur libera, passim
Omnia plena malis:
Cum penes injustos jus est, et jussa malorum
Sunt metuenda bonis.

Now rages louss ungodliness in land,
In everie place all is full of[5] molest,

[1] Reign. [2] The most forward, hearty. [3] Soulless. [4] A company of scoundrels or thieves, and godless soldiers. [5] "Ill and" on margin of MS.

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Whill as the right is in the wrangfull hand,
And warst men's lawes ar feirfull to the best.

"Sie, now, altho we sould keipe silence, Reverend Fathers and maist loving Breithring in the Lord, what meines the questiones of Adamsone anent the powar of the Prince in making of Ecclesiasticall lawes, and constituting of the Polecie of the Kirk, in convocating of Synods and Generall Assemblies, and in proclaiming of Fastes; to wit, that na thing be sa sur and sacrat amangs us, quhilk be the wickednes of these mischant[1] men sall nocht be violat and undone? He knawes weill aneuche, nather can he be ignorant of that quhilk he hes so often read and lerned of your maist godlie and lerned wrytings, That it perteines nocht to the Prince to prescryve ather Relligion to the Kirk, or Discipline to the Pastors thairof; bot, be his authoritie, to confirme bathe the an and the uther, apointed be God, and sincerlie declarit out of his Word, be the ministrie of his servantes; to revenge and punishe all corrupting of clein doctrin, contempt of holie Discipline, and perturbation of lawfull Ordour, for the quhilk use and purpose he hathe receivit the sword; to decore the Assemblies, giff neid beis, with his presence; to arme the innocence of this Ministrie be his saiffgard and defence; iff ther aryse controversies amangs the Pastors sumtymes, to compose and agrie the sam be his authoritie interponed; to promove,[2] be guid lawes maid for that effect, these things quhilk ar lawfullie constitut be the Assemblies; and to do manie uther things for the weill of the Kirk, quhilks wer lang to rehers, and unneidfull. Bot far utherwayes does he sitt in the Synods amangs the Pastors then he does in the throne of the kingdome amangs the Esteattes; heir, to mak lawes for subjeets and command, bot ther, to receave lawes from God to obey. And, finalie, the coming of the enemie to be declarit be the sound of the trumpet of the watchmen, as Ezechiell and Joel commands.

"And albeit, that sum things be callit Ecclesiasticall, and uther

[1] Wicked. Fr. *mechant.* [2] Promote. Lat. *promovere.*

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things Civill, and the Civill apertean to the Comoun-weill, the uther to the Kirk, yit it is nocht sa mikle to be considderit what things is handlit as whow; seing the knawlage of an and the selff sam thing, a[1] way, and in sum respect, aperteines unto the Magistrat, and an uther way to the Senat Ecclesiasticall; and yit sic a mater nather does the Kirk civilie nor the Counsall or Parliament ecclesiasticallie intreat—ἀλλα γλαυκας εις Ἀθηνας—salt to Dysert, or colles to Newcastell! And as twitching the Convention of the Nobilitie at Ruthven, and the judgment of the Assemblie concerning that mater, What neid is ther to wryt? The halliest and best part of the Nobilitie and Esteates of the realme, without anie tumult or slauchter, comprehending and putting in prissone ane or twa wicked men, removed a pest from the Comoun-weill, a sure mischeiff fra the Kirk, and delyverit the King from present danger, bathe of body and saull. The King callit a Convention of the Esteattes. He declarit the danger wherin him selff, the Kirk of God, and Comoun-welthe, was brought in by the counsall of wicked men; he commends the fathfulnes and stoutnes of the Nobilitie, wha haid delyverit his Majestie, the Kirk, and Comoun-weill, from sa present a danger, frie and grave sentences and vottes ar spoken, all with a voice[2] commends the deid: Ane Act is maid be the Esteates, be the quhilk the conveining of the Nobilitie at Ruthven is approven as guid service done for King and Comoun-weill: And at the sam tyme the Generall Assemblie of the Kirk was conveinit, unto the quhilk was send fra the Noble men that tuk sa guid a wark in hand to purge tham from the calumnies of evill-willars, and from all suspition of privat factionnes and sedition, and to notifie and approve the deed to the Assemblie and all guid men: Ther is also send to the Assemblie ane or twa Commissionars from the King: From the Assemblie also unto the King ther is directed, lykwayes, sum of the Breithring with his Majestie's Commissionars, to understand the King's awin mynd in that mater, and report it againe to the Breithring: In the King's awin nam and words, it is reported to the As-

[1] One.

[2] All with one voice, unanimously.

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semblie againe, that his Majestie acknawlegit in verie deid, him selff, the Comoun-weill, and the Kirk of God, to haiff bein releived of a maist grait and extream danger; and for that cause thanked God hartlie, and willit the Assemblie, and everie an of the Breithring, according to thair office, diligentlie to travell that the comoun danger now being removit be the stoutnes of the Nobilitie, the wark of delyverance begoun sould be bauldlie prosecut and perfyted, sa that bathe in thair prayers to God, and sermontes in publict to the peiple, they sould haiff in speciall recommendation sa guid, sa holie, and wholsome a cause of the King, Kirk, and Comoun-weill. The Assemblie obeyes, and giffes thanks to God in a singular maner, for heiring of the prayers of the Kirk, quhilks haid bein powred out with a solem fast and humiliation a lytle befor the arysing of the delyverance from the sworn suddarts[1] of the House of Guise, and of our Athalia, Obignie being Captan to tham, wha haid sa soarlie[2] oppressed the King's Majestie, Kirk, and Comoun-weill, with a mistie night of captivitie and blak darknes of schamfull servitude.

"And this is that quhilk our guid Bischope exagitates, to bring the Breithring in hatred and invy; wha eschames nocht befor yow to plead the cause of the Papists, whom he can nocht suffer to be counted for goattes be the trew Pastors, whase office is to feid the lambes of Jesus Chryst. But the bearer presses us, and peradventure this is over mikle, namlie unto you wha is acquented with the smelling out of the craft and subteltie of sic wolffes. And, thairfor, in end, we pray yow, bathe in your privat and publict prayers, to commend to our comoun Father the Kirks in bathe the countries, for the graitest part is destitut of thair Pastors, and sa exponit[3] to the intrusion of bludie wolffes; and that yie wald, in this grait darknes, schyne befor us be your fathfull counsall, wha, sear against our willes, ar pullit away from our awin dear flockes. From, &c."

M.D.LXXXIV.

Bot to turn bak againe, and deduce the storie of our esteat till

[1] Soldiers, mercenaries. [2] So sorely. [3] Exposed.

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we followed Mr Andro, and war all fean to flie efter him. About the beginning of Apryll that yeir, 1584, the devill essayit the stay of my weik travelles for halding upe the wark of the Collage of Theologie, or rather hadding in anie spark of lyff in it. For the Œconomus of the Collage, wha held the hous, and intrometed with the haill leiving thairof, being a slight and war[1] man, and perceaving the esteat of the Kirk deceying, and graitlie to be hated be the Court, he thought it wald nather be profitable nor sure for him to be in that place of service in the Kirk; for he haid his intelligence and collusion with the Bischope alwayes. And, therfor, whowbeit in the middes of the yeir, when all things war at the deirest, and he haid uplifted the best and surest part and peyment of the Collage leiving, yit he comes to me, and wald neides giff ower his office, and leave the halding of our hous in the Collage. This was wounderfull heavie to me, being owerburdenit with teatching and governing of the students in thair disputes, exerceises, and conversation; for the hous of the Collage annes giffen upe,[2] the students behoved to skatter, and all exerceis cease. Yit it pleased God to giff me a hart resolved to be doing what I could; thinking it the best, when ever the visitation of the Lord sould com, to be fund occupeit in his wark. Therfor, with the advyse of Mr Robert Bruce, wha maist lovinglie and cearfullie assisted me in all, I called the said Œconomus to his comptes, gaiff him a discharge of his intromission, sa far as he clared him be just compt, and undertuk my selff the furnesing of the hous, wherunto my wyff was a right and stedable helpe, and sa put af that monethe.

This monethe of Apryll was a most anxius and perplext monethe to the Kirk and haill countrey of Scotland: Wherin about the Pasch,[3] the Erles of Angus and Mar, the Maister of Glammes, accompanied with thair frinds, occupied the town and Castle of Stirveling, luiking for the concurrance of the countrey to stand be the guid cause, and repres Captan James' insolence. Bot finding cauld concurrance, and heiring of the King with grait forces to be merching

[1] Wary, cautious. [2] Being once given up. [3] Easter.

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from Edinbruche to Stirling, war fean to flie and eschape into Eingland. At the sam tyme, the breithring from all partes assembling to St Androis, whar the Generall Assemblie was apoincted to be keipit, they fand a bosting[1] fyrie Commissionar[2] directed from the King, to crave a retractation of the approving of the Read of Ruthven, and a condamnator and excommunication of the Noblemen conveined at Stirling: Bot the graitest part of the breithring departed, and sic as remeaned refused to hald an Assemblie, and sa suffered the sam to desert. I haid then bathe the confort and disconfort to haiff Mr James Lawsone to be my ghest; to haiff the man to whom, for his grait affection, I was mikle addetted, and wha was cheiff for lerning, holines, powar in doctrine, and all guid vertues amangs the haill ministerie, in my hous interteaned the best I could, it was a grait comfort and joy to me; bot to sie him in sic perplexitie, sorow, and melancholie, it wald haiff grievit the hart of anie that loved the cause of Chryst.

The King, with his forces, coming to Stirling, the town receaves him obedientlie. The Castle nocht being furnesit, was fean to rander, luiking for ther lyves, bot gat na grace. The Erle of Gowrie, apprehendit at Dondie a whyll befor, is brought to Stirling, and ther beheadit.

About the beginning of May, I was compellit throw necessitie, bathe of the furnesing of the foundat persones in the Collage, and my awin famelie, to tak jorney athort Angus and Merns, whar the Collage leiving lyes, and gather in the rent dew to the Collage. In this mean tyme, the Bischope is retourned from his embassage. A Parliament is keipit at Edinbruche, in the quhilk lawes is sett down for restraining of the frie pretching of the Word, and owerthraw of the haill establissed discipline of the Kirk; and that of speciall purpose to be snares to tak the fathfull ministers in; for, do what they could, they sould nocht eschape ather treassone against Chryst or the King: For preaching frilie the treuthe, they sould fall under

[1] Threatening. [2] "My Lord Litle Justice, Mr Johne Graham." Margin of MS.

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the danger of these lawes; and keiping sylence, or pretching to the pleasour of men, they sould betrey the cause of Chryst. These lawes ar promulgat at the mercat-cross of Edinbruche, and vowes maid be Captean James, the Chancellar, and cheiff hand of that cours, that giff Mr James Lawsone's head war als grait as a hay-stak, he sould cause it lope from his hause![1] The quhilk, when Mr James perceavit, be advys of his brethring of the Presbyterie, and of the best of his flok, and godlie barones and gentlemen about, with his brother and coleag, Mr Walter Balcanquall, withdrew him selff secretlie from Edinbruche, and past in Eingland. Bot befor they past, Mr Robert Pont, accompanied with Mr Walter Balcanquall, and certean of the breithring, cam to the mercat-cros at the verie publication of the actes of parliament, and tuk publict documents, that they protested against the said actes, (sa far as twitched the Kirk,) in the nam of the Kirk of Scotland, &c.

Returning from Angus, all thir newes is tauld me, and that the bruit[2] was, that I was away with the rest; whowbeit indeid, as yit it cam na wayes in my mynd to leave the Collage, bot was resolvit to be fund ther when ever it pleasit God to visit me. Sa, the Sabbathe efter my ham-coming, I went to the Kirk; and efter noone my uncle Roger, knawing fordar nor I did, comes ower from Dondie, and finding a frind of his in St Androis, tauld him that the Bischope was coming hame with a commission to tak me; and thairfor be-sought him nocht to leave me till I aggreit to go ower to Dondie with him. Sa he delt with Mr Robert Bruce and uthers my frinds, and importuned me sa, that it behoved me to go with him, as I did that night, to Dondie. The newes that comes to me the morn was, that the Bischope's men, with the Magistrats, haid bein cersing[3] the Collage and my hous for me, and haid sought out all my let-trones[4] and wryttes;[5] and that my dittay was allready inacted, in-terteining of intelligence with my uncle, the King's rebell, &c.

[1] Halse, throat or neck. [2] Rumour, report. Fr. *bruit*. [3] Searching.
[4] Reading and writing desks. Fr. *lectron*. [5] Papers, writings.

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Sa, seiking resolution cairfullie of my God what to do, a cusing of my awin name, of his awin frie motion and accord, offerit to me, be the assistance of God, to put me saiff in Berwik within twentie-four houres be sie.[1] To this also my uncle Roger, and uther frinds, aggreit. Sa, efter consultation with my God, and finding of his warrand in my hart, I concludit to go, albeit nocht without grait tentationes[2] and mikle heavines; yit on the part rejoysing, that God gaiff the hart to leave native countrey, house, and sweit loving new-maried wyff, and all for the love of him and his Chryst. Thus my cusing, being a mariner, conducit a bott to carie a town of his portage wyn about to Carell, and decking me upe in his sie attyre betymes in the morning, about the simmer solstice, tuk me in down under Dondie as a shipbroken sie-man; and rowing about, behoved to go to the heavin of St Androis, to lose a certean of skleatt steanes;[3] and because it was law water, we behoved to ly a whyll in the road till the water grew,[4] whare the bott wanting ane owerlaft,[5] the seall was cassen ower hir ta end, and ther I leyed upe, lest I sould be spyed of sum shipes rydding besyde. Bot within schort space, partlie be rokking in the sie, and partlie for want of eare, I grew sa extream seik, that manie a tyme I besaught my cowsing to sett me a-land; schosin rather anie sort of dethe, for a guid cause, nor sa to be tormented in a stinking holl. And yit, whowbeit it was extream peanfull, I gatt ther notable medicin of vomitine, quhilk was a preservative to my helthe all that yeir. Sa, coming hard to the steppes of the Archbischope's peire at St Androis, we lossit our skleattes,[6] and tuk in vivers,[7] and rowit out agean immediatlie, and cam that night to Pitmillie-burn-mouthe, wher I gead a-land, and reposit me in my sie abbat.[8] And efter offers of grait kyndnes be the Lard, and furnitour of a rubber of starke Merche eall,[9] betymes in the morning we rowit out about the Nes.[10] The day was hat. Ther was bot twa men in the bott, by[11] twa cusings of myne, with my selff. Of these twa, we haid an at our devotion; the uther was the awner

[1] By sea. [2] Trials. [3] To deliver a cargo of slates. [4] Till high-water. [5] The boat having no deck or *loft*. [6] Delivered our slates. [7] Provisions. [8] Sea dress. [9] Strong March ale. [10] Fife-Ness. [11] Besides; *forbye*.

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of the bott, and verie evill-affected; bot the hat rowing, and the stope with the stark eall hard besyd him, maid him atteanes to keave ower aslipe.[1] And it pleased God to send a prettie pirhe of wound, wherby getting on a seall upon hir, or ever our schipper wakned we was a guid space besouthe the May; wha, seing he could nocht mend him selff, was fean to yeild and agrie with his merchant for a hyre to Berwik. Bot being af and on with Dumbar, about ane efter noone comes af the hilles of Lamermure-age[2] a grait mist, with a tempestous schoure and drow,[3] quhilk, or[4] we could gett our sealles taklit, did cast us about, and, or my cusing was awar, caried us bak almaist to the May, with sic a how wa[5] and spene drift,[6] that the bott being opin, he lukit for grait danger giff the stormie schoure haid continowed. Bot the young man being verie skilfull and able, starts to his kist,[7] and tuk out a compas, and finding us contrare our course, with mikle ado, wanting helpe, and schipping of mikle water, he cust about and pykit on the wind,[8] halding bathe the helme and scheit, susteining in the mean tyme evill langage of the schippar in stead of helpe, till it pleasit God mercifullie to luik upon us, and within an houre and an halff to dryve away the schoure and calme the drow, sa that it fell down dead calme about the sune drawing leache.[9]

To keipe the sie all night in an opin litle bott, it was dangerus, and to go to Dumbar we durst nocht; sa, of necessitie, we tuk us toward St Tab's Heid.[10] Bot we haiffing but twa eares,[11] and the boot slaw and heavie, it was about alleavin houres of the night or we could win ther; whowbeit, na man was ydle, yea, I rowit my selff, till the hyd[12] cam af my fingars, mair acquented with the pen nor working on an are.[13] Coming under the crag, we rowit in within a prettie lytle holl betwix the mean and the head,[14] whare easelie going a-land, we refreschit us with cauld water and wyne; and re-

[1] To fall over asleep. [2] Edge. [3] Sudden squall. [4] Before, ere. [5] Literally hollow wave or billow; sea running high. [6] Spray violently driven by the wind. [7] Sea-chest. [8] Tacked and sailed near the wind. [9] Drawing low; sunset. [10] St Abb's Head. [11] Oars. [12] Skin. [13] Than pulling an oar. [14] Betwixt the mainland and St Abb's Head.

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turning to our boot, sleipit the dead of the night, bot neidit nan to wakin us, for soon, be the day-light piped,[1] ther was sic a noyse of foulles on the crag, and about us, because of thair young annes, that we war almaist pressed to lainche out. Now we haid Cawdingham bay and Hay-mouth to pas by, and that but slawly, rowing be the land, whar the residence of Alexander Home of Manderston, an of our cheiff confederat enemies, and wha haid intercepted a boot of the Earle of Angus coming about from Tamtallon to Berwik nocht lang befor. This put us in grait feir; but our guid God gardit us, making a sweik thik mist till aryse, wherby we might bot skarslie gis[2] at the sight of the land; and thairfra nane could sie us. Sa we cam on hulie and fear till we wan within the bounds of Berwik, whar we was in graittest danger of all, unbesett[3] in the mist be twa or thrie of the cobles of Berwik, quhilk war sa swift in rowing, that they ged round about us; bot we being fyve within burd, and haiffing twa pistolets, with thrie swords, and they na armour, they war fean to let us be, namlie, when they understud that we was making for Berwik.

Thus gratiuslie protected be my guid God, I cam to Berwik, whar I fand Mr James Lawsone and Mr Walter Balcanquall, my uncle, Mr Andro, with Patrik Forbes, appeirand of Cors, and sum uther gentlemen, but twa dayes befor entred in their jorney southe ower.[4] And Mr James, with his colleg, war evin upon thair voyage to follow, as they did within thrie or four dayes, acquenting me with thair frinds, and leaving me in thair rowm to pretche in the Kirk, as I was desyrit.

Being in Berwik, I rememberit the sweit tender-harted young las that I haid maried; and thinking our burding was nocht yit grait, nather knew I that sche was with chyld, I resolved with my God to send for hir, and tak sic part togidder as it sould pleis his guidnes to bestow. And sa, satisfeing the botmen to thair contentment, I send bak with tham my cusing, Mr Alexander Scrym-

[1] Peeped, dawned. [2] Guess. [3] Surrounded and attacked. [4] Southward.

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geour, (being then bot a schollar, and now a man of guid giftes and estimation in the ministerie,) with a letter to my wyff, wha, casting all things asyde, cam to me with diligence, be the conduct of a servant of the Englis Ambassatour, lying in Edinbruche for the tyme; and tuk part with me during all my sojourning in England, to my grait confort. My cowsing, James Melvill, returned nocht bak to Scotland, bot tareid in England, and occupied his calling ther all the tyme of our exyll. I taried at Berwik about a monethe, and teatched twyse everie ouk,[1] wherby I gat verie grait friendschipe, namlie, of a maist curteus and godlie lady, my Lady Widdringtoun, spouse to Sir Harrie Widdringtoun, Knight, and Maister Governour of the town, under my Lord of Houndesdean, wha defreyed me of all my charges during the tyme I was ther, and offerit me ten crownes of gold at my parting; bot I haid na neid of tham, and therfor refusit tham thankfullie. I haid also offered me, be divers guid men and weimen of the town, bot haiffing of the bountiful liberalitie of my God aneuche brought with my wyff, I wald nocht incur anie liklihead[2] of a mercenar; bot trewlie I fand sic fectfull professioun of trew Christianitie in Berwik, as I haid never sein the lyk in Scotland.

Efter rype and lang advysment with my God, I resolved to tak jorney suthe ower,[3] and as God sould call me to anie condition to teatche a scholl, and therwithe keipe the mouthe quhilk he haid opened, in catecheising and pretching of Chryst occupied, till these afflictiones war past in Scotland, quhilk I luiked nocht, indeid, sould haiff bein quarter sa schort as they war.

In the mean tyme, the Erles of Angus and Mar, lyand at Newcastell, wryttes for me ans, and the second tyme verie instantlie, to com and pretche the Word unto tham for ther comfort. To whom I answerit I could nocht, because I was nocht entered in the ministerie; nather was I of anie experience of knawlage in thir maters, being but a young man brought upe in the scholles, and thairfor haid resolved to keipe my awin calling. The treuthe was also, that my

[1] Preached twice every week. [2] Suspicion. [3] Southward.

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hart abhorrit and fearit to haiff to do with thame, being the King's rebelles, and nocht knawing ther cause weill, and disposition of ther hart.

Yit I could nocht bot visit tham in my jorney at Newcastell, whar I purposed to tak schipping southwart to Londone. Sa, parting from Berwik, hartlie recommendit to the blessing and grace of God, be manie godlie men and women, and be sum sett and convoyet a guid way on our jorney, we cam that night to Anweik, and ludgit in the house of a weidow, whose sone-in-law, guidman of the hous, was lyand seik of manie deadlie wounds, giffen him be the Scottes theives on the Bordar: And yit we receavit never an evill countenance of tham, bot be the contrar war verie weill treated, and reasonablie, and at our departing, gat bathe from the auld woman and hir douchtar manie blessings.

Coming the nixt night to Newcastell, we resolvit on the morn incontinent to seik for shipping, and na wayes made anie lang tareing, a piece of dewtie annes dischargit to the Noble-men. Bot Mr Jhone Davidsone, being ther with the Lords, informes me sa in all maters, yea, and being my Maister in St Androis, and a man of authoritie in the Word and Spreit of God, and namlie schawing me it was nocht his judgment onlie, but of the haill breithring that haid past by, that I sould abyd with the Noble-men, exerceising tham in the Word of God, till that ather they all, or sum of tham at least, sould returne bak againe, brakes me from my purpose and resolution, that, at the ernest delling of the Lords, and cleiring of thair cause, purpose, and conscience unto me for that effect, I yeildit till abyde with tham.

Thus, finding the warrand of God sattelit in my hart, efter divers dayes deliberation and ernest prayer, I followed the sam. And soone efter Mr Jhone Davidsone's passing away, wha haid bein deteined be tham onlie to abyde my coming and enter me, thinking it best to sett down the ordour meit to be keipit amangs tham at the beginning, I put the sam in wryt with ane exhortation, direction, and fathfull warning prefixed, as followes:

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"TO THE RIGHT GODLIE, ZEALUS, AND NOBLE, MY LORDS OF ANGUSS AND MARRE, THE MASTER OF GLAMMES, AND OTHER NOBLE AND GENTLE MEN IN COMPANIE WITH THAM AT THIS PRESENT IN NEWCASTLE, IN EINGLAND, YOUR HONORS MOST HUMBLE MINISTERS AND SERVANTS IN THE LORD, WISHETH GRACE AND PEACE FROM GOD THE FATHER, AND FROM THE LORD JESUS CHRYST.

"Forsamikle as at the ernest desyre of your godlie and noble honors, and the apointment of the rest of our breithring, confirming that inwart calling whilk we haiff of God in our harts, we ar placed heir to serve your Lordschips and your companie in the ministerie of the Word of God in a tym sa necessar: Lyk as, in maist tender love and affection we cease nocht in our exhortationes to put yow in mynd of all things, according as the occasion of the portion of Scripture intreated offers; sa we haiff thought it expedient, for the mair fathfull discharging of our dewtie and conscience befor God and his Kirk, schortlie in wryt to call to your continual remembrance some speciall things, the diligent consideration and often meditating wharof may serve graitlie to the furtherance of the wark of God put in your weak hands.

"It behoved us first, in verie deid, till acknawlage in our consciences, and confes, as the treuthe is, that the Lord has maist justlie, and yit in grait mercie, corrected us, nocht onlie for uther our manifald sinnes and offences, be the quhilk we haiff strayed away from him, to bring us ham again be his rod of humiliation, to the fauld and obedience of that guid Pastor of our saulles, the Lord Jesus, thairby making us to feill and perceave, in experience, the fatherlie cear quhilk he hathe of us, in chasteising us as his awin deire childring, but also, and maist speciallie at this tyme, for over lightlie regarding, and negligentlie using, the occasiones offered, of performing the guid wark of the Lord, quhilk we haid in our hands. For nather at that tyme, as becam us uprightlie, was the glorie of

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God sought, nather yit afauldlie[1] and ardentlie was procured the preservation, advancement, and further establisment of his Kirk, the kingdome of his Sone Chryst Jesus, sa notablie of his grait mercie planted within our countrey, but then as now brought in extream danger, be craftie and wicked Papists: Nather was the King's persone and esteat diligentlie gardit from pernitius flatterars, carnall Atheistes, seditius and bludie idolaters, licentius libertines, filthie harlotes, hellishe witches, and sic uther divelishe counsallours, as ceassed nocht to nurishe and steir upe the poisone quhilk they had instilled in his young and tender breist: Nather was ther maid anie redres of the innumerable abbusses and misordours croppen[2] in within the body of our miserable comoun-welthe. But, contrarie wayes, sum haiffing na thing bot the Word of God's glorie in thair mouthe, laked all love and desyre thairof in the hart; the quhilk appeired plainlie in thair warks and proceidings, to the dishonour of God, and sklander of his guid cause: Sum thought it a small mater to flatter the King in all his conceattes and affectiones, and mak his eares patent to sic wha[3] could alienat his mynd from the guid cause and instruments thairof, and hald his hart and favour bund and bent to the former faction of the enemies, and thair ungodlie courses: Some regairding nought at all bot thair awin standing and guid esteat warldlie, as thought thair haid beine na thing in hand but a comoun alteration and change of Court, played prettelie the part of Jak on bathe the sydes. The compleants, greiffes, and petitiones of the Kirk was hard, but with deaff eares, and luiked on with winking eis, in sic sort, that the King now triumphes in that poinct, affirming with manie attestationes and aithes, that never annes was movit to him be the Nobilitie a word of the Kirk's effeares. Na remors nor redres for sacrilage, wherwithe the graittest part was defylit; no provision for the ministerie, scholles, and pure; no ministration of justice, nor punishement for maist odius and horrible crymes, quhilk aboundit in everie quarter of the coun-

[1] Sincerely, uprightly; literally one-fold. [2] Crept. [3] Such as.

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trey; and, fynalie, all was said to haiff sought thair awin particulars,[1] because na better appeired in deid.

"And yit, nochtwithstanding thir our grait sinnes, quhilk, giff God wald enter in judgment to punishe, might deserve a thowsand fauld mair nor he hes yit leyde on us, yea, the verie helles-fyre, we may be weill assured, if we be rightlie humblit and unfeinedlie turned to him with all our harts, with deliberat, ardent mynds and willes, to travell till amend all thir misses,[2] in cais God again ans in his mercie sall offer the occasion, that of his superaboundant grace washing away all our iniquities in the blood of his Sone Chryst Jesus, he will, for the glorie of his awin name, and that compassion quhilk he hes ever haid of his awin deir childring, luik upon the oppression of his awin Kirk, and the miserie of that pure afflicted nation and realme.

"For treuthe it is, when we luik at our awin deserving, we can find na thing but mater of mere desperation. But I pray yow, what hes the glorie of the Lord deservit, that is trode under futt be these wicked instruments of Sathan, wha, without all scham and feir of God's judgments, hes bein sa bauld as to place a vanishing scheddow, a breathe going and nocht retourning again, with absolut powar and authoritie in the roum and seatt of the Most Hie God? What hes the kingdome of the Lord Jesus, and libertie thairof, merited, the quhilk by vyle dogs turning to thair vomit, and filthie swyne waltring in the foull pudle of thair abominable vyces and corruptiones, is polluted, defylit, and led schamfullie captive to the slaverie of the corrupt and cancered affectionnes of profean Jeroboams, that hes gean about with knawladge against conscience to force the trew worschipping of God, sett down and established with all friedome, liberties, and priviledges of the Word, in his awin sanctuarie at Jerusalem, as a captive slave to serve to sic a pernitius kynd of government as thair undantoned breanes and unbrydelit affectionnes hes against all pietie, justice, and honestie, blasphemuslie forget and impudentlie obtrudit to God, and the King's

[1] Their own interest. [2] To travail to amend all these omissions.

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fathfull and obedient subjects? Wha hes pulled away the ordinarie sacrifices of contreit and brokin harts for repentance, the peace-offerings for remission of sinnes and reconciliation, and oblation of the calves of the lippes for joy of conscience and thanksgiffing of the peiple of God, from Chryst Jesus, the holie altar of the Lord placed in the middes of his Kirk, as in Mont Sion; and hes tyed the sam to thair newlie erected goldin calffes and abominationnes of Bischopes' seattes, and residence of Court, as in Dan and Bethell? Wha hathe ruggit[1] away, but[2] reasone or reasoning, the administration and government of the Lord's tempell from his lawfullie called Ministers, Doctores, Eldars, and Deacones, to the quhilks onlie, be the Word of God, it is giffen as to his schosine Levittes, and anointed Preists of the childring of Aaron, and be plan law hes applyed the sam to thair belli-godes,[3] fals preists of Baal, maist infamus amangs the peiple, theiffs, drunkards, gluttones, whure and witch mungars, perjurit, sacrilegius, deboushit[4] persones, to mean holiglasses,[5] comoun trickers and deceavers; and, finalie, men shamles, and maist sklanderus in all thair lyff and doings? And all because, say they, with Jeroboam, the sone of Nebat, wha maid Israell to sin, utherwayes our kingdome can nocht stand; our course can nocht go fordwart, for the peiple will go to Jerusalem; they will adheire to the hous of David; they wilbe instructed be the Priests of the leiving God, wha can nocht comport with our doing.

"They haiff pulled the Croun of Royall Authoritie within the Spirituall kingdome, and thrawin[6] the sword of the Word of God, and schepter of ecclesiasticall government, af the head and from the hands of Chryst Jesus, the onlie Head and King of his Kirk:

[1] Torn. [2] Without. [3] Belly-gods. [4] Debauched, worthless. [5] Holieglass, or Howleglass, was a popular hero who figured in the poetic fictions and dramas of England as well as Scotland in the sixteenth century. As applied by one of the *Makaris*, Sempill, the Scotish Poet, in his "Legend of the Bischop of St Androis," (Adamson,) he appeared to be adopted in these fictions as the personification of a cunning, deceitful, and scheming character—for Sempill there alternates Holieglass with "*Lowrie*," "*lurcan* (lurking) *Lowrie*," and "*deceatfull Lowrie*," in allusion to the well-known characteristics of the fox, who is still popularly known as "Tod Lowrie" in Scotland. [6] Wrested, wrung.

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And sa, with open sound of trumpet, casting down, sa far as in tham lay, the eternall Sone of God, King immortall of heavinlie glorie, from his throne, wherout of he rewlethe his Kirk, hes placed in his steade a chyld of corrupt Adam, even an erthlie mortall creatoure: They haiff followed the fulishe exemple of Achaz, the King of Juda, and Uria the preist, in removing of the brasen alter of the Lord, and placing in the roum thairof an uther, according to the form of the altar of Damascus: They haiff followed the pervers dealling of the cursed apostat Julian against the Kirk of Chryst, in taking away the leivings from the Ministers, to destroy tham be houngar, (mair crewelly nor Dioclecian, wha cust the Christianes to wyld beastes!) and making waste and desolat the schoolles of Divinitie, and all holie erudition: They haiff said, with the fey[1] and desperat Jewes, to the Siers, 'Sie nocht;' and to the Prophets, 'Prophesie na langer to us in the nam of the Lord, but speak unto us pleasand things according to our lyking!' And, whilles the fathfull servantes of the Lord, in love of ther amendiment and fervent zeall of the glorie of God, discharged frilie thair commissiones, receaved of the Lord unto tham, they haiff forced tham, for feir of thair lyves, to flie and abandone thair native countrey, with crewall Jezabell; cust tham in pressone, with wicked Achab; and thretned tham with death, as did foolishe Amazia, when the Lord haid taken counsall to destroy him: They haiff plucked the keyes of the kingdom of Heavin from the trew Apostles of Chryst, and giffen tham to the wicked Pharisies, his enemies, wha nather will enter in tham selves, nor suffer uthers till enter: And, finalie, they haiff cast down the dyk, cutted the hedge, demolished the towre, brokin the wynepres, banished the watchmen and laborars, the snedders and delvers[2] of the wyne-yeard of the Lord, to mak it to be tramped under futt of wyld Atheists, yea, an opin prey to the bloodie and creuall locusts of the botomles pit.

"Can the Lord suffer these things lang, and be just in executing of his judgments, and puring out of his plages upon his cursed ene-

[1] Fated, infatuated.

[2] Pruners or vine-dressers, and diggers.

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mies? Can the Lord suffer his sanctuarie to be defylit, and his awin to smart, and be the Father of mercies, God of consolation, and maist fathfull keipar of his promises? Can the Lord suffer his glorie to be giffen to an uther? Can He, wha haithe promised to mak the enemies of Chryst Jesus his futstool, suffer tham to tread on his head?

"Na, na! right honourable and deir breithring, he hes anointed him King on his holie montean; he hes giffen him all nationes for an inheritance; he hes put in his hand a schepter of yron, to bruse in pouder these erthen veshalles. When his wrothe sall annes begin to kendle bot a lytle, he sall mak it notoriuslie knawin till all the warld, that they onlie ar happie wha in humilitie kisses the Lord Jesus, and trusts in him. Now, thairfor, seing the Lord hes maid your lordschipes to haiff these places and rowmes be birthe within your native countrey, wherthrow it lyes on your shoulders, of speciall dewtie, wherof ye sall giff a compt to God, to procure and seik to the uttermaist of your powar the releiff, delyverance, and weil of your naturall nation and Prince, lying this day in sa pitius esteat of captivitie: And seing, in lyk maner, it hes pleased the Lord of his guidnes to call yow to be his gude instruments in this maist acceptable wark of vindicating of his glorie defaced, and delyverie of his Kirk, brought in sa miserable boundage, as also of the reclaming of your native King from sa dangerus a companie and course; and seing yow haiff also, ance or twyse, employed your selff in the cause, but for the just reasones befor rehersed, and multitud of our secret sinnes, wherwith the Lord hathe bein hilie offendit, it hes nocht as yit haid an expected succes, and yit, as becomes valiant warriours and capteanes of the Lord's armie, ar nocht discuragit, but purposes, efter trew humiliation and assurance of God's mercie and favour, to go fordwart, we, your Ministers, in the feir and nam of the Lord our God, and in love and reverence of your honours, desyre thir presentes to be a witnes and testimonie befor God and his Kirk, of the fathfull discharge of our conscience and dewtie towards yow, exhorting yow maist ernestlie, by the Lord our God, and his Sone Chryst Jesus, that withe trew repentance, unfeinyit humilia-

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tion, reformation of lyff and maners, instruction and wesdome of the Buik of God, ardent prayer and meditation, fervent love and zeall toward God, his Kirk, and your King, yie sall fraclie[1] and curagiuslie to the wark of God, and, following furthe the sam directlie, uprightlie, fathfullie, constantlie, and with all cair and diligence, fearing alwayes that wa,[2] quhilk the Profit pronunces against sic as does the wark of the Lord negligentlie and deceitfullie, yow may yit hope for a happie succes of the mercie and blessing of God, for his awin glorie and name's sak. Yie sie the enemies never ceasses to devyse, deliberat, reasone, tak counsall, and put in execution thair malice and creweltie against the Kirk of God, his treuthe and professours thairof; whow graitlie then sould we be eschamed to be found slipperie and slaw in the guid cause of our Chryst!

"Bot this a thing, in speciall, we man denunce unto yow, taking God, his Kirk, and your selves to record, that we forwarn yow, fathfullie, and in tyme, That in cais (as God forbid!) yie ga to this wark againe, moved cheifly with your awin particulars, as vengeance on your enemies, and to be restored to sic honours, rowmes, possessionnes, and commodities, quhilk yie injoyed of befor, making God's glorie, the cause of his Kirk, of your King and Comoun-weill, to be bot pretences and skugges,[3] and as bot slaves and gudiates serving thairunto, ather the Lord sall curse the wark in your wicked hands, and mak it turn to your graitter schame and disadvantage then of befor, or, in ceas for his awin name's seak, he work the wark of his glorie in mercie for delyverance of his Kirk, (as he is accustomed to do with maist roustie and creuked instruments and dellings,) yit will he nocht feall in his justice to reward yow with the corrupt and hypocriticall workers of iniquitie, at sic tyme thairefter as he thinks convenient. But in cease, (as we hope weill, and calles to God maist ardentlie that sa may be,) efter trew repentance and effectuall reformation of your selffs and companies, yie go to wark, setting directlie befor your eis the honour and glorie of God, acord-

[1] Freely, heartily. [2] Woe. [3] Shelters, stalking-horses.

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ing to his will, framing your willes and affectiones unto the sam; and sa uprightlie, trewlie, and zealouslie, be all guid meanes and wayes seik God to be glorified, his Kirk to be delyverit, reformed, and surlie establissed, your tender King, and sweit native countrey, to be redde from the abbusars and misrewlares of the sam; and mak your awin particulars to follow efter, as the servant and sheddow, and nocht go befor as the maister and body, and be maist willing and ernest to schaw the sam, in effect when God sall offer the occasion: And, finalie, if yie go to with upright, deliberat mynds, and bent willes, till amend all things neglected of befor, then we dar be bauld, be the warrand of the Word of God, till assure yow of the presence and blessing of God to be withe yow, and undoutedlie to perform the wark in your hands, whow weak that ever they be; and whow manie, craftie, and puissant so ever they be that geanstands the sam, to his awin glorie, the grait comfort of his Kirk, and your honour and weilfear, nocht onlie temporall, but perpetuall and everlasting.

"And to that intent, that maters may this wayes happelie proceid, we ar, in conclusion, maist ernestlie and lovinglie, in the bowelles of Chryst Jesus, to exhort you and all your companie, that, in the mean tym, whill as occasion of bodelie exercise in the mater is nocht yit offered, that yie giff your selves diligentlie and ferventlie to spirituall exerceis, in heiring, reiding, and meditating continowalie of the Word of God, wherby yie may be moved to unfeinyed repentance, trew humiliation, amendiment of lyff, and devot and ardent prayer to the Lord, for his grace, mercie, and favour, and for the working of his powerfull Spreit in yow, yie may, out of the Word of God, as out of the fontean and threassor of all wesdome, draw out sic store and aboundance of all guid knawlage, wesdome, and wholsome counsall, as may direct yow alwayes aright; and wharby yie may find strenthe, courage, confort, patience, hope, and perseverance in all your battels, bathe within and without, to the end, and assurit victorie and glorie in the end.

"For the quhilk cause, we haiff sett down to your lordschips and companie the Order, bathe of Doctrin and Discipline, quhilk aucht

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to be observit in effect in all the companies and fellowschippes of the fathfull, but speciallie with all reverence and cair be us now in this present esteat, wharby we our selves may be inarmed, prepared, and maid fitt in all things for the wark of God, the enemies heiring of it, discuragit, and sic as loved God and his guid cause provocked be our exemple, be moved to praise God, and baldlie joyne them selves with us, being persuadit that we seik unfeinedlie the Lord.

"The leiving God of heavin and erthe, in the tender love and mercies of his Sone Chryst Jesus, mak his guid Spreit to dwell sa plentiouslie in your noble harts, that yie may be fund worthie and notable instruments of His glorie, bathe in this and all uther guid warks of the Lord God; and that nocht onlie at this tyme, but enduring the haill course and tyme of your lyves, that efter all the battels of this present miserie, yie may injoy with Him that everlasting croun of glorie, quhilk he hes leyde up in store for all his fathfull servands and valiant warriours. AMEN.

"At Newcastell, the 2d of August, 1584."

The Ordor and Maner of Exerceise of the Word for Instruction, and Discipline for Correction of Maners, used in the Companie of those Godlie and Noble Men of Scotland, in tyme of thair aboad in Englande, for the guid cause of God's Kirk, thair King and Countrey.

"FIRST, Ther shalbe four Sermones in the ouk; twa on the Sonday, and twa on the ouk-dayes; ane befor noone, and an uther efter, on the Sabothe; and, on the ouk-dayes, an on Wednisday, and an uther on Fredday.

"The Sermont on the Sabbathe sall begin at halff houre befor ten, and continow whill efter alleavin, sa that the haill exerceise sall nocht pas the space of ane houre and a halff; and efter noone it sall begin at halff houre to four, and end befor fyve.

"The Sermones on the ouk-dayes sall begin at ten houres, and be endit be alleavin; sa that the haill exerceise pas nocht the space of an houre.

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"Ther salbe daylie Comoun Prayers twyse everie day, befor noone at ten houres, and efter at foure, at quhilk tyme a Psalme salbe read and handlit, sa that the soum thairof be schortlie gathered, the partes sett doun in ordour, and some schort notes of doctrine, with exhortation; bot in sic schortnes, that the haill tyme occupied exceid nocht the space of an halff houre.

"Ther salbe at everie meall, immediatlie efter thanksgiffing at denner and supper, a Chapter read of the historie of the Bible, and handlit schortlie as tyme and occasion sall requyre; and therefter a Psalme, or reasonable section thairof, being lang, salbe soung.

"Ther salbe a ouk in the monethe dedicat till Abstinence and Publict Humiliation, spent in prayer, doctrine, meditation, with sic modest, temperat, and humble behaviour as effeires; the ordor wharof salbe observit according to the prescript of The Buik of Fast and Publict Humiliation used in the Kirk of Scotland; wherof the present causses salbe the miserable esteat of our Kirk and countrey of Scotland, and, amangs the rest, of the Kirks in Europe, of France, and Flanders.

"At the quhilk tyme, upon the last Sabbathe of the ouk immediatlie following the exerceise of fasting, the Super of the Lord salbe ministrat, efter that just tryell and examination haid passed befor.

"On the Setterday, at the houre of evening prayer, or the Sabathe, at efter noon, or bathe, salbe a Lecture, or plean leasone in the Catechisme, and principall grounds of Christian Relligion.

"The Ministers, according as they sall agrie amang tham selves, sall haiff there ordinarie Texts out of the cheiff partes of the Scripture; som of the Law, sum of the Prophetes, some of the Evangelists and Actes of the Apostles, and some of the Epistles and Revelation. And the ordinar exerceise at prayers and mealles salbe in the Psalmes, Salomone's Warks, and Historie of the Auld Testament.

"Everie an in speciall is ernestlie exhorted to his privat exerceise of fervent prayer, reiding, and meditation of things hard and read, that therby he may be steired upe to grow, day by day, mair and mair zealus and devot in spreit, familiar with his God, armed with

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spirituall armour against all adversitie, and diligentlie moved to practise of doctrine in a godlie lyff and halie conversation.

"And this mikle for the exerceis of doctrin and prayer; for the quhilk it is necessar that everie an, that can reid, haiff a Byble and Psalme Buik.

Off Discipline.

"Ther salbe a day in the ouk, Tusday or Furisday,[1] a Convention of sic as salbe chosin Eldars and Deacones, for ordering of all things perteining to the comlie maner of all exerceises of the Kirk, and all uther things necessar to a holie Christian Congregation. And namlie, to watche ower the maners of tham selves and the rest, and spy out the fructes of the Word in all behaviour; and giff anie opin vyces or sklanders falles out in the persones of anie man, to bring that persone to repentance and redres, and remove the sklander from the companie; as also to haiff a cair of the seik and diseased, pure and indigent.

"Ther salbe then sax Eldars chosin, and ordourlie callit to that office, quhilk consistes specialie in censuring and owerseing of maners, and rebuking in privat of all sic as behaves tham selves in speaking, doing, gestoure, or uther wayes, then it becomes holie and fathfull Christianes. And in ceas of na amendiment, efter twa or thrie admonitionnes, or publict offence or sklander insewing, to deleat them to the Assemblie or Session, wherby they may be brought to repentance, and mak publict satisfaction.

"Ther salbe twa Deacones: an till attend[2] upon the box, that sall stand on the table at everie meall, to collect and distribut to the outward pure[3] that ar nocht of our nomber; ane uther to haiff the cair of our awin inward indigent or diseased, to recommend tham to the Session for prayer, or collection to be maid for releiff of thair necessitie.

"Giff in the audience of an Eldar, ather at meat, play, or els-

[1] Tuesday or Thursday. [2] One to wait. [3] Poor.

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whare, a gentilman sall nam the devil, banning,[1] pronunce an athe,[2] filthe talk, or anie evill-favoured spetche, the Eldar sall cause him pey to the box; and in cais of disobedience, deleat him to the Session. And giff a fallow or lad[3] be fund with sic speiches as said is, or anie wayes making noyse or molestation, the Eldar sall ather correct him presentlie, or deleat him to his maister; wha, giff he correct him nocht convenientlie to his fault, he salbe censured be the Session.

"All, bathe maister, servant, and boy, salbe present at all the exerceises of the Word and Prayer, except sic as salbe occupied efter meals, absent from Chapter and Psalme; and the Eldars ouklie, thair tyme about, with ane of the Ministers, salbe speciall inspectors and notars of the absents, wha salbe for the first fault caused pey to the box sax pence; for the second, a schilling; and for the thrid, sumoned befor the Session, and causit mak publict repentance.

"Iff an haiff a necessar earand to do, wherby it behovethe him to be absent, let him advertise ane of the Ministers or Eldars, and he salbe excusit.

"The Ministers, Eldars, and Deacones, shall haiff in wryt the names of all the companie, an and uther, for the effect forsaid.

"The rest, referring to farther deliberation, and to be concludit and set down be comoun advyse, as tyme and occasion sall minister mater.

"FINIS."

This Exhortation, Warning, and Direction, with the Ordour of Exerceise of Doctrine, Prayer, and Discipline, being presented to the Noble men, they accepted verie weill thairof, and gaiff me grait

[1] Cursing. [2] Oath. [3] A serving-man or boy.

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thankes; and causing it to be notified to all thair companie, they submitted them selves hartlie to the Ordour, humblie embracing the admonition and direction. And sa, making chose[1] of our Eldars and Deacones, we constitut[2] a Session, the Noble men tham selves being magistrats and civill rewlars, everie an of ther awin companie, and togidder of the haill. And about the beginning of August, 1584, we entered to the practise and keiping of the Ordor, wherin we continoued, by the grait grace of our mercifull God, during the haill tyme of our sojourning in Eingland, with sic fruict of spirituall instruction, confort, and joy, as bathe grait and small thought it the happiest tyme that ever they spent in all thair lyff. Gud, godlie, wyse, and stout Archbald, Erle of Angus, hes oft tymes said to me, "Before my God, Mr James, giff[3] the conscience of the guid cause we haiff in hand moved me nocht, and giff I haid bot sa mikle of my awin leiving as might bot in this maner sustein us, I wald be hartlie content to spend all my lyff in this esteat and forme!"

This noble man was fellon weill myndit,[4] godlie, devot, wyse, and grave; and by and besyde[5] thir comoun exerceises, was giffen to reiding, and privat prayer and meditation, and ordinarlie efter dinner and super, haid an houres, and sum tyme mair nor twa houres, conference with me about all maters; namlie, concerning our Kirk and Comoun-weill, what war the abbusses thairof, and whow they might be amendit. Wherof he was sa cairfull, that he causit me sett tham down in wryt, and present tham to him, being in companie with the rest; quhilk, when he haid red him selff and conferrit thairon with tham, he causit wryt a copie in guid wrait, quhilk he put in a litle coffer, wharin his speciall wreittes and lettres war caried about with him selff continualie, that he might haiff tham in memorie, and as occasion servit, confer and reasone thairon with his consortes: The quhilk, also, I thought nocht amiss heir to insert.

[1] Choice. [2] Constituted. [3] If. [4] Very well-minded, or well-affected. [5] Over and above.

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CERTEAN GRAIT ABBUSSES AND CORRUPTIONS IN THE KIRK AND COMOUN-WEILL OF SCOTLAND, QUHILK PARTLIE THE LEAT MISREWLARS HES BROUGHT IN, PARTLIE AS THE HIE PLACES IN JUDA HES REMEANED UNREFORMED UNTO THIS DAY, GIFFEN UPE TO THE NOBLE-MEN EXYLED IN EINGLAND TO WEY AND CONSIDDER, THAT THEY MIGHT BE REPENTED FOR THAIR PART, AND INDEVORIT TO REDRESS, WHEN IT SOULD PLEASE GOD TO GRANT ABILITIE AND OCCASION.

AT NEWCASTELL, 10 AUGUST 1584.

PSALME LXXXI.

HEAR, O my peiple, and I will witnes unto thie: O Israel, if thow will harken unto my voice; if ther sall nocht be anie strange god amang yow; or sall nocht worschipe anie uther god.

I am the Lord thy God, wha brought thie out of the land of Egypt: Open thy mouthe wyd, and I sall fill it.

But my peiple wald nocht heir my voice; and Israell wald nocht obey me.

Wharfor I gave them ower unto thair awin harts' lust, and lut them follow thair imaginations.

O that my peiple wald haiff harkned unto me, if Israell wald have walked in my wayes!

I sould soone put doun thair enemies, and turn my hand against thair adversaries.

The haters of the Lord should willinglie haiff yeildit unto him; and the guid esteat of my peiple sould haiff indurit for ever.

I sould haiff fead tham also with the fynnest whait floure, and with the stonie rok's honie sould I haiff filled thie. [1]

"JESUS CRYST, the onlie King of his Kirk, withe the libertie and friedome of his spirituall kingdome in preatching of the Word, and exerceising of Discipline, is brought latlie in maist abominable slaverie to the corrupt affectiones of fleche and blude.

"For, whar as Chryst aucht onlie [2] to command and bear rewll in the Kirk be his Word and Spreit, and be the ministerie of his lawfullie called officiars and servants, to whom he hes concredit [3] the dispensation of his heavinlie mysteries, the gydding [4] and feiding of

[1] Psalm lxxxi, 8–16. [2] Ought alone. [3] Entrusted. [4] Guiding.

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his lambes, with the keyes of the kingdom of heavine, of binding and lowsing, the King takes upon him to rewll and command alsweill in Chryst's Spirituall kingdome as in his awin Civill, quhilk is maist sacrilegius, and war nor[1] Papisticall; and hes apointed, not servands, but under-lords and commanders, whase authoritie and powar flowes nocht from Chryst or his Kirk, but from the King, (as the Bull giffen to the Bischope of St Androis planlie testifies,) and wha nocht onlie ar maist sklanderus persones them selves, bot also whase office hes na thing at all to do with the Scriptures of God, bot mere Anti-Christian, to tyrannise over the Lord's inheritance, and vex the bodies and consciences of Chryst's flok. And that quhilk is maist dangerus, and almaist desperat, this feirfull and horrible spoliation of Chryst Jesus, and tyrannie over his Kirk, is maid and confirmed be plan lawes in Parliament.

"Heirby is the libertie of God's Sprit bund in the mouthes of the preachours, the gift and fredom of cutting and devyding of the Word aright, and applying till everie an thair part, as they haiff neid, without spearing[2] of the graittest because of graittest neid, sa mikle commendit in the Storie and Wryttings of the Apostles, restranit and opprest; the reanes of Discipline, Excommunication, with all the spirituall censours and correctiones of the Kirk, Election, Ordination, Deprivation of Ministers, apointing of Assemblies, and giffing of warning to the peiple to eschew plages be fasting and prayer, togidder with the haill government of the Hous of God, ar put in the hands of the Court and thair corrupt Bischopes, the quhilk of all uther hes maist neid of discipline; wha, for thair odius crymes, ar maist subject till excommunication and censors of the Kirk; wha hes nather skill nor will to elect guid and qualifiet Pastors; wha ar readier and mair willing to deprive and put away the fathfull and edificative nor the mercenar and sklanderus; wha, sleiping in thair sinnes, hes nocht wacryff eis[3] to sie the plag coming, and thairfor caires nocht for fasting and prayer; and, finalie, wha being the cheiff corruptars and deformers of the Kirk, can

[1] Worse than. [2] Inquiring. [3] Wakeful or vigilant eyes.

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nocht suffer frie Assemblies to be haid for reformation and ordouring thairof. The rentes and revenues of the Kirk, the bread of the ministerie, scholles, and pure, is giffen to dogs and swyne, to the graittest contemners, vexars, and oppressars thairof; and, in a word, the hous of God is maid a den of theives, and the flockes of Chryst committed to hyrlings, whom the forsaid wolffs hes at thair devotion.

"The haill body of the nation, and namlie the graittest members thairof, wha sould be gydders and guid exemples to uthers, ar defylit with sacrilage, swearing, blasphemie, blud, adulteries, reaf and oppression, &c., sa that na mervell it is tho the fleing buik of God's judgments enter in thair housses, and consume timber with stean.

"Lawes nather throwlie weill maid for punishment of sic hynous crymes, and manie [lawes] weill maid wantes execution, lyk athercape wobbes[1] that taks the sillie flies, bot the bumbarts braks throw tham![2]

"Be the insatiable sacrilegius avarice of Erles, Lords, and Gentlemen, the Kirk, Scholles, and Pure, ar spulyied[3] of that quhilk sould sustein tham. The materiall Kirks lyes lyk sheipe and nout faulds[4] rather then places of Christian congregationes to assemble into. The parochinars[5] will haiff a couple of skores of hirdes for thair cattell, bot skarse a[6] Pastor to feid thrie thowsand of thair saulles. Wharof cumes feirfull darknes of ignorance, superstition, and idolatrie, with innumerable filthie and execrable sinnes, quhilk procures God's just advengance upon the haill land.

"The small number that is of the Ministerie can haiff na certeantie of the pure stipend assignet unto tham, but yeirlie it man[7] be cast in the Lord Modifier's hands, and of new schapin and assigned ower again, to sie whow mikle may be win in to the Collector. Of this comes that sic wha hes court and credit, and awaites thairon, gets weill mikle, namlie giff they can comport and flatter uthers; and the best gets nocht for thair necessitie.

[1] Spiders' webs. [2] Catch the weak flies, but the large blue-bottle flies break through them. [3] Spoiled, robbed. [4] Lie like sheep and cattle folds. [5] The parishioners will have a couple of score of herds. [6] Scarcely one. [7] Must.

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"Ther is na provision maid for the pure relicts and fatherles[1] of the Ministerie. But nochtwithstanding thair ernest, fathfull, and maist wakryff cear over thair flockes, quhilk maid them to cast away all uther industrie and vertew for warldlie provision to thair wyffes and childring, they ar suffered to beg and ly in miserie efter ther departour.

"The Scholles, and in speciall the Collage of Theologie, quhilk sould be the Seminarie of the Kirk and Ministerie, leakes provision bathe for Maisters and Students; for the haill rents thairof standing in Teinds, ar sparpeled[2] in sindrie parts and provinces of the countrey, far from the Collage, and thes gentilmen tenants, accustomed to pay a small silver-dewtie, will na wayes grant till augment, uncompellit be law; the quhilk the exception of *omnium interest* steyes from taking effect; sa that honest, grave, and lernit men, sic as sould be the Professours of Theologie, can nocht haiff thair neidfull and honest sustentation. And as for Students, the childring of the grait and riche ar nocht desyrus of Divinitie. The mid rank thinks it an unthrift to bestow thair childring's 'berns' part of geare' in susteining tham at the studie of Theologie; and when they haiff past the course thairof, to haiff na guid roum or moyen of lyff preparit for them in Kirk or Comoun-weill. And as for the Pure, quhilk ar comounlie best giffen to that studie, and wharof comes maist fruict to the Kirk of Chryst, they haiff na thing to sustein tham withe of thair awin, nather is ther provision of bursars' places for them; sa that na mervell it is whowbeit ther be bathe grait raritie and ignorance amangs the Ministerie: And, in verie deid, it is of the extraordinar benefit of God that ther is ather lerning or religioun in Scotland, being thairin nather fundationes or moyen to trean upe schollars, nor honour and profit for sic as hes atteined to lerning.

"Of this comes it, that the guid ingyns, wharof na nation hes graitter store nor ours, ather is applyed for necessitie to handie-crafts and courting service, or then gaes furthe of the countrey, whar the

[1] The poor widows and orphan children of the Clergy. [2] Scattered.

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graittest part is corrupted and abbusit, and maid maist dangerus enemies to the Kirk and Esteat of thair countrey.

"The Nobilitie and Gentlemen ar unlerned them selffs, and takes na delyt to haiff thair childring and frinds brought upe in lettres, to the grait reprotche and schame of the countrey, and thair awin grait hurt and dishonour.

"Ther is manie Noble and Gentil men that hes Prebendaries, Alterages, and uther rents and casualities, be the quhilk they pleasure ther servands and frinds in giffing them lyff-rents thairof. The quhilk, giff they war a lytle mendit, rightlie used, and maid bursses in the scholles of Philosophie and Theologie, everie Noble man might haiff a seminarie of the youthe of thair awin frinds or servands within few yeirs weill instructed in guid letters, nocht onlie to serve them selves in thair housses, but also thair uther frinds and haill peiple of thair lands and dominiones.

"Dilapidators of thair benefices, and anuallers thairof, from the right use, unto thair wyffes, childring, and frinds, efter they are depositt justlie be the Kirk from ther office, yit nevertheless, in despyt of God, the Kirk, and guid ordour, the Prince and the Law makes him to possess the benefice. And in case a houndrethe yeirs sen syne, the laborars or factors haid peyit victuall or fourtie pennies money for the boll, giff they sett it now in few or lang taks for fourtie pennies the boll, or change the victuall in silver, it is nocht esteimed diminution of the rentall! Albeit the treuthe be, that fourtie pennies money now is diminished in valour sax-fauld from that it was a hounder yeir syne; yea, that fourtie pennies growes now toward fourtie shillings, and the boll of victuall that was then bought for fourtie pennies will nocht be bought now, *communibus annis*, for ten tymes our fourtie pennies at this day. Yea, sa hes the grait abbus growin, that in ceas the predecessour, being a waster of his benefice, hes sett lang takks and fewes with plean diminution, and also conteining just causses of reduction, ther is na remeadie to be gottin, altho the law be plan, because Judges, Lawers, Lords, and all, is infected with the sam seiknes, sa that the remead falles amang impossibilities, lyk the Heiland or Bordour theift.

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"The rents, lands, and leivings of the Hospitals, Almes-housses, and Masone Dieus,[1] ar lyk wayes tean in few[2] be gentilmen and burgesses for right nocht; in sic sort, that thair buildings is alwhare deceyit, and thair fundations lost and abolished.

"The Pure, partlie for want of thair awin patrimonie, and partlie for yeirly increassing of thair number, be wrang and oppression, goes throw the countrey in swarmes, war nor[3] Turks or Infidelles, godles and lawles, without mariage, baptesme, or knawlage of dewtie to God or man.

"The Nobilitie neglects and castes af thair publict callings, leiving nocht as sic as sould haiff a speciall cair and charge of thair countrey and comoun-weill, and whom God hes callit to be counsallours to thair King, fathers of the peiple, and defendars and meanteiners of his Kirk in this cleir light of the Gospell; for the quhilk calling, Chryst sall a day call them till acompt; bot rather as privat men, thinking it aneuche to keipe that quhilk thair fathers hes left tham, and tak thair pastyme and pleasur, or to conqueise mair to thair childring, or to be redoubted of thir nibours, and pley the oppressours and bangsters, &c.

"As for the rewlling of the comoun-weill, hald in hand till execution of justice, reforming and establissing of the Kirk, counsalling and assisting of thair Prince to that purpose, they cair na mair thairfor nor sa mikle as may be a pretence for thair particulars: Sa that whar they sould be rewlars and halders of uthers in guid ordour and dewtie bathe in Kirk, Court, and Comoun-weill, they ar becom degenerat slaves to courteours, and corruptars of Judges, men of law, and Kirk men, for bringing to pas manie unjust and wrangfull turn; or to be sufferit to sit at hame for thair ease and pastyme, as thouche they war born for ther awin bellie, lyk beasts. Wharof hes proceidit thir mischeiffs following:

"Ambassatours of Babel, clyentes of the Pape, our Athalia and the Hous of Guise, and the Court of Spean, profest Papists, hes bein and is sufferit to carie away the King's hart from the cheiff profes-

[1] *Maisons Dieu.* [2] *Feued,* taken in feu. [3] Worse than.

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sours and meanteiners of the Gospell, to runne a cours direct against relligion, weill of his countrey, and standing of him selff in guid esteat of kinglie honour, bodie and saull. Sa that it is thought and spokin, that the undewtifulnes and negligence of the Nobilitie hes indangerit, and almaist lost, that rare perle of sa notable expectation.

"Debauschit[1] men, godles flatterers, wha haid sauld[2] them selves in body and conscience to do anie thing for warldlie preferment, was sufferit till insinuat tham selves in the King's favour; wha withe violence, outtragius pryd, craft, falsed and flatterie, war meit to execut the plat leyed down be the Papists, and now, ingratfullie indeid, and injustlie upon the part of men imployed to wrak thair advancsars, bot in respect of God maist justlie to punishe the owersight of the nobilitie. Yea, thair degenerat harts, wha cearit nocht for purchassing of thair particulars to becom servants and courters of flattering courteours, and permit the haill government of the Comoun-weill to be cast lous and turn in tyrannie, to thair just deservit wrak in the end.

"Of this hes sprung the absolut powar, wharbe,[3] as a monster never hard of in anie just government, the haill privileges of the thrie Esteates of the Realme is weakned and almost takin away; be the quhilk Esteates, according to the lovable custom of the Kingdome of Scotland, fra the beginning thairof, all things with mature deliberation, frie reasoning and votting, all things was done, and be the quhilk Kings, passing thair bounds to the wrak and oppression of the Comoun-weill, war corrected and brought in ordour. In lyk maner, the privilages of Towns and Universities, yea of the holie Kirke it selff, established be sa manie guid rewlars and parliaments, according to the Word of God, ar owerthrawin.

"All the Judgments of the Realme, Secret Counsall, Session, Justice Courts, Consistories, Scheriffs' Courtes, Provost, Bailyies and uthers, ar rewlit, nocht be law, civill or municipall, right or reasone, *sed Principis placitum legis habet vigorem.* It is the King's will,

[1] Debauched, worthless. [2] Sold. [3] Whereby.

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for now Captean James, as Stratocles in Athens, hes maid a law, 'That whatsoever the King commands, that is halie[1] towards God, and just anents[2] men.'

"From thence ar sa manie score of slauchters, and murdours, hearschips and oppressiones, lying on the head of the King and bak of the countrey, crying to the heavinnes for just vengeance from the righteus God; for as everie an hes[3] moyen at Court, sa comes his mater to pas. And because the Court is godles and wicked, the maist ungodlie and wicked finds the graittest moyen thairin: Wharof it comes that the wicked thus triomphe, and the guid and godlie is oppressit and wracked; sa that na mervell it is to sie the countrey thus plegged, yea, whowbeit it sould utterly pearishe, in God's righteus judgments.

"The King's patrimonie and casualities ar graitlie hurt and ab busit; whilk causes nocht onlie his povertie, to the grait scham of the countrey, and hinderance of comoun warks, bot also sa monie intolerable taxationnes, exactiones, and imposts to be maid upon his subjects, to the tyning of thair harts, and wrak of the pure laborars; for Lords, Lards, and Prelates, exacts twyse sa mikle from thair pure tenents upon that occasion.

"Of the forementioned Papisticall course, and this, comes sa manie forfaultries and banisment of the best and maist noble men of the realme; selling of slauchters and blud, grait soumes of compositiones exacted for na faults bot weill doing; the quhilk all of God's judgments turnes to mischeiffs, whill as be thir divelishe seductors it is abusit to execut all kynd of violence against the guid men of the land.

"The rest referring to your Lordschips' experience and wesdome, and to sic as hes graitter insight, be yeirs and judgment, I ceas nocht to pray God to giff your Lordschips an upright and constant resolution to sie thir things sum day redressit and amendit."

Zacharie i. "Thus sayes the Lord of Hostes, Turn unto mie with all your harts, and amend your evill wayes, and I will turn unto yow, sayes the Lord of Hosts."[4]

[1] Holy. [2] Concerning. [3] According as any one has. [4] Zech. i. 3.

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Now, because amangs these horrible corruptiones, we haiff affirmed that quhilk wald seim incredible in a reformed and sattled esteat of a Kirk, That these monstruus misrewlars wald cause the King tak unto him to be the onlie Head and Monarche in the Kirk, as in the Comoun-weill; and that the cheiff rewlars of the Kirk, the Bischopes, sould tak the authoritie and warrand of thair calling from him, (quhilk is pleane Popish Hierarchie, and so mikle wars,[1] as the Pape is a Bischope, an ecclesiastik persone and office-bearer, provyding he and his Kirk war trew,) as indeid I could skarslie a lang whyll beleive my selff that the devill durst sa soone and planlie utter him selff in Scotland, whill I gat the actes of parliament formentioned; and efter diligent intreatie, a just copie of the Archbischope of St Androis' Bull cam in my hand, quhilk for the warrand of sa hiche alleageance it behoved me heir till insert:

"A COPIE OF THE BULL QUHILK THE ARCHBISCHOPE OF ST ANDROIS GAT OF THE KING, AS SUPREAM GOVERNOUR OF THE KIRK, WHERBY HE HAS POWAR AND AUTHORITIE TO USE HIS ARCHEPISCOPALL OFFICE WITHIN THE KIRK AND HIS DIOCESE.

"OUR SOVERAN LORD, with advys and consent of the Lords of his Hienes Privie Counsall, ordeanes a Letter to be maid under the Grait Seall in dew form, geivand, grantand to his weilbelovit clerk and orator, Patrik, Archbischope of St Androis, powar, authoritie, and jurisdiction to exerceis the saming Archbischopric, be him selff, his Deputes, and Commissionars, in all maters Ecclesiasticall within the diocease of St Androis, and shireffdomes quhilk hes bein heirtofore annexed thairunto: With powar to the said Archbischope under his Hienes to call and convein Synodall Assemblies of the ministerie within the diocease for keiping of guid ordour, meanteining of trew doctrine and reformation of maners alleanerlie:[2] To plant Ministers of Kirks, quhilks sall happin to be desolat and vacand:[3] To giff Admission and Collation of Benefices to persones qualefiet, ather pre-

[1] Much worse. [2] Alone, only. [3] Vacant.

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sentit be the lawfull Patrones or us: To Depose persones unqualified and unable in lyff or doctrine for discharging thair cure; the quhilk persones being sa deposit, thair rents, stipends, and benefices to veak[1] in the hands of the lawfull Patrones, to be conferred of new to qualefiet and godlie persones: To reform Collages, Kirks, and sic uther places apointed for lerning: To place and displace Maisters of Collages unqualefiet, according to the tenour of thair fundationes, or evill affected to our service and obedience, contraveining be word or wryt our Royall powar and privilage establissed in our leat actes of parliament, or sklandering us be erroneus doctrine: To Visit the Hospitales within the diocease, and Kirkes, and sie tham weill furnesit, menteined, and apperrelled: Commanding our fathfull and trew subjects to yeild unto the said Patrik, Archbischope of St Androis, dew obedience: And that the sam may be better reverenced and obeyit, we haiff given and granted powar to the said Archbischope to haiff an of the maist verteus, godlie, and honest officers of armes within the said diocease, wha salbe callit the Officer of the Kirk, wha sall in our nam and authoritie assist the forsaid Archbischope, and sall command all and sindrie contraveinars and brakars of the guid and godlie ordour of the Kirk, of what degrie or qualetie soever they be under us, with sic penalties, mulcts, imprisonments, repentances and maner thairof, as we, our Counsallours and Esteates sall agrie unto, upon the humble sutt of the said Archbischope, and uther Bischopes and Commissionars in Ecclesiasticall maters; in the quhilk, giff the said Bischope and officer be disobeyit, we will accompt the injurie don to our awin persone, and punishe the saming with all rigour, in exemple of uthers. Provyding alwayes, that giff anie persone or persones receave anie intolerable wrang, or, without cause or just deserving, be uther wayes usit be the said Bischope, than as the law of God and lovable constitution of this realme does permit, it salbe leisome[2] to the persones sa inormlie hurt to appell to us, and our soveran authoritie to be interponit for remead thairof; for giff the seat and image of

[1] Become vacant. Lat. *vacare*.

[2] Lawful, allowable.

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Emperours in ancient tyme war a sufficient girthe,[1] azill,[2] and protection to them that haid refuge thairunto, it becomes us mikle mair in our awin persone to be a confort, aid, and releiff to tham that sall seik unto our cleamencie against whatsumever oppression be spirituall or temporall persones, to whom we promise our princelie favour; the quhilk we mynd always till administrat be[3] the grace of God in sic sort as we may be answerable to him, whase image and leiutennantrie we bear in this realm. And fordar, because it is necessar for the Kirk of God, and preservation of guid ordour to be menteined thairin, that, when necessitie requyres, the Bischopes of everie dyocease, and sic uther lerned men of thair diocease as salbe thought meit for that purpose, assemble togidder for taking of an uniform ordour to be observit in the realm, in form of Comoun Prayer and uther things requisit, for the comoun esteat of the Kirk, we, of our princlie powar, grantes the priviladge unto the said Archbischope to convein the rest; provyding alwayes, that befor anie Convention Generall of the Clargie, that the said Bischope sall mak us advertised of the necessarie causses of the forsaid Convention, that we may understand the saming to tend to the weilfear of the Kirk and polecie of the countrey; and that the said Bischope may haiff our speciall licence thairunto granted unto him under our privie seall; and that na act or constitution maid be the Assemblie of Bischopes or Clerks haiff anie force, strenthe, or effect within our realm, to bind anie of our subjects, without they be allowit, approvit, and confirmed be us, our Counsall and Esteat: And efter the probation of our royall authoritie, they to stand in full force and effect," &c.

Thus it pleased God, of his grait mercie and grace, to haiff me occupied the first monethe of my entrie with our Lords; about the end wharof Mr Patrik Galloway, returning bak againe from London, cam to us, and undertaking the Ministerie of the companie

[1] Sanctuary. [2] Asylum. [3] To administer by.

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with me, (wha travelit onlie in the Word and Discipline,) lyked weill of our ordour, and according to the saming, efter the exerceis of fasting, a haill ouk going before, ministrat the Holie Communion the last Sabothe of August; and sa continowing conform to our ordour, in everie poinct, the monethes of September and October; in the quhilk, because my wyff was becom grait with chyld of hir first birthe, and langit to be in Berwik, ther to ly, for divers reasones, I, obteining leive of the flok, convoyed hir thither, and retourned to my charge till the monethe of November: In the quhilk, the Lords haiffing Mr Patrik with thame, thought it meit that I sould remean a space at Berwik, because the halff of the companie and my wyff was ther; for ther was the Lords Abbots of Cambuskinnell,[1] Drybrouche, and Pasley, George Dowglas of Parkheid, and dyvers uther gentilmen. To this I aggreit, and entering with tham, helde tham occupied als neir the ordour leyed down as could win. And surlie I was never mair diligentlie and fruitfullie occupied nor[2] that wintar; for by the exerceise quhilk I haid amangs our awin folks, to the quhilk resorted a number of godlie peiple of the town, because the publict doctrin in the Kirk was dischargit be a practeising betwix the Lord of Hounsdan, Governour, and Captean James, gyddar of our Court, called then Erle of Arran and Chancellar of Scotland. The guid Lady Wedringtoun, of whom I maid mention befor, being cowsines, and in creadit with the said Lord Governour, obteined licence to me, for hir confort and of a number of maist godlie and zealus peiple, to teatche in a certean hous of the Town thryse in the ouk, to thair and myne grait joy and consolation.

During that tyme the Communion was to be celebrat in Berwik, and therfor a certean dayes I teatched to tham the doctrine of Preparation before the sam; wherin that guid Lady fand sic instruction and confort, that sche ernestlie intreated me to sett doun the substance thairof to hir in wryt: The quhilk I did, the quhilk also sche schew me a space thairefter copied ower in her awin hand wryt,

[1] Cambuskenneth, generally so spelled in ancient MSS. [2] Than.

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exceiding a thrie or four [leaves] throuche, for sche wrot verie fear. Sic was hir diligence and cair to grow in knawlage and practise of trew relligion.

The newes quhilk we haid, in the meantyme, out of Scotland war verie evill; for Arran, with his authorised Archbischope, began then to rage.

Diverse gentillmen, upon naked and bear suspitionnes, was apprehendit and put to schamfull execution. Amangs whom was the Lard of Drumwhasill, wha drank a bitter coupe of his awin brewing; for he was a grait counsallour and doar in bringing hame Monsieur d'Obignie, and his sone-in-law, the Lard of Meanse, a gentleman of notable gifts of body and mynd, and thairfor mikle hated and fearit of these wicked men; whase deathe was als mikle lamented in Eingland as ever I hard Scotsman.

The Archbischope, that he sould nocht be behind, fell to wark, and in tyme of modification of stipends, sett down the form of a Band, the quhilk all behoved to subscryve that gat assignation of stipends; yea, it was sa prosecut, that wha soever refused to subscryve was thretned with the los of thair benefices and leivings, yea fordar, with imprissonment and banisment, in cais of anie spetches uttered in the contrar. Heirupon, and sum uther forget causses, Mr David Lindsay was put in the preasone of Blaknes, Mr Jhone Howisone in the Spey Towre of St Jhonstoun, Mr Andro Hay put in warde, and hardlie usit; yea, ther was nocht a guid man, in Kirk or countrey, but was put in sic fear, and oppressed with sic greiff, that they weiried of thair lyvis, and thought us happie wha was away, and haid that libertie of body and mynd to serve our God and ease our conscience.

A grait number of the Ministerie kythed[1] what they war; even sum at the beginning went throuchlie with the Archbischope, but efter Mr Jhone Crag and Jhone Dunkesone, the King's Ministers, yeildit; wharof that ane, Mr Crage,[2] haid stand constant verie

[1] Experienced, realized. [2] "Mr Crag at this tyme pronuncit a judgment upon the Erle of Arran, in his face, befor the King, saying, 'As the Lord is just, he will

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lang, and susteined grait thretnings and bost of Arran; yit, at last, be weaknes and a sort of sophistication, (casting in a clause, "according to the Word of God," making *manifestam repugnantiam in adjecto*, as giff ane sould say, he wald obey the Pape and his Prelates, according to the Word of God,) he yeildit and subscryvit, and drew with him the graittest part of the Ministerie of Scotland, quhilk was the heaviest newes that could com to us; for, alas! then the enemies triumphed, and all the harts of guid men war broken and discuragit. Yit ther war a few guid breither in Mers and Lawdien,[1] wha, as they might, bathe keipit tham selves clein, and withstude the adversar, making sum stay to that grait defection, wha knawing that I was in Berwik, acquented me with the mater, and send me the forme of the Band, with information of all proceidings. Wharupon, with grait motion and greiff of mynd, I pennit this Letter following, and send in, togidder with a Letter in Latine, and the controversies gathered to a few conclusiones, confirmed with manifauld reasones and places of Scripture, directed to the Archbischopes meache[2] and graittest associat, Mr Alexander Home, Minister of Dumbar; provoking him to answer giff he could, or giff nocht, to bid his ordinar, the Archbischope, do it him selff. Bot I haid nather answer of the an nor uther, and the guid breithring war thairby mikle conforted and incuragit.

A JUST COPIE OF THAT QUHILK THE SUBSCRYVING MINISTERS FIRST AND LAST DID SUBSCRYVE.

"We, the beneficed men, Ministers, Reiddars, Maisters of Scholles

humble yow!' The Erle, mokking him, said, 'I sall mak the of a fals Frier a trew Profet!' and sa, sitting down on his knie, he sayes, 'Now I am humblit!' 'Na,' sayes Mr Crag, 'mok the servant of God as thow will, God will nocht be mocked; bot mak the find it, in ernest, when thow salbe humblit af the hiche hors of thy pryde!' Quhilk, within a certean of yeirs thairefter, (1598,) cam to pas, when James Dowglas ran him af his hors with a spear, and slew him; and his carcas, cast in an open Kirke beyde, or [ere] it was buried was fund eattin with the dogs and swyne! Mr Crag, utherwayes an excellent pretcher, haid dischargit a fathfull dewtie at Court in all his ministerie, bot heirin grevit us all to the verie hart."—Note by the Author on margin of MS.

[1] Merse and Lothian. [2] *Maik*, companion, confident.

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and Collages, undersubscryving, testifies and fathfullie promises, be thir our hand-wreittes, our humble and dewtifull submission and fidelitie to our Soveran Lord the King's Majestie; and to obey with all humilitie his Hienes actes of parliament haldin at Edinbruche the xxij. day of May 1584 yeirs: And that, according to the sam, we sall schaw our obedience to our ordinar Bischope or Commissionar apointed, or to be apointed, be his Majestie, to have the exerceise of the spirituall jurisdiction in our diocese, [according to the Word of God.] And in ceas of non-obedience in the premisses, our benefices, stipends, and leivings to vac,[1] *ipso facto*, and qualefiet and obedient persones to be provydit in our rowmes,[2] as giff we war naturalie dead; according to his Hienes Act of Parliament maid thairanent in all poincts.

"TO THE BREITHRING OF THE MINISTERIE OF SCOTLAND,

"Wha hes latlie subscryvit to the Popish Supremacie of the King, and ambitius tyrannie of the Bischops ower thair Brithring,

"J[ames] M[elvill] wissethe unfeinyit repentance.

"THER is strange newes latlie reported unto us, (my breithring,) that yie sould haiff altogidder without streakes[3] yeildit to the adversarie, and nocht onlie be word consentit, bot alse be the subscription of your hands confirmed, that horrible boundage and sklaverie, wharinto our Kirk of Scotland is brought be the leat actes of parliament, and this present intolerable tyrannie of the fals Bischopes; the quhilk, undoutedlie brought upon yow be Sathan, the adversar of Chryst's kingdome, hes bein wrought be the meanes ather of malice and hatred against the treuthe knawin, or of ignorance, or then of grait weaknes.

"Trewlie, my breithring, albeit I knaw that of tham that wer Sathan's instruments, be feir and flatterie, to bring yow to so feirfull a fall and greivus sklander, sum be new Julians, who, altho they

[1] Become vacant. [2] Places. [3] Without opposition, without a blow struck.

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confes they knaw the treuthe of the sinceare Religion of Chryst, yit for malice and hatred conceavit against it and the Ministers thairof, they haid rather bein of the Turks' fathe then of the fathe of Ministers. And, thairfor, following the fut-steaps of Julian, they persecut the sam malitiuslie, taking the leivings from the Ministers, casting tham in pressone, banissing tham the countrey, owerthrawing the Scholles and Seminaries apointed for the continuance thairof; and wald undoutedlie, with fyre and sword, persew the saming, giff force and powar answerit to thair incensit aire[1] and bludie appetit. Sum ar mair leing, flattering, and ambitius, then was Amaziah, the Preist of the King's Chappell at Bethell, wha, perceaving the prophetes of the Lord to prophecie against King Jeroboam's new forgit relligion, be serving to the quhilk his ambition and gluttonie was meanteined, he ceassit nocht till invent treassone, sedition, and all sort of lies against tham, and mak the King to banishe, imprissone, and persecut tham with all kynd of rigour; mair avaritius and war[2] myndit against God's childring then Balaam the fals prophet, cursing and devysing all meanes to mak the peiple of the Lord to fall in the hands of thair enemies, and furnesing to Balak wicked and devillishe counsall till intyse tham to defection from the trew worschipping, and sa to sin against God, to mak the fyre of his wrathe to kindle against tham; and, finalie, mair rashe, and void of guid conscience, in maters of Relligion, then was Urias the preist, wha thought idolatrus King Ahaz' command a warrand guid aneuche for him to displace the altar of the Lord, and sett in the roum thairof an new dressit, according to the form of the Altar of Damascus.[3] Sum, wars nor[4] the godles Atheist Machiavel, wha careing in thair sleives maist cunning court-craft, makes na thing of God, Chryst, and Relligion, with the Ministers thairof, bot pages and slaves to serve to thair turnes: For if they may mak for thair course, and sic an esteat of government as they wald haiff, O then they will speak weill, and graitlie esteim of tham! Bot if they can do na thing for thair purpose, or can nocht suffer thair wicked at-

[1] Wrath, ire. [2] Worse. [3] See 2 Kings xvi. 10–16. [4] Worse than.

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tempts, or will nocht change and alter opiniones when they will, then can they nocht be sufferit in a Comoun-weill; they ar enemies to Princes and lawfull authorities; they ar seditius, proude, and treasonable, and thairfor man till exyll,[1] banissment, preasone, and skaffauld. To these Hell is but a boggill to fley barnes,[2] and Heavin but a conceat to mak foolles fean! And last, mair ethnik nor Numa Pampilius, esteiming Relligion and worschiping of God bot a superstitius terrour to the conscience of peiple to hauld tham in awe and under obedience.

"This I say, althought they be, that works in this mater be malice and hatred, judgit and damnet of them selves, and whase portion salbe with the forenamed workers of iniquitie, to whom they ar lyk in lyff and doing; yit can yie nocht be purgit from communicating with thair feirfull sinnes, in sa far as yie haiff consented thairunto be word and wryt; wharas yie sould rather haiff obeyit the Word of God, commanding be his prophet—'Say nocht, a confederacie with this peiple, nather feir yie thair feir, nor be effrayit of tham, bot sanctefie the Lord of Hostes, and let him be your dreid: Surlie he sould haiff bein unto yow as a sanctuarie, and unto tham a stumbling-blok, and a rok to fall upon.'[3] Gladlie wald I purge you, my breithring, of this first mean of malice and hatred against the treuthe and the meanteinars thairof. And, alas! that anie occasioun sould ever haiff bein offerit annes to think this of anie of that number! But what sall I say when I heir that sum of yow hes nocht onlie subscryvit your selves, bot also, lyk desperat pest folks,[4] destitut of Christian charitie, travelles to seduce and infect sic as ar haill[5] and wald keipe the right way, and betrays the constancie of the best be delatting of tham to the persecutor; and that nocht onlie be telling the treuthe, bot be trattelles,[6] lies, and forgit tealles,[7] lyk warldlie pykthanks,[8] to mak your godlie breithring ather to mak defection with yow, or then to suffer extremitie in thair bodies? Alas, for sorrow! whar is the fruicts of that doctrine

[1] They might be put to exile, &c. [2] A bugbear to terrify children. [3] Isaiah viii. [4] People infected with the pestilence. [5] Whole, in good health. [6] Idle talk, tittle-tattle. [7] Forged tales. [8] Pick-thanks.

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of Love and Charitie quhilk hes soundit sa often out of your mouthes? Bot to let be charitie, whar is the hatred of malice and homecid? Alas! these ar rather the marks of bludie burreaus[1] and crewall buchars[2] of Sathan, the lier and murderar, then of the disciples of Chryst; the takens of Turks, Paganes, and Papists, then of Christian peiple, to let be Pretchours and instructors of uthers! Wo is me for yow, unles thir things be repented in tyme! Behauld, what it is to slyde bot a litle from the treuthe, and mak a schisme in opinion from the brethering! When Sathan getts ans entres, to mak untreuthe and falshode seim to be born withall, and yeildit unto bot a lytle, he gaes fordwart incontinent, and begets in the hart a hatred and malice against the treuthe and professours thairof. Bewar, bewar, my breithring! Mark Sathan's craftie deallings; cast out with him and resist him in tyme, least he gett the vantage and preveall, and mak the last warse nor the first: 'For if we sin willinglie efter we haiff receavit the knawlage of the treuthe, ther remeanes na mair sacrifice for sin, but a feirful looking for of judgment, and violent fyre to devore the adversaries.'[3]

"Alwayes, my breithring, I wald willinglie heir yow all purgit of malice; bot I knaw sum will say, I knaw na better, and understand never throwlie the maters of the discipline, and, if we haiff fellit,[4] it is of ignorance and nocht malice. Certeanlie, albeit I feir that to be over trew in over manie of yow, yit it is a schamfull thing to be hard tellit in your awin countrey, and abrod in other nationes, that yie, wha hes bein brought upe in sa notablie constitut a Kirk this twentie-sax yeirs, in quhilk sum of yow also hes bein Pastors and teatchers nocht mikle les, and all hes born function and charge, nocht onlie in pretching of the Word, but in discharging of that uther als necessar poinct of your ministerie, in rewling and governing of the Kirk with your fellow breithring thir manie yeirs bypast, to say that yie ar yit ignorant of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and spirituall authoritie of the kingdom of Chryst, and whow it differs from the temporall, bodelie, and civill polecie; what is the part and

[1] Executioners, hangmen. [2] Butchers. [3] Hebrews x. [4] Failed.

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dewtie of the Christian magistrat in the Kirk; and, namlie, whither he aught to be maid a new Pape, to use tyrannie over the Kirk, and conscience of men of the Ecclesiasticall functiones. And giff that satanical presumption and pryde of fals Bischopes may be tolerat in the Kirk of Jesus Chryst, quhilk from the dayes of Constantin, be whase mair zealus affection than considerat wisdome, they gat warldlie ritches and honour, hes infected the Kirk, nocht onlie with all kynd of vyces against the Second Table, but also hes rent and devydit the saming, with sects, schismes, heresies, and dissentiones, be thair ambitius debeats, ever stryving for steat, wha might be hiest and graittest. Efter that annes that command and law of æqualitie giffen be Chryst was transgressed and violat, they never ceassit unto the tyme they haid hoised upe that Man of Sin into the thron and roum of that onlie Supream Rewlar and Head, the Lord Jesus; for Bischopes wald be Archbischopes, and they Metropolitanes, and they Patriarches, and sa Papes! Yie conveinit your selves in Generall and Provinciall Assemblies, and in Presbyteries, to the quhilk yeirlie, half-yeirlie, and ouklie, yie resorted, as ordinar members and charge-bearers within the sam; and yit can nocht tell what ground, warrant, or authoritie yie did the sam upon, as tho yie sould planlie say, yie did it nocht in fathe; and sa so often yie sinned and abbusit those holy Conventionnes of the Kirk of Chryst.

"To your grait repruff, I man call to mynd the notable occasiones of atteining to solid knawlage in thir maters that God offerit unto yow; bot in love, as of God his glorie, sa of your saules, as God mot love myne![1] Forby and attour[2] your privat studies in reiding of the Scriptures, and sa monie lerned men's wrytings on thir poincts, aggreing all in effect in maist sweit harmonie, (wharinto, giff yie haid bein als diligentlie occupied as God gaiff tyme and occasion, yie neidit nocht to alleage ignorance for an excuse,) whow war thir heads handlit publictlie in the Assemblies? Was nocht the Generall Assemblie, be the space of sax or seavin yeirs, almaist hailelie occupied in thir questiones? War nocht the Ministers, in

[1] May God love mine!

[2] Besides and moreover.

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all the quarters of the countrey, ernestlie exhorted, and, be publict authoritie, commandit to cears[1] and seik the Scriptures diligentlie, and all kynd of wrytters, auld and new, for finding furthe of the solide and undoutted treuthe? Was ther nocht apointed Conferences to be haid in all partes amangs the breithring, in thair Ouklie Exerceises and Provinciall Assemblies, from the quhilks men, weill instructed with reasones and judgment of the rest, war send, from tyme to tyme, to the Generall Assemblies; whar, bathe be privat and opin reasoning, the opinione and sentence of all men war examined and tryed, throw everie head of the discipline of the Kirk; and efter lang and often reasoning, all put in votting, and be haill and uniforme consent and aggriement of the haill Kirk, in a Generall Assemblie, concludit, and digested in conclusion, and inregistrat in the Books of the said Assemblie, and extract thairof ordeanit to be giffen to everie Presbyterie throuchout the realm? Whidder, giff this, joyned with the continuall practise of the selff-sam discipline, these divers yeirs bypast, may mak us inexcusable befor God, his Kirk, and Angelles, the verie blind warld may judge!

"Alas! deir breithring, yie may weill, for a schort tyme, think yow in guid esteat that lerned nocht, because, as yie think, with les prik of conscience, and danger of bodies and geire, yie may pas ower thir evil days: But O, fulishnes! put the cais, yie might put af in this maner manie thowsand yeirs, ans[2] sall com the day when yie sall be forcit to compeir before that grait Judge, and giff an accompt of the discharging of that maist hie calling, when a compt salbe cravit of all the ydle houres, words, and doings that yie haiff spent! Sall yie nocht be then eschamit of that wherinto now yie tak pleasour? Sall nocht this sillie ease be turned in sorrowfull wanrest?[3] Sall ignorance then be an excuse befor Him wha sall schaw him selff from heavin, with the angels of his might, in flamb-ing fyre, to tak vengeance on tham that has nocht knawn him, namlie, on sic as hes neglected and dispysit sa manie guid occasiones of knawlage ministrat unto tham? What sall the flatterie and autho-

[1] Search. [2] Once, at length. [3] Restlessness.

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ritie of your King and Bischop then availl? Na thing, bot to be partakers of judgment as of sine, except repentance intervein.

"Oh! my breithring, yie ar farder in the mist with this ignorance than yie suppose. For what hope sall Sathan haiff now, (of whase force, craft, an bissines, yie sa oftentymes warn your heirars,) to mak you to yeild in the verie poincts of the doctrine of salvation, seing he hes fund you sa easie to be overcom in the cais of the discipline, wharof yie haiff na less sure warrand and ground, refering to the mater in the Word of God, if you haid list to haiff lerned? What incuragment sall it be to the Papists, that hes nocht bein neglegent in lerning the untreuthe, and studeing the controversies in thair Seminaries, and wha now daylie provokes us to the combat, when they sie but a lytle threatning of the Prince, nocht of lyff, bot leiving, and a small piece of flatterie of a fals Bischope, is able to shak you from your grounds, and mak you to fall for leak of knawlage; yea, to suffer the wall and blok-housses of your discipline to be demolised and doung doun, thinking (as indeid they may) it wilbe easie to mak the breiche, and win the hauld and citie of your doctrine and Kirk? Sall they nocht, I say, haiff guid cause to hope weill of the victorie and conqueist? Sall they nocht haiff reasone till affirme that quhilk they haiff sa often spokin and wryttin, That the Ministers of Scotland is bot a sort[1] of ignorant and feible beasts, wha nather dow abyde reasoning nor thretning? My breithring, the devill hes maid a grait brak amangs you, and with small forces, and few strakes, gottin a grait victorie over you; and yit yie will find that he will nocht content nor stay ther, but as a victor puft upe, will preas fordwart. And, thairfore, in the tender mercies of God, for the cair I haiff of your salvation, extreamlie indangerit now, when fame is lost and gone, I man apply unto you an extream and harde remead,[2] to pluk you if possible out of the claues of Sathan; to wit, that feirfull commination[3] of the Apostle to the Hebrews, 'It is impossible that they quhilk war annes lightned, and haiff tasted of the heavenlie gift, and war maid partakers of the Holie

[1] A company, an assortment. [2] Remedy. [3] Threatening.

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Ghost, and hathe teasted of the guid Word of God, and of the powar of the warld to come, if they fall away, salbe renewit againe be repentance; seing they crucifie again to tham selves the Sone of God, and makes a mok of him. The erthe, quhilk drinks upe the rean that comes upon it, and brings furthe herbes meit for tham be whome it is dressit, receaves a blessing of God. Bot that quhilk bears thornes and breires is reprobat, and neir cursing; the end wharof is to be brunt. Yit, breithring, weilbelovit, we ar persuadit of better things, and meit for salvation, of you,'[1] whowbeit we thus, with the Apostle, wryt to terifie you, and reclame and rease [you] from this fall, and keipe you bak from farder and wars.[2]

"Alas! what a face sall yie have to com befor the godlie and fathful breithring of the countrey, when it sall pleise God to delyver his awin Kirk, and restore it again to the former or better esteat? or rather, What a conscience and mynd sall yie haiff, when yie remember, reid, or heir, that wa pronounced be Chryst upon tham be whome sklander and offence comes? And O! whow manie godlie hartes, bathe in Scotland and Eingland, yea, in France, and all Reformed Kirks, ar crewalie wounded with this fact of yours, and that nocht without grait cause! For, als lang as the haill ministerie stud constant, ther was guid hope of a happie redres of maters; bot now, be this fact, yie haiff giffen the devill entres within the walles of Jerusalem to spoil and destroy all the guid and constant citiciners thairof, wha will nocht defyll tham selves, bow thair knies to Baall, and eat swyne's flesche with you. What will yie think, when yie com to that vers of the 50th Psalme, 'Unto the wicked this sayes God, What hes thow to do to declar my ordonnances, that thow souldest tak my covenant in thy mouthe, seing thow hates discipline, and hes casten my words behind thie?' Wald to God yie sould be sa moved therby, as was the lerned Origin, wha, efter he haid bein inducit, throw weakness, to sacrifice to idols, thairafter coming unto the Kirk to preatche, casting upe the buik, he fell, be God's providence, on the sam place of the Psalme,

[1] Hebrews vi. 4-9. [2] Further and worse falls. [3] Psalm l. 16, 17.

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and bursting out in teares befor the peiple, he maid a maist dolorous and bitter lamentation and invection against him selff, as, ye may reid in his Lyff, recorded by Suidas. And, finalie, What a dart to your pure conscience sall that sentence of Chryst be, 'He that denyes me befor men, I will deny him befor my heavenlie Father?' For yie knaw, that whosoever heires the Word of God, and does it nocht, namlie, in the tyme of tryall, schawes nocht that he is solidlie groundit in the sam, denyes Chryst, as he him selff teatches in the 7th of Matthew utherwayes: 'Manie sall come unto him on that day, and say, Lord, did we nocht prophecie in thy name? Did we nocht work miracles and cast out devilles? Bot he will answer, I knaw you nocht; depart from me, yie workers of iniquitie.'[1]

"Bot it may be that sum of you, your unhappie complices and counsallours in this course, thinks, and will say, 'What neids all this ado? Why ar yie sa hat[2] in threatning? the mater is nocht of sa grait weght,' &c. Alas! my breithring, miserable and lamentable experience, except God of his mercie prevent it, I feir, sall teatche you and the pure Kirk of Scotland what ye haiff done, and whow grait and sear ar the consequents that insewes on your fact. For, first, be the approving of that act of parliament anent the King's Supremacie in all causes Ecclesiasticall as Civill, and na appellation[3] to be maid from him, yie haiff nocht onlie sett upe a new Pape, and sa becom trators to Chryst, and condescendit to the cheiff error of Papistrie, wherupon all the rest dependes; quhilk, giff it be nocht to deny and refuse Chryst, I knaw nocht what it is sa to do. Bot, farder, ye haiff, in sa doing, granted mair to the King then ever the Papes of Rome peaceblie obteined, whow tyrannuslie and ambitiuslie soever they sought the sam; for the Counsalles of Constance and Basil decreit in the Pape's face, and be infinit arguments of reasone and Scripture evicted, that it was nocht onlie a veritie bot a poinct of fathe, The Councill to be above the Pape, and appellationes to be maist lawfull from the Pape to the Coun-

[1] Matt. vii. 22, 23. [2] Hot, severe. [3] Appeal.

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cill. And sa, from the Pape ther was ever appellationes to the Councells, rewlit be the Word of God and his Spreit, wherin the trew Bischopes and Pastors, and Doctors of the Kirk, satt as Chryst's officiars, to judge and discern on maters Ecclesiasticall, according to the Word of God. In the quhilk the best Christian Emperours that ever war, Constantin and Theodosius, sat in na hier degrie nor the Pastors, as obedient members of the Kirk, humblie to be governed and rewled with the rest be the scepter of the Word of God, and nocht as heads and Lords to command and rewll over it, knawing the Lord Jesus Chryst was onlie King and Emperour thair. Bot ye haiff subscryvit, that whosoever, in anie mater Ecclesiasticall, declynes the King and Counsall's judgment, salbe reput and punished as a tratour. What, I pray you, giff these profest Papistes and Jesuistes that flockes ham out of France, Spean, and Italie, and finds graitter favour and credit in Court then all the Ministers, what if they sall challange you for the Doctrine of Justification, frie will, reall presence, and the rest of the Heids of Religion, for these, as chieff maters Ecclesiasticall, sall the King and his Counsall be judge to you, and na appellation be maid under the pean of treassone! What sall, then, I pray you, becom of Relligion and the professours thairof? Sall they nocht be ather forced to deny Chryst, or maid to disput with the torments apointed for trators? And syne this, for a clok, to be casten ower it. It is nocht for Relligion, but for Hie Treassone, that sic ar sa handlit! Do yie nocht heir espy the craft of the crewall feind, wha dar nocht, in this age of knawlage and light of the gospell, oppon him selff against the treuthe, as the Scrybes and Pharisies durst not gainstand the doctrine of Chryst, bot seiks, under pretence of lawes, and clok of justice, to mak the godlie and trew professours and preachours to be schamfull spectacles, that thairby men may be eschamit of the veritie of the Evangell; even as Chryst was put to deathe under the nam of sedition and treassone!

"Secondlie, Yie haiff taken away, be your subscriptiones, the lawfull powar of the Pastors and Doctors, and Eldars of the Kirk, to convein tham selves in the nam of na erthlie Prince, nor temporall

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autoritie of King, nor for na erthlie nor temporall effears, bot in the nam and authoritie of Jesus Chryst, King of kings, Lord of lords, the onlie Soveran rewlar and commander within the Kirk, quhilk is his kingdome spirituall, and nocht of this warld, till intreat[1] of things heavinlie and eternall, quhilk directlie concernes the saules and consciences of men: The quhilk powar they haiff of Chryst, planlie, in his Letter Will, joyning a maist comfortable promise against sic grait difficulties that behovit till aryse in the discharge of sa hiche an office, 'Whansoever twa or thrie of yow salbe convenit in my nam, I salbe in the mids of yow.' Leaning upon the quhilk powar and promise, the Apostles and Disciples conveined tham selves sindrie tymes efter the resurrection of Chryst, and efter his ascension, to choise ane in the roume of Judas;[2] they assemblit the haill congregation to the election of the Diacons:[3] and now, efter a grait manie kirks war planted, nocht onlie amangs the Jewes, bot also amangs the Gentilles, the Apostles and Eldars assemblit tham selves in a Generall Counsall at Jerusalem, to determin in the question moved about the circumcision, and sa furthe. For, when the command be Chryst is giffen ather to the heirars to heir, or the Pastors to feid, or the Doctors to teatche, or the Eldars to govern or rewll, surlie, be necessitie of relation, it man be that he giffes tham also authoritie and powar in his nam to convein togidder, and with thair flockes, for that effect. Sa that be that act of parliament quhilk discharges the Assemblies and Conventiones of Ecclesiasticall Office-bearers, is restranit that friedom quhilk Chryst Jesus hes giffen to the officers of his kingdome, to convein for discharging of the dewties and callings quhilk he hes leyed on tham, to be usit for his service, and salvation of his peiple.

"And, trewlie, als weill might they haiff dischargit the Conventiones for heiring of the Word and ministration of the Sacraments, as for the exerceising of discipline and government of the Kirk; seing this is na les leyed[4] on the bak of the officiars of Chryst's Kingdom, as a speciall part of thair dewtie and charge nor the for-

[1] To treat. [2] Acts i. [3] Acts vi. [4] Laid, imposed.

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mer, and hes the command and powar giffen to use it na less then the uther, without careing for anie authoritie or command of men. For that quhilk Chryst sa ernestlie repeates to Piter, quhilk also is commoun to all Pastors, 'Feid! feid! feid!' is nocht onlie be Word and Sacraments, bot also be discipline, rewling, and government, as the mater it selff declares, the word signifies, and the similitud planlie proves. And what, I pray you, meines the comand of Chryst's till the Kirk, that is, the Ecclesiastick Senat or Assemblie of the Office-bearers, as the lerned expones it, 'And if he refuse to heir the Kirk, let him be unto thie as an ethnic and publican!' giff the Kirk hes nocht powar and authoritie of judgment giffen to it be Chryst? And that, 'I give you the keyes of the kingdome of heavine; whatsoever yie louse on erthe salbe lowsit in heavin; and whatsoever yie bind on erthe salbe bund in heavin.' War thir keyes giffen to anie king or magistrat? or flowes the powar thairof from humean ordination? And, finalie, what meineth the Apostle to the Romanes xii., when he so ernestlie exhortes everie officiar in the Kirk to discharge thair calling diligentlie? Willes he tham till abyde the commandiment of anie erthlie King or Prince? Na, als frilie as the King hes his powar and authoritie of God, the Creator, to discharge his office in things civill and temporall, als frilie hes the Pastors, Eldars, Doctores, and Deacones of the Kirk powar and authoritie of Jesus Chryst, the Redeimer, to do thair office in things heavenlie and spirituall. But I purpose nocht, my breithring, to insist with you in proving of maters at this tyme; bot, taking things to be sufficientlie tryed and concludit unto the tyme I heir anie reasones alleagit be you or anie uther in the contrar, I wald discover unto you the feirfull consequences of this your yeilding, tending to the wrak of Chryst's Kirk, and the libertie thairof.

"It was onlie the Assemblies and Presbyteries, as all that feires God, yea, and the enemies tham selves knawes, that was the ordinarie mean to keipe the Kirk of Scotland from the pollution of vyces, hearesies, and schismes; the quhilk now being takin away, vyce and wickednes sall overflow, for wha sall tak ordour thairwith? The Court and Bischopes? Als weill as Martin Elwod and Will

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of Kinmont with stealing on the Bordours! Heresie, Atheisme, and Papistrie, sall brak in, for wha sall resist it? The Bischopes? Put the cais, that sic wha hes sauld God, relligion, and heavin, for this present warld, and the things thairof, could haiff the grace to gainstand the Atheists and Papists, and cheiff meinteiners of Atheisme and Papistrie, wilbe graitter in Court (fra the quhilk the Bischopes hes thair powar and authoritie, and can, nor dar do na thing without speciall leive and command thairof) nor the beggerlie Bischopes and all thair Clergie can be. And last, the schismes and controversies that aryses and ar sawin be Sathan salbe na wayes componit nor extinguisit be the brotherlie and humble Conventiones in æqualitie, (as the happie experience of sax and twentie year bypast hes proven our Assemblies till have done,) bot contrarie wayes, be the proude ambition and vanitie of the Bischopes, they salbe daylie fosterit, increassit, and augmentit; the pruiff and experience wherof yie may reid efter the first thrie hounder yeirs of Chryst's Kirk, when the persecutions war endit, and the Bischopes began, under Christian Emperours, to gett ease, honour, and ritches, and braking the commandiment of Chryst, began till usurpe lordlie authoritie and preheminence over thair breithring. Fra that tyme, as never of befor, miserablie hes the Kirk been cut and devydit be controversies, schismes, and heresies; sa pernitius hes it bein to ley asyde the Word of God, and right rewlles of governing of his Kirk be æqualitie amangs the Pastors.

"Thridlie, Yie haiff consentit and subscryvit that thir Bischopes sall haiff the owersight and rewling of all the Kirks, according to the powar quhilk they receave of thair Pape and head. Quhilk office hes na warrand in the Scripture of God, but is an invention of Sathan brought in be ambition and avarice; yea, that presumptous and lordlie authoritie over the rest of ther breithring is plat contrar to the word and commandiment of Chryst; Matth. x. 19, and xxvi. 24, 28, and of Luc xxii. 24, 25, 26, 27, and [1] Pet. v. 1, &c. And that mangrell melling with civill and warldlie maters, exerceising judicatour in civill and criminall causses, loudlie cryes that they war never of Chryst, whase kingdome is nocht of this

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warld; wha refused to be maid King be the peiple, yea, wald nocht sa mikle as devyd the inheritance amangs breithring, albeit a charitable turn; and all for eschewing of incumbrance in erthlie maters, quhilk might hinder him from the spirituall and heavinlie wark of his Father, for the quhilk he was send. And by and attoure the unlawfulnes of the office, quhilk the Scripture and nature of the kingdome of Chryst can nocht bear withall, the persones that presentlie yie haiff subscryvit obedience unto are infamus, vyle men, nocht onlie of the bas and cursest[1] sort amangs the peiple, as war the Preists of profan Jeroboam, bot maist dissolut and sklanderus in all thair lyff; be whase cairfulnes in gathering upe the woll and milk, and cairlesnes in feiding of the floks, and evill exemple in all kynd of vyce, na mervell it is giff inumerable saulles drown in ignorance, perishe in thair sinnes, and live without God or religion.

"Therfor, now, I beseik yow, my breithring, rightlie to considder, and deiplie to pondir this mater: Whidder haid it bein better to refuse, and undertak the displeasure of an erthlie Prince, wha onlie hes powar ower the body, (and that na mair nather nor it pleases God,) and haiff esteimed all this warld but dirt and draff under your feit, in respect of his luiff and obedience, wha could haiff given yow again a houndrethe fauld in this lyff, and the lyff eternall to the guid?[2] Or to haiff consentit, and incurrit the hiche displeasure of Chryst Jesus, the grait Heavinlie King, wha, efter the bodie is slean, may cast bathe it and the saull in the fyre of hell; and the offence and detestation of all the godlie and fathfull for the schamfull denying of sa guid a Maister, betraying of the friedome of his kingdome, sclandering of his Kirk, and offering occasion to the adversars to triumphe and be incuragit.

"Again, I say, for God's cause, and your awin salvation, enter in deiplie to wey and consider what yie haiff done, that the hynousnes of the fact may mak yow to abhore your selves, and be unfeinyitlie cast down thairfor. For haiff yie nocht be your hand wryt, the seall of your treuthe, bund your selves, as slaves, to the

[1] Base and coarsest. [2] Into the bargain, over and above, besides.

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wicked appetit and affection of a blind godles Court, overflowing with all kynd of sine and impietie? and to a Bischope, O fy! to whom I can nocht giff a vicius epithet mair nor another, and I am sure a thowsand wald nocht express his vyces, as your selffs, and all the warld, is witnes? And that quhilk is warst of all, haiff yie nocht brought the libertie of the Spreit, and preatching of the Word of God, the dispensation wharof is concredit[1] unto yow, in maist abominable thraldome? Sa that yie dar nocht reprove vyce without exception of persones, nor pretche the treuthe frilie, as your God, your buik, and your conscience, teatches yow, and commands. For, dar yie now rebuk the contemners of God, and religion, and fathfull Ministers thairof, the blaspheamer of God's nam and his treuthe; divellishe dissimulation, yea, open divelrie, perjurie, persecution, tyrannie, crewaltie, oppression, drunkennes, hurdome; scorning of God and man; ambition, avarice, flatterie, leing, braking of promise, tricking, taunting, deceaving, profanation of the Word of God, sacrilage, simonie, witchcraft, shamles obscenitie, vilanie, apostasie, and mensuaring[2] of that quhilk the mouthe hes professit, and publictlie spoken and teatched, the hand hes often subscryvit with the grait athe[3] of the Lord maid and interponit thairin? seing your new erected Paprie, and, namlie, your famus Ordinar, the Archbischope, to whom yie haiff bund your obedience, is altogidder festered and owergean[4] with tham.

"Now, as to that nam of obedience, quhilk is cravit in a fair and honest maner, to clok a maist filthie and unhonest mater, mister[5] I to wryt anie thing to yow thairanent? for can yie understand or teatche anie uther thing thairanent nor this? Obedience, except it be in God, and according to his command, is na obedience, bot sin, rebellion, and disobedience, the quhilk is as the sin of witchcraft, wickednes, and ydolatrie befor God, as Samuel teatched King Saul, in his awin face. That quhilk man, following his awin judgment and ill affection, calles rebellion, treasone, and disobedience, is allowit befor God as dewtifull dewtie, guid obedience, and service: And contrar, was nocht Sydrach, Misach, and Abed-

[1] Entrusted. [2] Perjury. [3] Oath. [4] Overrun. [5] Need.

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nego, cast in the furnace be Nebugednezar, King of Babylon, for thair disobedience, in nocht falling down to worshipe his erected image? Was nocht Daniel cast in the den of lyons for disobedience, because he brak King Darius' godles law, in making his prayer thryse a day toward Jerusalem, and wald nocht giff sa mikle as a secreit consent to sett upe the King in God's stead? The gard of King Saul disobeyit him, commanding, be his awin mouthe, to slay the Preists of the Lord. Sa did his awin sone, guid Jonathan, and wald nocht bring in David, bot conforted him, and set him on his jorney. The medwyffes, King Pharo, Ioiaha,[1] and the haill esteates of Juda, bludie Athalia, Lobna, a citie of the Levites, preists, the apostat King Amazia, and innumerable ma in Holie Scripture, whase doings, nevertheless, the Spreit of God commends, and as dew obedience to God and thair superiors, hes left tham inregistrat in his Holie Buik to be followit.

"In graitest humilitie and dewtifull reverence of that maist lawfull authoritie giffen be God to Kings and Magistrats, and yit in curage and bauldnes of spreit, for the glorie of my God and libertie of the Kingdome of Chryst, defaced, alas! and brought under vyll slaverie be the pernitius flatterers of princes, wha, deifeing tham in thair conceattes, makes tham to tak unto tham absolut powar to do what they list, and trampe the Kirk of Chryst under futt, I will tak this proposition to defend against the best and maist lernit of thair courteours, court Bischopes and Ministers, provyding they disput be Scripture and guid reasone, and nocht be the Blaknes,[2] Spey Tour,[3] gibet and maden,[4] that to obey the King of Scotland, as he craves presentlie obedience according to his last acts of parliament, is treasone against Chryst, and disobedience, yea, rebellion to his Word and command; and, thairfor, whasoever may stay and withstand him, be refusall of obedience, or uther wayes be ordinar and lawfull meanes of thair calling, and

[1] Probably this is meant to apply to Jehoahaz, or Jehoiakim. [2] Imprisonment in Blackness Castle. [3] The Spey Tower of Perth. [4] The gibbet or gallows, and the *maiden*, a sort of guillotine for beheading criminals, said to have been invented by the Earl of Morton,—himself the first who was beheaded by it.

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does nocht, is a treator to his Majestie, countrey, and Kirk of Chryst, within the saming.

"And lest yie, my breithring, or anie uther, sould tak this my plean schawing of the treuthe in an evill part, the Lord God of heavin is witnes to my conscience that I mein na contempe or disdean to his Grace's ather persone or lawfull authoritie, nather does this proceide of anie evill-will or desyre of revenge for anie wrang done to us; bot the Lord knawes, befor whom we walk, that the siches and sobbes of our dolorus and maist affectioned harts toward his weill and amendiment, is with teares powred out daylie for that effect; and whom I knaw assuredlie that all the godlie in Scotland and Eingland wald obey, love, and reverence above all fleche as thair awin naturall and born Prince, giff, leaving thir godles Counsallors and courses, he wald rewll in the feir of God, and establis the kingdome of Jesus Chryst according to his Word. Therfor, alas! my breithring, ye haiff, under the name of obedience, defylit your selff with these crymes that Samuel convicted King Saull of, for nocht obeying the Word of the Lord. And the exemples of God's servantes in thair feir of his grait Majestie, and constancie standing in his treuthe and obedience stoutlie, nochtwithstanding danger of lyff, yea, terrible torments, may be feirfull judges sett befor your conscience to condemne you, except yie repent. Peter and Jhone ar bathe be word and exemple crying unto you, That it had bein better to obey God nor man.

"But, me thinks I heir sum of you lamenting and saying, It was weaknes and feiblenes of this freall nature that maid you do this thing. Trewlie, breithring, weaknes and infirmitie is naturall to flesche, and hes oftentymes maid the childring of God to slyde and fall, for sa did David in adulterie and murdour, Piter in the thriefauld denyall of his Maister, and the zealus Origin, of whase fall I speak befor. Wharfor, in that ceas onlie, the remeadie incontinent without delay is to be sought; for it is manlie, and of weaknes to fall, bot to ly still and sleipe in sine, without remorse or amendiment, it is the rod of reprobation. It is a thing maist feirfull to deny Chryst, but far mair nocht to confes him constantlie

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agean unto the deathe. It is a horrible mater sa to sklander the Kirk of God, bot far mair to continow thairin, and nocht to repear and remove the sam. And, thairfor, I exhort you, deir breithring, maist ernestlie and tenderlie, in the bowels of the Lord Jesus, and admonise you, befor God, his Angelles, and haill Kirk, that yie pres[1] with speidie repentance till amend this miserable mis,[2] and repear sa mikle as can ly in you this bealfull brak. That yie meditat and cry, with David, that is, with the contrit sprit and broken hart of David in that 51 Psalme; yie go asyde, with Piter; yie lamentablie cry out and invey against your selves, with Origine, and mak the streames of your bitter teares deleit and washe away that subscription, and the wound of your siches[3] and sound of your sobbes, blaw abrod your repentance for that denyall of Chryst; and thairafter, constantlie confes him with Piter unto the deathe, and that spedelie, befor he cum in judgment, and deny you befor his heavinlie Father.

"And, finalie, in conclusion, to remove bathe the publict sklander and wa[4] pronuncit against sic wharby it comes, I sie nocht whow it can be don utherwayes, then giff yie com bauldlie to the King and Lords of Chacker again, and schaw tham whow yie haiff fallin throw weaknes, bot be God his powar ar rissin againe; and thair, be publict not and witnes takin, frie your selves from that subscription, and will the sam to be deleit, renuncing and detesting it planlie, and thairefter publictlie in your sermonds and be your declaration and retractation in wryt presented to the haill Kirk, and fathfull manifest the sam. Let tham do with stipend, benefice, and lyff it selff what they list; yie will stik be Chryst, wha knawes what ye haiff neid of, and will provyde for yow sufficientlie, yie serving him in this lyff, and bring yow heirefter to his glorie in the lyff everlasting! The quhilk that yie may do, and thairefter constantlie stand unto the end, I sall ernestlie call to God for yow, to assist yow with his strong and Almightie Sprit for the glorie of his awin name, the reparation of the grait offence and sklander of his Kirk, and

[1] Press, strive. [2] Miss, loss. [3] Sighs. [4] Woe.

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your joyfull receaving again in the number of Chryst's warioures and citiciners of his Kingdome, and Capteanes of his armie; with whome fechting lawfullie in suffring heir, with him we salbe crownit with immortall glorie in the heavines, whar he leives and ringes with his Father for ever."

This Letter, with the conclusions and arguments befor mentioned, send hame, and going abrod, did mikle conforte the constant, and crab[1] the enemie. Twa of our students in Theologie for copeing thairof, and sending to breithring, war fean to flie and com to me to Berwik; Mr James Robertsone, a verie guid brother, now Minister of Dondie, and Mr Jhone Caldcleuche, whom I receavit gladlie, and wha efter certean moneths abyding with me at Berwik, we past southe togidder to Londone. Also an Wilyeam Erde, an extraordinar witnes steired upe be God; wha being a masone of his craft till he was past twentie yeirs and maried, lernit first of his wyff to reid Einglis, and taken with delyt of letters he him selff studeit the Latin, Greik, but specialie the Hebrew langage, sa that he haid his Byble als hamlie to him in Hebrew as anie uther langage: The quhilk being knawin to the Kirk, and the giftes he haid besyde, bothe of knawlage and utterance of divinitie, he was maid to leave his handie-craft, and tak him heallie till attend upon the Collage and exerceis; whar he profited sa, that within few yeirs that he was callit and placed in the ministerie at the Kirk of St Cuthbert's, under the Castell wall of Edinbruche, and is now a notable man for uprightnes and grait lerning and reidding. This brother, for just feir, cam away also, and abaid with me a space in Berwik. The cause of his feir was the apprehending of his fellow laborar, a grave and godlie brother, Mr Nicol Dalglaishe, keiping of him in clos pressone, and putting him till ane essaise,[2] of ernest and deliberat purpose to haiff execut him as a trator, onlie for the sight of a certean letter com from Mr Walter Balcanquall to his wyff, bot the saise wald nocht fyll him,[3] wherat the Court was verie crabbit.

[1] Vex, annoy, enrage. [2] Assise, inquest, or jury. [3] The assise would not convict him, or find him guilty. Acquittal was expressed by *clenging*, (cleansing.)

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That worthie brother, and now ancient father in the Kirk, was verie evill handlit, and stude wonderfull constant.

That sam wintar to thir hard newes from our awin countrey be northe, cam unto us far harder newes from southe out of Londone, of the departour of Mr James Lawsone ther; wha, for giftes and estimation, was cheiff amangs the ministerie: For, efter my uncle Mr Andro, with the said Mr James and certean uther of the breithring, haid in the monethe of July visited the Universities of Oxfurd and Cambridge, and conferrit with the most godlie and lernit ther, retourning againe till Londone, partlie throw his travell and alteration of the eare, bot chieflie for the causses twitched befor of the behaviour of some of his awin flock, wha haid subscryvit a Letter[1] calling tham wolffes and hyrlings, Mr James, being a melancholian[2] of constitution, falls in a heavie disease, quhilk resolved in a melancolius dysenterie, quhilk be na meanes of medecin (whowbeit he haid ther a number of maist lerned and godlie) could be cured; bot efter dyvers monethes seiknes he died, speiking till his utter houre maist holilie to God's glorie, and confortablie till all the heirars; bot his deathe, and speitches, quhilk were manie and notable, I leave to tham wha war present. Bot verelie this was a grait lose and disharting amangs us, and haid undone divers of us, giff God by his word and Spreit of consolation haid nocht uphaldin us. His wyff (whom, for hir rare and maist sweit giftes of knawlage, devotion, tender and maist zealus love towards God, his servants, and all that loved the Lord Jesus Chryst, I can nocht of dewtie and conscience bot mak mention of, for a happie memorie to the posteritie) was in readines to go to him, and cam to Berwik even about the tyme of tha[3] dolorus newes, wharof she knew na thing till she was by a convoy brought bak again to that maist godlie and confortable hous to all the servands of God, Huttonhall. Bot, as ever persone in that esteat, sche kythed the fruicts of trew Chris-

[1] "The copie of this Letter is amangs my scoralles." Note by Author on the margin of MS. [2] A hypochondriac. [3] These.

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tianitie, nocht onlie at that tyme, bot all the dayes of hir lyff to hir death, leiving as a trew weidow and relict of sic a housband, in fasting, prayer, meditation, and exerceise of the warks of mercie and love, instructing the ignorant, sweitlie admonising the offendars, conforting the afflicted, visiting the seik and diseased in body or mynd, and persevering in prayer with tham unto the end; sa that hir refreshings and pastyme was to tak peanes in these exerceises. Thus sche leived in Edinbruche sevin or aucht yeir efter our retourn, a remarkable mirroure of godlie weidowheid, and died with als grait mean and missing of the godlie in all degries, namlie[1] the pure, as anie woman that ever I knew. Sche was my speciall acquentance and confort in Chryst, from the deathe of hir housband to hir lyve's end.

My wyff was at the sam tyme grait with chyld, neir hir birthe, and, heiring of Mr James' deathe, wha, by the comoun and publict respect, was to hir in affection a father, brought upe daylie in his hous and companie with his wyff, sche doollit and bursted sa,[2] I being in Newcastell with the Lords, that they war all in grait fear sche sould haiff parted with her birthe. Amangs whom, a godlie suddart, [named Francis Goodwin,] conforting hir, sayes, "Tak heid what yow do, Mistres Melvin, that yow becom nocht an unnaturall murderar of that quhilk is in your bellie, quhilk by appeirance is a man chyld; and yow knaw nocht if God may mak him to supplie a place in his Churche againe!" Within a monethe thairefter sche was lichtar of a man chyld indeid, whom, be imitation of Josephe, I callit Ephraim, because God haid maid me fruictfull in a strange land; praying God of his grace, nocht regarding my sinnes and unthankfulnes, to mak anie mean instrument in his Kirk. I can nocht expres the cair, kyndnes, and tender affection quhilk God kindlit in the harts of that peiple towards me, in the behalff of my wyff and chyld: For, certean I am, if all hir frinds and myn in Scotland haid bein about hir, it was nocht in thair powar to haiff used hir sa cairfullie, lovinglie, tenderlie, and diligatlie;[3] and, namlie, I war

[1] Especially. [2] Mourned and sobbed, in such a manner. [3] Delicately.

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maist ingrat if I sould forget my guid, godlie, and maist courteus Lady, my Lady Wedringhton, wha wated on mair cairfullie then the maidwyff, and receavit him from the wombe in hir awin skirt, and finding him nocht livlie, maid hast to the fyre, and thrusting in her curshar,[1] brunt it, and helde to his naisthrilles,[2] wherby he quicned and kythed[3] signes of lyff. This I sa particularlie sett down, partlie till extoll the cair and providence of God towards me, and partlie to move that chyld to sett him selff to the knawlage and service of that God wha thus brought him from the wombe. He was born the 15 day o Januar, in the yeir 1584-(1585.)

About the middes of Februar, efter a grait humiliation and fast for all thir causses, and confort of the holie communion keipit at Newcastell, the noble men, partlie because they perceavit that thair lying neir the Border indangerit thair frinds, and partlie at the desyre of hir Majestie, past southe, and, efter they haid remanit about a monethe in Northwitche, they cam to Londone; and I returning to Berwik, as my calling requyrit, preparit my wyff and companie, and followed to Londone be water.

My guid Lady Wedringtoun wald neids detein my young sone, and haiff him in plege till my retourning, wha lykwayes, with our uther maist cairfull and loving frinds in Chryst, maid guid provision for our voyage. Mr Walter Balcanquall cam down from Londone, and, sending for his wyff, went in companie with us. We war in nomber about twoll persones passingers inbarkit about the beginning of Merche, bot be contrarie windes, with grait fascherie[4] and seiknes, war put in in Tinmouthe, whar we ley sax dayes, and again lainching furthe, upon the fourt day we arryvit at Londone, whar, meitting with my uncle and his companie, we war nocht a lytle conforted.

M.D.LXXXV.

A lytle efter the Noble-men cam to Londone, and I entered againe to my awin charge, mikle helped and incuragit by my uncle,

[1] Kerchief. [2] Nostrils. [3] Manifested, showed. [4] Trouble.

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whom the Noble-men drew to tham, and maid him thair domestic. Our tentationes then war verie grait, for be Ambassatour efter Ambassatour send to hir Majestie, first we war callit a grait stope bak from our frinds, quhilk maid tham and us bathe to tyne hart and almaist dispear;[1] bot syne it was ernestlie suted that we sould be put out of Eingland, and manie promises maid for that effect. Sa that, indeid, we luiked for na thing bot to be put from Eingland as Scotland; bot the Lord our God haid heirin a guid wark in drawing us neirar and neirar unto him, and making us knaw that he was to wourk that wark him selff for his awin glorie. And, thairfor, first in that simmer he send a pest,[2] quhilk past throw the principall townes, and raget till almaist utter vastation in the townes of Edinbruche, St Androis, St Jhonstoun, and Dondie, in sic sort that the comoun clamer of the peiple was against the Court. With this, sic utragius tyrannie was usit be Arran and his licentius, proude, impudent Lady, that all esteates mislykit and weiried at the sam. Thus God prepared the peiple at hame that simmer; and at the hervest, togidder with the raging pestilence incressing mair and mair, namlie in Edinbruche, the Lord send sic tempest of wather and rean,[3] that all began to cry, The Lord's hand wald nocht stey unto the tyme the Ministers of God and Noble-men war brought hame againe! The quhilk, when our frinds perceavit, they maid us advertisment; bot the difficultie was in purchassing of licence, quhilk our unfrinds,[4] confederates with Arran, wald nocht suffer to be granted, till God provydit, in lyk maner, a motive for that, to wit, the slauchtar of the Lord Russell, Warden, at a day of Trewes,[5] upon the Bordour. The quhilk, for all excuses could be maid, crabit[6] sa the Quein, that sche licenced our Noble-men joyned with the Hamiltones, to return to thair frinds in Scotland. And sa, efter a verie ernest exerceise of humiliation keipit be our haill companie, at Westminster, wharin manie teares war powred out befor the Lord, and the hartes of all weill prepared, about the beginning of

[1] Lose heart, and almost despair. [2] Plague, pestilence. [3] Tempest of weather and rain. [4] Enemies. [5] A Warden-Raid, or "day of Trew." [6] Vexed, angered.

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October, the Erles of Angus and Mar, with the Maistir of Glames, and thair companies, past from Londone, and with thame my uncle Mr Andro, Mr Patrik Galloway, and Mr Walter Balcanquall, wha coming to the Bordour, the Lord Hamilton and those that war at Berwik cam to tham; and as they enterit in the countrey, ther resorted unto tham without delay the haill Bordours, Est and Wast, conducted by thair Lords of Hume, Bodwell, and Maxwell, and merching fordwart with diligence cam to St Ninian's Kirk, a myll from Sterling, upon the first day of November, and ther camped to the number of ten thowsand horsmen. In this mean tyme, proclamationes with all diligence was send athort the countrey, and double this number war conveinit within the town of Stirling, but nocht halff sa resolut and weill harted to feght in the quarrell as our men war. Sa, to be schort, on the morn soone, be brak of day, they umbesett[1] the town, and with grait quietnes and unresistable courage ministred be God, scaled and clam ower the walles. A lytle resistance was maid be Captean James and Coronell Stewart be the space of twa houres, bot seing the courage of the uther they schrank bak, and reteiring, gaiff libertie to all to enter and win the town. Captean James, haiffing in his poutche the key of the brig,[2] fled away that gett[3] incontinent: The rest, viz., Montrose, Crafurd, Glencarn, Aroll, and Colonell Steward, reteired to the Castell, whar the King was; but our folks, persuing hatlie, cam all to the Castell hill, and clos under foresnout of the Blokhous planted thair standdars and campe.

The King, perceaving that he was nocht able to keipe the Castell, and knawing that the peiple's affection was towards these Noblemen and Ministers, resolved to Parliament, and send furthe unto our Lords the Secretar and Justice-Clark, requyring of tham :—

First, That his lyff, honour, and esteat, might be preservit.

Secondlie, That the lives of Montrose, Crafurd, and Coronell Steward, sould be sparit.

Thridlie, That all maters sould be transacted peacablie. And,

[1] Surrounded. [2] In his pocket the key of the bridge. [3] Way, road.

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upon these conditiones, offerit him selff to be governed be thair advys and counsall in tyme coming.

The Noble-men answered to the King's messangers :—

That, for the First, the God of Heavin knew that they haid never anie uther intention than to preserve his Majestie's persone, esteat, and dignitie; and to delyver his Majestie from the handes of sic, wha, under pretext of his name and authoritie, haid sa creuallie opprest the Kirk and Comoun-weill, and haid exponed to danger bathe his Majestie's lyff and croun: That, haiffing the feir of God befor thair eis, they war com to do his Majestie all dewtie and service, and to schaw tham selves fathfull and obedient subjects, as they haid done of befor; exposing tham selves to the violence of sic as befor tyme faught with his mother against him with displeyed baner, to depryve him of his esteat and honour, wha, nochtwithstanding, haid bein of leat, at least thair successours in that cause, admitted to the handling of all his effeares.

As to the Second, seing the persones befor named, whase lives war desyrit to be sparit, haid troublet the haill countrey, and bein instruments of sic confusion as the lyk haid nocht bein hard nor sein in Scotland, they could do na les for his Majestie's honour, and affection they bure to thair countrey, then seik the meanes wharby they might be put in the hands of Justice, to be used as they haid demerit.

As to the Thride, they tham selves declarit to the King, that they maid humble supplication to his Hienes, that he him selff sould tak ordour and sie all things to pas, and be wrought pacible in an opportune and convenient tyme, to the grait contentment of all his guid subjects; and for that effect promised all ayde and assistance: protesting that they approched nocht to his Majestie in armes, and with sic companies, bot be constraint for saveing of thair lyves and leivings from the tyrannie of sic as sought thair ruine and utter wrak.

The King's messingers being departed, the Noble-men send

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in lyk maner unto the King, requyring of his Majestie thrie things:

First, That the King sould giff his consent to reform the corruptionnes and abbusses that war crouppen within the Kirk and Comoun-weill, be the evill government of tham wha haid abbusit his authoritie; and thairfor he wald allow as lawfull and guid service thair proceidings in seiking the said reformation, and for that cause that his Majestie wald subscryve the schort declaration quhilk they haid formed of thair cause; and that for thair graitter assurance, that the strainthes and Castells quhilk the troublers of the esteat haid in thair handes sould be delyvered unto tham, to be keipit be sic as the Esteattes of the Realme thought meit.

Secondlie, That the said troublers of the Esteat sould be giffen in thair keiping, to be presented to justice.

And, Last, That the King's Gard might be changit, and an uther chosin of the fathfull, modest, and sobre men, under sic a Captean and Commander as the Noble-men sould nam.

All these things wer granted. The Lord Hamilton maid Captean of Dumbartan; the Lard of Cowdounknowes of Edinbruche, and Stirling restored to the Erle of Mar; and the Maister of Glames maid Captean of the Garde. In end a Parliament was proclamed to be haldin at Linlithgow, the tent of December following, for restoring again of Noble-men, Ministers, and all.

The King receavit all the Noble-men in favour, and granted tham what they wald ask for ther particular. Bot concerning the maters of the Kirk, that twitched his honour sa, that he wald nocht be controlled thairin, nor grant to na thing bot efter his pleasour; and sa tuk upe a heiche humor against all the guid breithring, partlie because he perceavit that the Noble-men war nocht verie ernest in the maters, getting their awin turnes done, as, indeed, (except the guid Erle of Angus, to whase hart it was a continwall grieff that he could nocht get concurrance,) ther was lytle or small cear amangs tham thairof, for all the vowes and fair promises maid to God and his servants, the quhilk the Lord in mercie mak them to tak till hart in tyme and repent, befor the last come, quhilk can nocht, in

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his just judgment, bot be mair feirfull nor the first; partlie because he estimed the Kirk to be the cheiff cause of his controlment in his proceidings first and last, the discipline wharof he could na wayes lyk, *ex metu Herodiano et Jeroboamino.*

About the end of November, warning was maid, according to the ordour of the Kirk be the last Moderator, athort the countrey to the breithring, to convein in Generall Assemblie, conforme to custome befor the Parliament at Dumfermling, na uther meit town being frie of the pest. The breithring frequentlie[1] furthe of all partes resorting thither. The portes of the town war closit upon tham be the Provest for the tyme, the Lard of Pitfirren, alleaging he haid the King's expres command sa to do. Therfor the breithring, comending that wrang to God, the righteus Judge, convenit sa monie as [they] might in the fields, and conforting them selves mutualie in God, apointed to meit in Linlithgow a certean dayes befor the Parliament. Bot God, within a few yeirs, peyit that Lard and Provest his hyre for that piece of service, when, for the halding out of his servantes from keiping his Assemblie in that town, he maid his awin hous to spew him out: For a[2] day, in the morning, he was fund fallen out of a window of his awin hous of Pitfirren, thrie or four hous [stories?] hight, wither be a melancolius dispear casting him selff, or be the violence of unkynd ghests ludgit within, God knawes; for, being taken upe, his speitche was nocht sa sensible as to declar it, bot within few hours efter deit.

The newes of the taking of Stirling was at the Court of Eingland and in Londone within aught and fourtie houres; for it being done on Tysday in the morning, on the Furisday[3] thairefter Mr Robert Bowes tauld us, and on the Fredday it was comoun in the mouthes of all Londone. At the quhilk we graithimlie[4] rejoysing in the soveran guidnes and mercie of our God, and resorting togidder to steir us upe mutualie to thankfulnes: Sa, with all conveni-

[1] In numbers, numerously. [2] One. [3] Thursday. [4] "Graittumlie," greatly.

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ent diligence we maid for the jorney hame ower;[1] in the quhilk, as in going, sa in returning, we fund the bountifull and gratius hand of our God with us, sa that we haid occasion divers tymes to sing unto the praise of our God that 126 Psalme, with manie ma, but namlie at our coming to Anwik on the second Sabathe of our jorney. Ther we rested, and war called to dinner be Sir Jhone Fostar, Lord Warden, wha, at mides of dinner, began bathe to glorifie God in recompting what he haid wrought already, and to prophesie concerning the stay of foull wather and of the pestilence, whowsone all the Ministers of God war brought ham againe; as, indeid, it was marked and found within a monethe, that we war estonished to heir the mouthe of a warldlie civill man sa opened to speak out the woundarfull warkes and prases of God, wrought for us. We war in companie a nine or ten horses, and fand him the gratius God of the land in retourning, as we fund him of the sies in our passage southwart.

Coming in Scotland, I left my wyff, weirie of sa lang a jorney, to rest at Hutonhall, in companie with the relict of Mr James Lawsone, guid, sweit, and godlie Janet Guthrie, and with Mr Robert Durie tuk jorney to Linlithgow to the Parliament, swalleing upe[2] be hope, inquenchable joy of reformation of all things amiss, and grait welcoming with manie guid-morrowes. But as at our going out of the countrey, we knew nor saw na thing that might rease us in anie grait hope of provision or comfort, and yit, by the guid providence of our God, we fand far beyond expectation; sa, be the contrar, at our retourning, loking for all guid and comfortable, we fund na thing les.

For, first, ryding from Hadington to Smeton, reposing on our gyde, we went fordwart, whowbeit under night, far, bot when we war in graittest danger of coll-pittes and sinks, the darknes was sa grait, that our gyd knew nocht whar he was, nor whow to gyde;

[1] Homewards.—"My individuus comes sen syne, and maist sure and fathfull brother and frind, Mr Robert Dury, was with me, wha haid a monethe or twa of befor com from the Rotchell to London to us." Margin of MS. [2] Swelling, buoyed up.

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sa that iff God haid nocht gydet us, we haid bein lyk Thales, wha compased the erthe, and dyed in a draw-well at his awin dur! When we haid spent a guid part of the night, at last ane of our hors rashed on his nes[1] upon a gevill[2] of a hous; bot whither it was hous, or stak, or heuche, we knew nocht, nather saw hors or man, na nocht our awin fingar-end, till ane lightand down grapes ellanges,[3] and finds a dur, and chapping[4] we gat sum folks that tauld us we war in Trenent, fra the quhilk conducing[5] a gyde, with a lantern knit to his hors-teall to schaw us the way, with grait fascherie[6] throw the Coll-hors-gett we cam to Smeton. On the morn we maid hast, and, coming to Lestarik,[7] disjoned,[8] and about alleavin hours[9] cam ryding in at the Water-gett of the Abbay, upe throw the Canow-Gett, and red in at the Nether-bow, throw the grait streit of Edinbruche to the Wast Port, in all the quhilk way we saw nocht thrie persones, sa that I miskend[10] Edinbruche, and almost forgot that ever I haid sein sic a town. About evein we cam to Lithgow, to a nomber of heavie and greived breither, and a miserable vyll presone, the lyk wharof I was never in all my dayes.

The occasion of the breithring's greiff was, that they war out of hope to gett anie thing undone at that Parliament, quhilk was done at the Parliament of the 1584; and that because the King haid sett him selff dispytfullie against the Kirk, and these in speciall wha haid bein with the Lords; namlie, my uncle, Mr Andro, wha haid bein verie quik and plean with the King divers dayes. And as for the Noble-men, they required that, first, they might be sattelit in thair roumes,[11] and syne[12] wald do aneuche; bot it was tauld them, that that wald bathe weaken and scham tham and thair cause with God and man. Yit, in effect, the guid breithring war left and deserted be tham, and behoved to bear thair reprotches that wald do na thing for Chryst. But by this, a heavier cause of greiff was giffen by a bitter invection that Mr Crag maid against

[1] Nose. [2] Gable. [3] Alongst. [4] Knocking. [5] Hiring.
[6] Trouble. [7] Restalrig, near Edinburgh. [8] Breakfasted. [9] Eleven o'clock.
[10] Forgot, knew not. [11] Settled in their situations or livings. [12] Then.

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us befor the King and haill Lords of Parliament, steired upe, as he alleadgit, be a sermont that James Gipsone haid maid, in the pulpit of Edinbruche, against the Subscryving Ministers, of whom Mr Crag was the cheiff; sa that ther was the seid of a feirfull schisme, giff God, be the meanes of patient and wyse breithring, haid nocht born down the saming[1] at the nixt Assemblie. Togidder with this, the thrang of the town was sa grait, that we haid na confort of meit, drink, or ludging, bot sa evill and miserable, and thairwith sa extream deir, that we war rather brought from wealthe, ease, and libertie, and cast in a wretched foull pressone, nor from exyll till[2] our native countrey. Yit the conscience of our cause and service of Chryst upheld us, and maid us to keipe togidder, in a deceyit house, that nather helde out wind nor weit, with confort furnesit be the mightie Confortar, the space of ten dayes or fyftein, till the Parliament endit; efter the quhilk also I was constreanit to tarie uther ten, partlie to gett our Letters of Restitution exped, and partlie for my hors, whom, for want of stabling, the first night I founder in bathe the twa former feit,[3] to my grait los.

Efter divers hatt, rouche, and maist scharpe reasonings, haid betwix the King and my uncle, Mr Andro, in end the King desyrit us to giff in, in wrait, what we haid to say against the actes of parliament maid in anno 1584. Upon the quhilk we formed and gaiff in to his Majestie thir Animadversiones following:

ANIMADVERSIONS OF OFFENCES CONCEAVED UPON THE ACTES OF PARLIAMENT MAID IN THE YEIR 1584, IN THE MONETHE OF MAY, PRESENTED BE THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE KIRK TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE AT THE PARLIAMENT OF LINLITHGOW, IN DECEMBER, 1585.

"In the First Act, it is thought a grait impearing[4] of the libertie of the trew Kirk, in sa far as na thing thairby is granted to the

[1] Same. [2] Then from exile to. [3] I foundered in both the fore-feet. [4] Impaired.

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sam, bot the libertie of preatching and ministration of sacraments; seing the powar of binding and lowsing, quhilk is called the powar of the keyes of the kingdom of heavin, consistes nocht onlie in these poincts, bot also in judgment, jurisdiction, and removing of offences out of the Kirk of God, and excommunication to be pronunced against the disobedient be tham that ar office-bearers within the sam: And sa the haill discipline is left out. And this act restrictes the libertie granted be uther actes of Parliament of befor, concerning discipline and correction of maners, quhilk war establissed be a law in the first yeir of your Majestie's reing. Our warrands of the Word of God for this part of the libertie of the Kirk we ar to bring furthe when your Majestie pleases.

"As concerning the Second Act, the narration thairof apeires to be sklanders against sum of the Ministerie, quhilk we wald wis to be reformed, or uther wayes conceaved, except the treuthe thairof war verefied. And, as to the substance of the act it selff, it attributes unto your Majestie a soverane powar of judgment, nocht onlie upon the persones of all your subjects, but also in all maters, wherin they, or anie of them, salbe apprehendit, summoned, or chargit, &c.: Quhilk appeires to be verie strange, the lyk wharof we heir nocht to haiff bein practised in anie Christian comounwelthe, and can nocht stand with the Word of God. For, although the persones of men ar subject to your Majestie and Civill Judges, when they offend against your lawes, yit in maters mere Ecclesiasticall, and concerning conscience, na Christian Prince can justlie clame, nor ever clamit, to him selff sic powar to judge, seing the Prince in that behalff is bot a member of the Kirk, and Jesus Chryst onlie the Head, wha onlie hes powar to giff lawes in maters of conscience. And sa said the godlie Ambrose, '*Imperator bonus intra Ecclesiam non supra Ecclesiam est.*' And to confound the Jurisdictiones Civill and Ecclesiasticall is that thing wherin all men of guid judgment haiff justlie fund fault with the Pape of Rome, wha clames to him selff the powar of bothe the swords, quhilk is als grait a fault to a Civill Magistrat till acclam or usurpe, and specialie to judge upon the doctrine, errours, and heresies, he nocht be

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ing placed in Ecclesiasticall function to interpret the Scriptures. The warrands heirof out of the Word of God we ar lykwayes readie to bring furthe.

"Anent the Thrid Act, it appeires to be obscure, bot yit the effect thairof to tend to this, That nane desyre alteration of the form or custome of the conveining of the Esteats in Parliament, as sum hes sought the sam to be innovat. Sir, we understand that the ancient libertie of the said Thrie Esteates is lovable and ancient; bot lykwayes it is of treuthe that amangs uther corruptionnes that war in tym of Papistrie, the Ecclesiasticall Esteat was corrupted, and apointed to be of sic persones wha haid na lawfull function in the Kirk of God, and specialie aught nocht to haiff place, Religion being reformed within this realme; we mein of Bischopes, Abbots, and sic lyk Popishe Prelacies, in consideration that be Actes of Parliament maid of befor, all authoritie and jurisdiction of the Pape of Rome, and of uthers flowing from him, nocht agrieable to the Word of God, is abolished within this realme. Therfor, we think in our conscience, and haiff oft suted it of your Majestie, that nan should vot in Parliament in nam of the Esteat of the Kirk bot they that haiff thair calling of God, and ar constitut in Ecclesiasticall office and function according to his Word; and thairfor discreit Commissionars, of the maist lernit bathe in the law of God and of the countrey, being of the function of the Ministerie, or Eldars of the Kirk, to represent that esteat at whase mouthe the law aught to be requyrit, namlie, in Ecclesiasticall maters; and it is nocht the grait rents or promotion to grait benefices, nor yit the dignitie of kinred or blood, that caries with it all knawlage or judgment, bot uther men, wha ar coumpted of inferiour rank to the judgment of the warld, may preveall thairin. And ther is na inconvenient that Commissionars may be send fra the Kirk, representing the Thrid Esteat, alsweill as from the Burrowes, to haiff vott in Parliament. Therfor, we humblie desyre your Majestie to declar the said act, and deny nocht unto us that libertie that God's Word and the lawes of the countrey maid of befor, and æquitie and reassone in this behalff, craves.

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"As concerning the Fourt Act, the tytle thairof is discharging all Jurisdictiones and Judgments nocht approved be Parliament, and all Assemblies and Conventionnes without your Majestie's speciall licens and commandiment. And, in the narrative, it appeires ther is a sklanderus report reased upon the Kirk and Office-bearers within the sam, for using certean Jurisdictiones nocht approved be the lawes of the realm, and alleaging ane Act maid in the dayes of your Hienes grandschir, that all the lieges aucht to be rewled be the comoun lawes of the realm, and be na uther lawes. And, thairfor, the said act discharges all Judgments and Jurisdictiones, spirituall or temporall, accustomed to be used thir xxv. yeirs bypast, nocht approved be your Hienes and Esteats in Parliament, with thretning of execution upon all persones that uses or obeyes the sam, as usurpers and contemners of your Hienes authoritie, and for convocation of your Hienes lieges.

"Sir, we maist humblie crave your Hienes mynd to be farder declared heirin, for it appeires to us to be verie strange, and a thing that can nocht stand with the libertie granted be Jesus Chryst to his Kirk, and tham that bear function and office within the sam. And, first, as to the Act of King James the Fourt, your Hienes grandschir, we say, that the sam act appeires pleanlie to mean of the Civill Jurisdiction, quhilk he and his predecessours and successours may clam within this realme be thair Royall powar, and nocht of the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction; for that law was maid against tham of the Ylles, that used the King of Denmark's lawes in civill maters; and, in your grandschir's dayes, ther was an uther Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction within this realme, efter the maner of Papistrie, used be tham that war called Kirkmen, unto the dayes of Reformation of Relligion, as hes bein used continualie sen that tyme, with quhilk na fault was fund. And it is of treuthe that ther is a Spirituall Jurisdiction granted to the Kirk of God be his Word, (quhilk makes na derogation to the Jurisdiction of erthlie Princes,) wherof the Office-bearers within the Kirk in this realm hes bein in peaceable possession and use thir xxiiij. yeirs bypast with the mair, wherof followed na trouble, bot grait quietnes to the Kirk and

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Comoun-welthe. And ther has bein mair trouble in the Ecclesiasticall Esteat within thir twa yeirs last bypast, nor ever was sen the Relligion was reformed within this countrey. Alwayes we offer us to prove, be guid warrands of the Word of God, that it is lawfull to the Ecclesiasticall Esteat to convocat Assemblies, and to hauld the sam, and till apoint an ordour, place, and tyme, for conveining of the sam, to treat upon sic maters as concernes the Kirk's effeares, quhilk na wayes impears your Majestie's civill and royall jurisdiction, bot rather fortifies and decores the sam. Nocht denying, in the mean tyme, bot it is lawfull to your Majestie and Esteates, when anie extraordinar necessitie sall requyre, to call the members and Office-bearers within the Kirk, in few or graitter number, and cause tham be conveined to resolve upon sic things as concernes thair esteat, and necessitie of the tyme. And fordar, concerning the Generall Assemblies of the Kirk, ther is an Act in the first yeir of your Hienes reing, ratefeing the authoritie thairof, and decerning appellationes to be devolvit thairto, as to the last judgment of maters concerning the Kirk. The sam argument we use concerning uther Assemblies, alsweill particular, and of the Presbyteries, as Provinciall, be the paritie of reasone and guid grounds of the Word of God, quhilk we offer us to schaw. Beseikand your Majestie to reform, or repear and qualefie this act according thairto; for, if it sall stand in the form that it is, nocht onlie Conventiones for discipline, bot also for heiring of the Word, wilbe thairby dischargit.

"As to the Fyft Act, we allow weill with our hartes, that all they that ar planted in the function of the Ministerie, if they commit onie offence worthie of deprivation, they be depryvit bathe of thair functiones and reveneus, quhilk they possess for using the sam. Bot, to mak exception of persones, that they quhilk haiff vott in Parliament sall nocht be controllit in that behalff, nor the lyk judgment execut upon tham, we can nocht understand whow that can agrie with reasone and guid lawes, seing we ar able to verefie the maist part of tham in that esteat to be mair sklanderus, and wordy to be deprived bathe of thair function and benefice then anie uther. And, as to the votting in Parliament, who they aucht to be that

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sould haiff place ther, we haiff declarit our judgment of befor. Therfor, this act appeires to mak exception of persones, quhilk can nocht weill stand be the law of God or man. As to the causses of deprivation, it requyres also a conference, quhilk war ower lang now to put in wrait to your Majestie. Therfor pleise your Hienes also till advys better heirupon, and qualefie the sam.

"Now, for the Saxt Act, the dytter[1] thairof apeires to be verie cairfull that Ministers sall await upon thair function and office, and sall use na uther function, judgment, or office, that may abstract tham thairfra. Giff it be simplie meined, the act is verie guid. Bot, with your Majestie's licens, they ar verie far in the wrang to your Hienes that wald burding you with all function and jurisdiction bathe in Civill and Ecclesiasticall maters, being bot a[2] persone, and mikle les[3] able to discharge nor[4] a simple Minister of a Kirk to discharge his cure. And, fordar, seing the sam acte, and uther actes of this Parliament, attributes Jurisdiction to Bischopes over manie kirks, and to be Judges in Ecclesiasticall causses also, they ar far mair unmeit to discharge tham selves thairof nor a simple Minister that hes onlie a flok or kirk, and, peradventure, an colleg with him in the sam. And, fordar, in sa far as the Ecclesiasticall Esteat is an of the Thrie Esteates in Parliament, and as we ar able to prove the Office-bearers and Ministers in the Kirk aught to represent the said Esteat, it can nocht weill stand that all Judicators sould be taken from tham, seing it is the Supream Judicator in this realme, wherin bathe Civill and Criminall causses ar decydit; and, thairfor, to tak away this judgment from tham that ar of the Ecclesiastiçall function it is verie hard, and can nocht weill stand with the libertie granted to the Kirk of ancient tyme. As to the uther Civill Judgments that may abstract Ministers from thair cure, we think they aucht nocht to mell[5] thairwithe, bot sa far as they ar called lawfullie by the Prince, and ar able to discharge the sam.[6]

[1] Inditer, the person who framed or drew up. [2] One. [3] Much less. [4] Than. [5] Meddle, interfere. [6] "*Notandum*, That Mr Robert Pont penned this Animadversion, and wald haiff it thus in, by [*i. e.* against or contrary to]

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"Passing ower the rest of the Actes, as nocht perteining to the Kirk, till we com to the Thretteint, in the quhilk the first yeir's fruicts of all benefices is decernit to be taken to your Hienes' use and your Gard, na provision being maid for the Ministers that serves whar the benefice lyes; and the first yeir's fruicts war never cravit within Prelacies befor this Act. And also a grait yeirlie taxation is leyed upon the benefices, as appeires, bathe grait and small, besydes the thrids. Remedie wald thairfor be provydit be your Majestie whow the Kirks may be served sufficientlie, and the Ministers nocht disapointed of thair stipends; for the reveneus of the Kirk ar already sa diminished, that although new impositiones be nocht leyed thairupon, it is difficill to keipe anie ordour within the Kirk, quhilk mikle mair salbe impossible, if they be farder diminishit. And as to the Munks' portiones, it wald be a godlie ordinance to your Majestie till apoint the sam, or els a guid part thairof, for Bursares in Collages, as sum tyme it was proponit and halfflie grantit.

"Sa, passing to the Twentie Act: The sam giffes commission to Patrik, called Archbischope of St Androis, and uther Bischopes, or sic as your Majestie sall constitut Judges in Ecclesiasticall causses, nocht specifeing of what esteat they sould be, Ecclesiasticall or Civill; and siclyk mention is maid of sum Commissionars in the Saxt Act, to quhilk Commissionars powar is granted to put ordour to all maters and causses Ecclesiasticall, visit the Kirks and stat of the Ministrie, reform Collages, receave Presentationes, and they onlie giff Collationnes upon benefices, and that Commissiones sould be extendit heirupon, under your Hienes Grait Seall; conform to that quhilk diverse Commissiones ar direct, with powar to Bischopes alleanerlie, in thair awin persones, without anie assessours or assistars, and, namlie, to the Archbischope of St Androis, within his haill diocese, or to anie his deputes and commissionars under him; with powar also to Depose Ministers, quhilk is nocht conteined in the act, and lykwayes to Place and Displace Maisters of

the judgment of my uncle, Mr Andro, myne, and uthers; wha haid bein upon the Session, and it is of opinion yit that sa is lawfull." Margin of MS.

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Collages, attoure the tennour of the act. Sir, to speak our consciences planlie concerning this act, we suppose your Majestie be of guid mynde that the sam sall continow na langer nor this present Parliament, bot sall allutterlie[1] be dischargit; for sa it is conteined in the act it selff, in the end thairof, in expres termes, wharbe we think your Majestie and Esteates war of mynd it sould nocht continow when it was first maid.

"And, indeid, giff it sould continow, manie and grait inconvenients sould of necessitie follow to the Kirk of Jesus Chryst and esteat thairof. For, first, to devolve that powar in a manes hand, altho he wer never sa wyse, lerned, and godlie, to do all things in the Kirk at his awin pleasure and authoritie, be him selff allanerlie,[2] or his deputs, takes away that libertie and guid ordour quhilk the Sprit of God, be the mouthe of Paull, willes to be in the Kirk, and wharof we haiff manie uther warrands into God's Word; for it aperteines to the Ecclesiasticall Senat, and nocht to anie a man, to do those things. Nather is it a civill thing, and to be committed to a Civill Magistrat, or to whome they pleise, to govern the Hous of God, quhilk is his Kirk, and can haiff na exemple of anie uncorrupt age or persone. Therfor, we suppon your Majestie will clam no fordar to the sam, nor yit suffer sic men to abbuse the Kirk in that sort. And, as to uther Judges to be constitut in Ecclesiasticall causses be your Majestie, nocht specifeing of what esteat they sould be, Civill or Ecclesiastik, that is indeid till use the powar of bathe the swords, quhilk all men of guid judgment hes damnit[3] in the Pape. Sir, we ceas to mak fordar discourse upon this act, or to declar the qualities of tham to whom sic Commissiones ar giffen, because we suppose your Majestie will willinglie reforme and abrogat alluterlie that act."

ANENT THE ACTS NOCHT IMPRENTED.

"Sir, We find amangs these Acts nocht imprented, the Act an-

[1] Entirely, altogether. [2] Only, alone. [3] Condemned.

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nulling the Excommunication of Mr Robert Mongumery, wherin your Majestie takes authoritie with your Esteates in Parliament, to mell[1] with that thing, quhilk can haiff na exemple that anie Prince ever melled with sen the first planting of the Relligion of Jesus Chryst. To pronunce excommunication upon impenitent sinners, or to absolve tham thairfra, or to decern the saming effectuall, or nocht effectuall, can na mair pertein to Prince, or anie Civill Magistrat, nor to preatche the Word of God, and ministrat Sacraments, for they ar bathe in lyk maner committed be Chryst, our Maister, to the trew Office-bearers within his Kirk, when, as he said, '*Dic ecclesiæ*,' &c. Therfor, amangs all uther things, we can nocht mervell a lytle wha sould be sa bauld to put in your Majestie's head till usurpe that powar, or mell thairwith, seing, for the lyk fact, Uzzia, the King of Juda, was sa terrible plagget,[2] and his haill land schaken. God forgiff tham that wald sa jeoperd your Hienes, without respect of conscience, or the feir of God. We beseik your Majestie to revok this, and mell na fordar thairwith, as a thing nocht perteining to your office, or anie Civill Magistrat.

"Ther is an uther act, amangs the nocht imprented, concerning the payment of the Ministers' stipends, of the quhilk we can speak na thing, because we want the copie of it; beseikand your Majestie to giff commandiment to the Clark of Registar that we may haiff, and giff our reasones in against it, giff neid beis."

THE SUPPLICATIONE.

"Sir, We haiff, in the feir of God, at your Majestie's command, as schortnes of tyme wald suffer, giffen our Animadversiones upon the lait actes of Parliament, May 1584, beseikand your Majestie to bear with our langage, if in anie part it be nocht sa perfytted and courtlie as some men wald wis, for we tend onlie unto the end of these things wherof we war in conference with your Grace, to open

[1] Meddle, interfere. [2] Plagued.

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tham upe simplie and planlie; and to speak the treuthe in our conscience, (for it is nocht our dewtie to dissemble with your Grace,) when we haiff perused and read these actes ower and ower againe, sa diligentlie as we can, we can nocht think in our judgment whow the sam can stand as they ar formed, or whow anie interpretation that can be maid thairupone, unles it was to contein contradiction, quhilk is an uncomlie thing in making or setting out of lawes: for the law it self sayes, 'They that may speak planlie in making of lawes, contracts, or anie sic thing, and speaks obscurlie and ambiguuslie, sic contracts and lawes ar to be exponed against the maker or former thairof, *quia potuerunt apertius dicere*.' Therfor, saving the honors of your Majestie and your Esteates, we think it mair comlie to place new, reformed, and plean lawes in ther roum nor till interpret these quhilk can nocht be weill interpret, in anie guid sence. We trust your Majestie will tak this our simple meining in a good part, and do that quhilk is maist meit according thairto. The Lord grant your Majestie the sprit of trew and upright judgment. AMEN."

"There is a thing fordar, quhilk in maist humble maner we crave of your Majestie, that it be provydit be Act of Parliament, That lykas your Hienes is to restore tham of the Nobilitie to thair honours and leivings, sa your Majestie will restore the Kirk of God, and Ministerie thairof, to thair former possessiones, alsweill in discipline, as thair leivings, roumes, and offices, fra the quhilk they war displaced be occasion of the saids actes, or anie thing following thairupon; and to thair stipends, alsweill bygean as to cum, seing a grait part thairof remeanes as yit on-takin upe."

Thir Animadversiones and Supplication, penned af-hand, because of want of all commoditie, and presented to his Majestie be us, the King tuk pean him selff, be the space of four and twentie houres, to tak him to his cabinet; and, withe his awin hand, wrot and penned his Declaration following, word be word:

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THE KING'S DECLARATION AND INTERPRETATION OF HIS ACTES OF PARLIAMENT SET FURTHE.

Nam ejus est explicare, cujus est condere.

"THE First [Act] makes onlie mention of the pretching of the Word and Sacraments, nocht thairby to abrogat anie guid fardar Polecie or Jurisdiction in the Kirk, bot allanerlie[1] to remit a part thairof to the actes insewing; and the maist quhilk as yit is unaggreit upon or concludit, I entend, God willing, to cause to be perfyted be a godlie Generall Assemblie of Bischopes, Ministers, and uther godlie and lerned, *Imperatore presidente;* and then sall the act be maid mair ample, according to the conclusion aggreit upon tham, bathe in Polecie and Jurisdiction.

"The Second Act hes twa parts, an narrative and a charge. The narrative hes twa partes; an, affirming that sum of your vocation haid appelit fra me, as nocht being thair Judge ordinar. I dout nocht youf selves will na wayes deny this, sen sum of your selves did it, and I dout be yit skarse far from it. The uther part makes mention of the treasonable, seditius, and contumelius speitches uttered be sum of your calling, in pulpit, against me and my progenitors. This part lykwayes can nocht weill be denyit, sen it is mair nor evident that it hes bein the maist part of sum Ministers' exerceis thir four or fyve yeirs past. Allwayes,[2] whowsoone the haill Ministers of Scotland sall mend thair maners, in this poinct, the forsaid act salbe rescindet. As to the second part of the Act, it conteines a charge that nane, being summoned or accused be me, sall declyne my judgment, in respect I am declarit and confirmed Judge be the Parliament over all persones within this realme, in all causses that they salbe apprehendit or summoned for; and in the lyne end it sayes, that nane sall declyne my judgment in the premisses. Now, say I, and declares, (quhilk declaration salbe als authentik as the

[1] Only. [2] Nevertheless.

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Act it selff,) that I, for my part, sall never, nather my posteritie, aucht ever cite, sumond, or apprehend, anie Pastour or Preatchour for maters of doctrine in relligion, salvation, heresies, or trew interpretation of the Scripture; bot according to my first Act, quhilk confirmes the libertie of pretching the Word, ministration of the Sacraments, I avow the sam to be a mater mere Ecclesiasticall, and altogidder impertinent to my calling; thairfor never sall I, nor never aucht they, I mein my posteritie, acclame anie powar or jurisdiction in the forsaids.

"The Thrid Act is sa reasonable and necessar, that it neids na declaring nor explication, except onlie this, that my Bischopes, quhilk ar ane of the Thrie Esteates, sall haiff powar, als far as God's Word and exemple of the Primitive Kirk will permit, and nocht according to that man of sine, his abominable abuses and corruptiones. But I can nocht aneuche wounder whar yie fund that rewll or exemple, ather in God's Word or anie Reformed Kirk, that sum Ministers, be commission of the rest, aught to be an of the Esteates in Parliament! Weill, God purge your sprits from ambition and uther indecent affectiones for your calling, and giff you grace to teatche, in all humilitie and simplicitie, his Word and veritie!

"In the Fourt Act, I discharge all Jurisdictiones nocht approved in Parliament, and Conventionnes without anie speciall licence. As to the discharge of Jurisdictiones, my meining and declaration is, That they sall ceas whil a setled Polecie and Jurisdiction be establissed according to the missour and lyne of God's Word. As to discharge of Assemblies, they ar nocht simplie dischargit, bot onlie ordaint that they sould be haldin with my speciall licence. And surlie, I trust, that in all Reformed Kirks, whar the Princes and Magistrates war sound in relligion, yie sall find that the Assemblies of the Kirk was noch onlie be thair speciall licence, bot evin be thair calling, and they tham selves Presidents and Moderators of tham. Yie do evill in making your selves to be ignorant of your awin act, as to think the narrative of this act eklanderus and untrew.

"As to the Fyft Act, it exemes the Bischopes onlie for this cause, for that it speakes onlie of deprivation of Bischopes be Sy-

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nodall Assemblies, wheras they sould be deprived be Generall. As to the causses of deprivation, they salbe aggreit upon be the Kirk, and thairafter my act accordinglie qualefiet.

"The hindmaist part of my Declaration upon the Thrid Act expones, and with sufficient reasones proves the Saxt Act to be weill; and besyd the forsaid Saxt Act, I am assurit na thing repugnant, but justlie aggreing with the Word of God.

"As to the Thretteint, my intention was ever that all benefices of cure under Prelacies sould be excepted, and sa sall they be reserved in the Act. As to the xx. Act, it is indeid bot temporall, and sen it is maid till indure onlie whill the Parliament, and furder during my will, it may be alsweill callit bak without a Parliament as with it. As indeid I mein, efter further conference with sum of the Ministrie, to tak a solide ordour thairanents; but in a thing yie misconstrue it; wharas, yie alleage that it giffes authoritie to a persone to reforme the Kirk, quhilk is nocht, but it apoincts everie Bischope to reform his awin diocese; and the Bischope of St Androis' awin declaration apointes ilk Bischope a counsall of his awin dioceise, sa as in effect this act ordeanes ilk Bischope with his diocese to reforme his awin dioceise. And as to the commissionars nocht Ecclesiasticall joyned to tham, they ar joyned to giff thair advysses, and nocht to interpone thair authoritie, as yie your selves hes haid sindrie men, mere civill, assisting your Assemblies; and as it wilbe maist necessar that sum men lerned and godlie be yit schosin out for satteling of the Polecie.

"As to the Act concerning the Excommunication of the Bischope of Glasgow, I man first deleat the occasion schortlie, and thairupon induce the answer and meining. Efter that he haid bein often cited, summoned, and admonished, under pean of excommunication, to demit his benefice, and he, nochtwithstanding, still possessing the saming, depending upon me wha gaiff it to him; at last, sum of the Ministers, specialie sum of the Presbyterie about Edinbruche, was called (as oft befor they haid bein for the sam cause) befor the Counsall, and desyrit to leave af that form of proceiding, whil it war tryed be further conference, wither Bischopes war tolerable in the Kirk of God or nocht. This desyre was granted and

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promisit be the haill Ministers present; bot immediatlie thairefter, he was excommunicat at the Kirk of Libbertoun, a landwart kirk, against promise.[1] They being callit for againe, and accused of ther promise, they all denyit the knawlage thairof; and nocht onlie they, but the haill Ministerie of Scotland, except that onlie man, Davidsone, that pronunced the sentence, the haill Kirk then disavowing, and that onlie man advowing the deid. Chryst saying, '*Dic Ecclesiæ*,' and a[2] onlie man stelling that dint[3] in a quyet holl. The Act of Parliament reduces the sentence for informalitie and nulletie of proces, nocht as Judges whidder the excommunication was grundit on guid or just causes or nocht, but as witneses that it was informalie proceidit against the warrand of God's Word, exemple of all Reformed Kirks, and your awin particular custome in this countrey. And for approbation of the premisses, the forsaid Bischope salbe producit befor the first Generall Assemblie that I sall apoint; and thairupon, the crymes that war leyed to his charge sall ather be peremptorlie absolved or condemned.

"Then, schortlie, till end my Declaration, I mynd nocht to cut away anie libertie granted be God to his Kirk: I acclame nocht to my selff to be Judge of Doctrine in Relligion, salvation, heresies, or trew interpretation of Scripture: I allow na Bischopes according to the traditiones of men, or inventionnes of the Pape, but onlie according to God's Word, nocht to tyranise ower his breithring, or to do anie thing of him selff, but with the advyse of his haill dioceise, or at least with the wysest number of tham to serve him for a counsall; and to do na thing him alean,[4] except the teatching of the Word, ministration of the Sacraments, and votting in Parliament and Counsall. Finalie, I say, his office is, *solum ἐπισκοπεῖν ad vitam*, haiffing thairfor sum prelation and dignitie above his breithring, as was in the Primitive Kirk. My intention is nocht to discharge anie Jurisdiction in the Kirk that is conform to God's Word, nor to discharge anie Assemblies bot onlie those that salbe haldin by my licence and counsall. My intention is nocht to mell with excommunication; nather acclame I to my selff or my aires,

[1] "Fides hic penes Principem!" Margin of MS. [2] One. [3] Concealing that occasion or opportunity. [4] To do nothing alone or by himself.

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powar in anie thing that is mere Ecclesiasticall and nocht ἀδιαφορον, nor with anie thing that God's Word hes simplie devolvit in the hands of his Ecclesiasticall Kirk. And, to conclud, I confess and acknawlage Chryst Jesus to be Head and Lawgiffar to the sam; and whatsumever persones do attribut to tham selves as Head of the Kirk, and nocht as member, to suspend or alter anie thing that the Word of God hes onlie remitted to tham, that man, I say, commites manifest ydolatrie, and sinnes against the Father in nocht trusting to the words of his Sone; against the Sone in nocht obeying him, and taking his place; against the Holy Ghost, the said Halie Spreit bearing contrarie record to his conscience.

"This mikle for my Declaration, promised at our last Conference, sa far as schortnes of tyme could permit. Wharin whatsoever I haiff affirmed, I will offer me to prove be the Word of God, purest ancients and moderns, neoterics, and be the exemples of the best Reformed Kirks. And whatsoever is omitted for leak of tyme, I remit first to a Convention of godlie and lerned men, and nixt till a Generall Assemblie, that be thay meanes a godlie Polecie being sattelit, we may uniformly arme our selves against the comoun enemie, whom Sathan, els feiling the brathe of God,[1] makes to rage in thir letter dayes. December 7, anno 1585.

"JAMES REX."

Efter the receaving and reiding of this Declaration, the Parliament posting till an end, and all men mikle weired, in a cauld wintar, sa ill eased; and finding na assistance nor confort, bot contrar, bathe in Nobilitie and Breithring, we behoved till content,[2] and tak that might be gottin for the present. And sa, efter exhibition of this Supplication following, the meiting dissolved:

THE COMMISSIONER OF THE KIRK'S SUPPLICATION, GIFFEN IN EFTER THE RECEATT OF THE FORMER DECLARATION.

"SIR, Let it please your Hienes, we haiff sein and considderit

[1] Already feeling the breath or inspiration of God. [2] To be contented.

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your Majestie's Declaration and interpretation upon the mentioned Actes of Parliament. We praise God, as it becometh us, for your Majestie's judgment and knawlage. Nochtwithstanding, we wald maist humblie crave that in this weghtie cause concerning the establisment of a perfyt Polecie and stat of Government in the Kirk, to stand to all ages and posterities to cum, that the mater might be mair deiplie and digestlie considderit, be Conference of the maist lerned and godlie of your Hienes realme, and giff neid be, with consultation of the best Reformed Kirks in uther countries, that thairefter your Majestie, with advyse of your Esteats, may establishe a perfyt and settelit law in Parliament. And, in the mean tyme, or at lest to the nixt Parliament, your Hienes will grant us libertie and freidome to hauld our ordinarie Assemblies, and use sic discipline as we war in use of befor thir leat Actes, for government of the Ecclesiasticall effeares, concerning the quhilk we salbe at all tymes readie to giff an accompt to God, your Majestie, and guid Counsall; if we do anie thing besyds our dewtie, or to perturbe the Comoun-wealthe, sa far as lyes in us. And in this mean tyme, that your Majestie will grant to restore all Ministers, Maisters of Scholles and Collages, to thair rowmes and possessiones: And specialie, that our breithring, Mr[s] Jhone Howisone and Wilyeam Watsone, be delyverit out of warde, and that we be nocht troublet in the mean tyme; to suspend and stay all execution of the lait maid Actes of Parliament, mentioned sa oft against us: And that the Bischopes use na thing bot that quhilk they war in use of befor the making of the forsaids Actes, and perturbe nocht the Kirk nor Assemblies."

M.D.LXXXVI.

That wintar my uncle spent in Glasgw, being ernestlie intreated to visit that Collage, quhilk was his eldest bern; and I was occupied, first, in transporting of my wyff from the Southe to the Northe, whar hir father was in Montrose. Thairefter, leaving hir ther, I was occupied in Edinbruche and uther places about the Collage effeares; in getting the leiving and ordour thairof restorit

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and restablished, quhilk the Bischope haid altered and turned from Theologie to Philosophie, *ab equis ad asinos*, and be contentius pley[1] betwix Mr Jhone Robertsone, an of the Maisters wha remeaned behind us, and Mr David Achmoutie, claiming again, efter my departing, the tytle and intromission of Œconomer thairof, was pitifulie rent and confoundit.

Fra the Parliament[2] the pest abated, and began to be stranglie and remarkablie withdrawin, be the mercifull hand of God, sa that Edinbruche was frequented again that wintar; and at the entrie of the spring, all the townes, almost desolat befor, repeipled, and St Androis amangs the rest; to the quhilk Mr Andro and I retourned and enterit in the Collage about the middes of the monethe of Merche. At our entrie we war put in mynd of the Provinciall Assemblie, accustomed to be keipit in the beginning of Apryll, intermitted during the haill twa yeirs of our absence; and understanding that I haid bein Moderator at the last Synod quhilk was keipit, it lay on me to mak the doctrine at the beginning of the Assemblie following. The text and purpose wharof, be my uncle's advyse, I chusit out of the xii. to the Romans, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

The Assemblie being conveined, in the place accustomed, verie frequentlie,[3] and the Bischope placing him selff hard besyde me that teatched, with a grait pontificalitie and big countenance, as he braggit he was in his awin citie, and haid the King his maister's favour, he neidit to fear no man; efter incalling of the nam of God, entring in the doctrine, efter the deduction and opening upe of the text, I intreated, First, the groundes and poincts of the trew discipline, confirming the sam be cleir warrands of Scripture: Thairefter refuted the contrarie corruptiones, namlie, of the humane and deivillishe bischoprik: Thridlie, was discoursit the maner of planting and settling with maist profitable, comlie, and confortable possession of the right and trew discipline within the Kirk of Scotland, untill these twa or thrie yeirs last bypast: Fourtlie, it was deducit and declarit throwout the haill ages of the Kirk, sen the planting thairof be the Apostles, whow that the presuming and swalling of the cheiff

[1] Litigation, contention. [2] From the period the Parliament ended. [3] Numerously.

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corrupt members, be avarice and ambition, haid vitiat and wrakit[1] the esteat of the Kirk from tym to tym, bringing in sectes, schismes, heresies, and all kynd of corruption, bathe in doctrine and maners: And, last, coming in particular to our awin Kirk of Scotland, I turned to the Bischope, sitting at my elbow, and directing my speitche to him personalie, I recompted to him schortlie his lyff, actiones, and proceidings against the Kirk, taking the Assemblie ther to witnes, and his awin conscience befor God, giff he was nocht an evident pruiff and exemple of that doctrine, whom, being a Minister of the Kirk, the dragon haid sa stangit[2] with the poisone and venom of avarice and ambition, that swalling exorbitantlie out of missour, thretned the wrak and destruction of the haill bodie, in cease he war nocht tymouslie and with courage cut of. This particularlie confirmed and cleired, exhortation was direct to the Assemblie, convenit ther, to play the chirurgian for preserving of the body, namlie, seing all meanes of amendiment haid bein lang syne used upon that maist corrupt member and monstruus: And this was done with sic powar of the Spreit and force of utterance as it pleased God to furneise for the wark he haid in hand.

When I haid endit, the Bischope begoud[3] with certean frivolus and forgit questiones and chalenges against me; adding thairunto thretnings that I sould be maid till[4] answer befor his Majestie for my doctrine, offensive against the King and actes of his Hienes Parliament, bot sa dashit and strucken with terror and trembling that he could skarse sitt, to let be[5] stand on his feit. Bot the Assemblie, keiping thair ordour, chusit a Moderator, and thairefter censurit my doctrine, and all in a voice glorified God, and approved the sam, praying God to giff tham grace to byde be[6] that treuthe quhilk haid bein cleirlie and mightelie delyverit to tham out of God's Word, and to endevour to discharge that dewtie wharto they war sa movinglie exhorted. Therefter enterit in proces with the Bischope, wha annes getting out of[7] the Assemblie, wald na wayes giff his presence

[1] Vitiated and wrecked. [2] Stung. [3] Began. [4] To. [5] Not to mention. [6] Abide, stand fast by. [7] Who, if once he got out of.

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thairto againe, alleaging proudlie that it aperteined to him to judge it, and nocht to it to judge him. Bot the treuthe was, he was dashit in conscience, and terrified with the number of gentilmen conveined, that, nochtwithstanding his awin citie and his maister's favour, he seimed to feir everie man he saw. To be schort, the Assemblie proceiding with all gravitie, leasor, and ordour, in end, for manie notorius crymes, troubling of the Kirk, and present malignant contumacie, pronuncit that sentence of excommunication against him; the weght wharof he felt the sarer[1] thairefter, that uphaldin a whyll be the authoritie of man, he proudlie repyned against the sam.

A day or twa efter, he penned an excommunication, and in a bischoplie maner send out a boy with ane or twa of his jakmen,[2] and red the sam in the Kirk, wherby, be his Archiepiscopall authoritie, he excommunicat Mr Andro Melvill, me, and a certean ma[3] of the brethring; quhilk was as mikle thought of, even amangs the peiple, as giff he haid fylled the Kirk.

Then with diligence he directs away to the King a heavie complent, with a large and schrewdlie penned Appellation, the quhilk I answered at lainthe, as was thought maist neidfull for the tyme; and to the quhilk, because it conteines a full declaration of the haill cause and proceiding thairin, with the reasones and warrands thairof, I remit the reidar.

The Sabathe following, the Bischope wald neids tak courage, and nochtwithstanding his suspending from pretching of auld be the Generall Assemblie, and now excommunication be the Synodall, yit he wald to the pulpit and preatche. But being com to the Kirk, and the bell roung, and he ready to go to pulpit, an comes and telles him, (upon what mynd I knaw nocht,) that a number of gentilmen, with ceartean citiciners, war conveined within the New Collage, of purpose to tak him out of the pulpit and hang him! Wharat, calling for his jakmen and frinds to byde about him, he reased a grait tumult in the Kirk, and for feir could nocht byd in the Kirk, but

[1] Sorer, more severely. [2] Hired and armed retainers. [3] A certain number more.

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tuk him to the stiple;[1] out of the quhilk, be the bailyies, accompanied with all his favorars and freinds, skarslie could he be drawin to be convoyed saifflie to his awin Castell; but being halff against his will ruggit[2] out, and halff borne and careit away, sic as was neirest him all the way war lyk to burst for stink! And it was reported for veritie to me, be manie honest men that saw it with their eis, that a heare[3] brak out amangs the multitude in the middes of the comoun Hie-gett and streit,[4] and ran befor tham toward the Castell, and down throw the Northe-gett. This the vulgar callit the Bischope's Witche.[5] Upon this he reased and gaiff out, yea wrot to the King maist fals and malitius sklanders on my uncle and me; alleaging that I haid posted a day or twa befor athort[6] the countrey to cause the gentlemen convein against him, and that Maister Andro haid tham convenit in the Collage of purpose to tak his lyff: When the treuthe was, that immediatlie efter the ending of the Assemblie, a heavie feat of the tertian[7] overtuk me, that causit me keipe my hous twa dayes befor that Sabathe; and that sam morning it seased sa on me that I swined and lay dead,[8] till, by the grait and pitifull cryes of my wyff, the nibours cam in for hir helpe and comfort; quhilk convicted him of a malitius lie. And as to Maister Andro, the treuthe was, that the Lard of Lundy, haifand a speciall earand with his brother-in-law, Pitmillie, cam to St Androis with certean frinds, and about the last bell ged[9] in to the Collage to confer with Mr Andro, and haiff exerceise of the Word ther, because he wald nocht heir an excommunicat man pretche: The quhilk the guid peiple of the town perceaving, left the Kirk and drew tham to the Collage; quhilk was all that was in that mater, upon the part of Mr Andro; wha, albeit he hated his wickednes, yit loved the saull and

[1] Betook himself to the steeple of the church. [2] Dragged. [3] A hare. [4] High-road and street. [5] The Archbishop was said to have consulted with witches; and it was popularly considered that witches, when hard pressed, frequently assumed the form of a hare, in order the more swiftly to make their escape from their pursuers. [6] Across, athwart. [7] A severe fit of the tertian fever and ague. [8] Swooned away and lay insensible, as if dead. [9] Went.

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bodie of him better nor him selff, the quhilk he wald never haid destroyed, bot, if it war possible, be all guid meanes win to God.

The King, at this mater, was graitlie incensed; and knawing that a Generall Assemblie was to be in Edinburgh in the monethe of May following, travelit maist diligentlie and ernestlie with courteours, officiars, Nobilitie, and Ministerie, to haiff that sentence anulled, and his Bischope restored and relaxed. And with fellon grait[1] bissines, and mikle ado maid at the Assemblie, at last skarslie be a few number of ma vottes, threw out this conclusion, That the Bischope sould be halding and reput in the sam cais and condition that he was in befor the haulding of the Synod of St Androis, without prejudice, dicerning or judging anie thing of the proceidings, proces, or sentence of the said Synod. Wherin, to the grait greiff of the godlie and zelus upright hartes, was first espyed what the feir and flatterie of Court could work in a Kirk, amangs a multitud of weak and inconsiderat breithring.

Na intimationes from pulpit was maid of this sentence, but with all speid a proclamation with sound of trumpet was maid thairupon. And thairefter Mr Andro and I called befor the King, and efter admitting to his gratius presence in his Cabbinet, and kissing of his Hienes' hand, yit Mr Andro was commandit to ward in the place whar he was born, during the King's will; and I, because I was seik of the tertian fever, send hame to the Collage. And the Bischope ordeanit, by his preatching in the pulpit, to teatche publict lessones in Latin within the Auld Collage scholl, and the haill Universitie commandit to frequent the saming. Sathan mightelie stryving thairby to hauld upe the banner against the kingdome of Jesus Chryst.

Thus, with patience, parting from Edinbruche, Mr Andro to his ward, and I, withe his directiones, entering againe to that lang interrupted and almost ruyned wark of the Collage, the Bischope to his teatching and pretching in pulpit and schooles; he triumphing, and we almaist dejected, thus remeaned all that simmer. Yit, in

[1] Very great.

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the mean tyme, under grait weaknes, befor the warld, God was working strongelie; wha furnesing sum helthe and courage to me on the ane part, and graitter desyre of knawlage and hallines in the hartes of the haill heirars of the Universitie, maid our auditorie and schooles to be frequented againe. I began till allure the auditor[1] [with] a maist pleasand and fruitfull purpose, to wit, the Historie of the Byble, with the twa lightes for cleiring thairof, Geographie and Chronologie, and intermelling[2] thairwithe, in thair ages as they fell out, the cheiff poincts of the Greik and Latine storie; bot, namlie, myndfull of the wark of Chryst: Everie uther day[3] I teatched the Epistle to Timothe, intreatting, as I could, of the discipline, and namlie insisting on the contraverted questionnes, bringing in all the Bischopes reasones, and refuting tham, and establissing the treuthe to my uttermaist. These disputes, at the desyre of our students, for thair memorie in the efter noone houres, I dytted[4] to tham.

Bot skantlie haid I bein a monethe thus wayes exerceised, to my grait confort, and haldin in of sum spunk[5] of lyff in the Collage and cause of Chryst, when the devill devyses a distraction. The Collage haid a takisman[6] of a Kirk of thars, named Jhone Yrewing,[7] wha finding his takes[8] draw to an end, and knowing that he could nocht gett tham renewed bot be moyen[9] of Court, dresses him to attend thairon; namlie, perceaving the King to be giffen to halkin and hounting,[10] wherin he was expert, he employes his service officiouslie, sa that he becomes a man of credit; and seing Mr Androes cease to stand sa, makes his sutt that he sould nocht be receivit till his tak was renewit: And yit, that he might haiff the turn done fearlie,[11] causses the King to wrait for me to come to him with diligence; and when I haid come twyse or thryse, na thing was meined[12] to me of that mater be the King, bot onlie be his Maister Haker.[13]

[1] Auditory. [2] Intermingling. [3] Each alternate day. [4] Dictated. [5] Spark. [6] Tenant, one who held a lease. [7] Irving. [8] Tacks, leases. [9] Influence. [10] Hawking and hunting, sports of which King James was passionately fond. [11] Fairly, plausibly. [12] Complained. [13] Master Falconer.

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This wayes being distracted, the Universitie, wanting the profit of Mr Andro and the small thing I could do, also sendes an ernest supplication directed with the Dean of Facultie and a maister of everie Collage to his Majestie, schawing the grait los of Mr Androes travelles and lerning amangs them; as also whow I was distracted fra my charge, humblie beseikand his Hienes to releive Mr Andro from ward, and restore him to his teatching and office in the Collage, quhilk was sa profitable for the Kirk and Comounweill, and honourable for his Majestie's esteat and realme.

The King, moved with this commission and supplication of the Universitie, promises to tak ordour with that mater and satisfie the Universitie, provyding the Bischope might be in quyetnes and reverendlie hard and usit, wherof Mr Andro making him sure, he sould be frie. Wherupon I was directed to Mr Andro, and retourned answer, that as he haid ever behavit him selff befor, sa he sould do, troubling na man, bot attending on the discharge of his calling. Nochtwithstanding the moyen of the Maister Haker prevealed, and maid all our exerceises to veak[1] except now and then for a monethe, and cost me neir a couple of hounder mylles ryding; till at last, about the beginning of August, I was directed ower to convoy my uncle to his Majestie, wha, coming to Falkland to his Hienes, was, be the convoy of the Maister of Gray, brought to his Majestie, and efter lang and fear[2] conference, was receavit in favour and send hame to the Collage, bot sa that upon the King's fathfull promise to better the Collage twyse sa mikle, the Maister Haker's tak was subscryvit.

Therefter, in the monethe of September, accompanied with my fathfull frind and companion, Mr Robert Dury, I tuk jorney to Berwik to bring hame my sone Ephraim, on whome befor I haid skarslie lasor to think; and thanking that godlie, guid, courteus lady,[3] and all our frinds ther, we retourned the neirest way be the Ferrie of Northe Berwik, passing the quhilk I was in the graittest perplexitie of ane that ever I was in my tyme befor, and haid the

[1] To remain vacant. Lat. *vacare*. [2] Fair. [3] Lady Widdrington.

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maist suddan and confortable releiff of my guid and gratius God and Father, to whase honour, as in all, I man record it. We schippit in weill unadvysedlie,[1] because the day was verie feare, in a mikle coll-bott,[2] wherin ther was bot a auld man and twa young boyes, we haiffing twa horses, a boy, the nurise, an Einglis woman, a souldier's wyff of Berwik, wha haid a desyre to com with the bern in Scotland, and whom I could nocht refuse, bathe because of hir kyndlie offer, and the bern was sa browdin upon[3] hir, that without danger he could nocht be speaned[4] from hir. We hoised seall[5] with a lytle pirhe of est wind,[6] and lainshed furthe till almaist the thrid of the passage was past, and then it fell down dead calme. For rowing, nather was ther eares meit nor handes,[7] the boott was sa heavie, the man auld, and the boyes young. In this mean tyme, the honest woman becomes sa seik, with sic extremitie and preas of vomiting first, therefter with swinings,[8] that it was pitifull to behauld. Withe hir working, the barn wackens,[9] and becomes extream seik, being nan bot my selff to curie[10] tham, for Mr Robert was rowing. This dreing[11] for the space of thrie houres, in end I becam dead seik my selff, sa that then it becam a maist pitifull and lamentable spectakle, to sie a woman, a stranger, an honest man's wyff com fra ham to pleasour me, to be with extream pres apeirand everie minut to giff upe the ghost; an infant of thrie halff yeirs auld spreauling in the awin excrements, and the father, partlie for feir and cair of mynd, and partlie for sear seiknes, lifting upe pitifull hands and eis to the heavines, voide of all erdlie[12] confort or helpe of man! Now, that quhilk maid our esteat almaist disperat was, if the calme remeanit, the woman could nocht haiff indurit, bot, but dout,[13] haid died, the extreamitie of hir pean and swining was sik,[14] and being sa far fra land in a halff of the night with that quhilk rested of the day, nocht past thrie houres, we could nocht haiff rowed to land, if anie drow[15] haid rissen; nather

[1] We embarked most unadvisedly. [2] A large coal boat. [3] Doatingly fond of. [4] Weaned. [5] Hoisted sail. [6] Light breeze of east wind. [7] Neither were the oars nor hands meet, or suitable. [8] Swooning, fainting fit. [9] The child awakes. [10] Take care of. [11] Suffering, enduring. [12] Earthly. [13] But without doubt. [14] The extremity of her pain and swoooning were such. [15] Sudden squall.

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was ther handes to takle the sealles,[1] nor was the grathe haill and freshe to byd the wound.[2] And thairwith, be hir tumbling and yeawing,[3] the mast schouk sa louse, that Mr Robert (the auld man being dammist and machles[4]) haid mikle ado to fasten the sam; sa that na releiff being bot in the sweit mercie and helpe of our God, my hart maist urgentlie importuned him; and hoping patientlie, (for everie houre was mair nor the haill tyme of our banisment,) at last the Lord luiked mercifullie on, and send, about the sune going to, a thik ear[5] from the South-east, sa that, getting on the seall ther was upon hir, within an houre and a halff, quhilk was strange to our consideration, na wound blawing, we arryved within the Alie,[6] and efter a maist weirisome and sear[7] day, gat a confortable night's ludging with a godlie lady in Carmury.

[I twitched befor, the sermon that James Gipsone,[8] Minister of Pencatland, maid in the pulpit of Edinbruche, at the incoming of the Lords, and taking of Sterling. Thairin, as he was thought to be scharpe against the Subscryving Brethering, so was he judgit vehement and over peremptorie against the King, whom he threatned with the judgments of Jeroboam, in these words, or verey neir: "That if he persisted in perverting the established Discipline of the Kirk, and persecuting of God's faithfull servants, his posteritie should be cutt aff, and he should be the last of his race!" The King caussed seik him lang; and at last, by some of his Gward, apprehendit him and put him in prisone; and at the Generall Assemblie, hauldin at Edinbruche in the moneth of October, travelit sa that by maniest vottes he was condemnit as rasche in application, and over particular and sair against the King; and sa removit from his ministerie whar he servit. Yit could he by na meanes be moved to call bak[9] or deny his doctrine, unles he should lie against that warrand both of the Word and Spirit wharby he haid spoken, &c.[10]]

[1] Tackle the sails. [2] Neither was the tackling whole and fresh enough to stand the wind. [3] *Yawing*, rolling, or heeling with the ground-swell. [4] Feeble, void of might or strength. [5] About sun-set, a thick fog or mist. [6] No wind blowing, we arrived within the harbour of Elie, "in the East-nuik of Fife." [7] Tedious and sore, or severe. [8] Gibson. [9] Revoke or recal. [10] On margin of MS.

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That wintar it pleased God to repear[1] againe the temple of his awin Jerusalem, opening the mouthe of his servant Mr Andro again with sic grace and powar, that all began in ernest to be Theologes; the treuthe bathe concerning doctrine and discipline to be narowlier luiked unto, and the Bischopes fear schawes, and scheddowes,[2] to vanishe and wear away. Then, also, God opened the mouthe of Mr Robert Bruce at a speciall remarkable tyme within the Collage. For all was justlie casten in dout wither they sould heir the Bischopes pretching, being bathe suspendit and excommunicat; yit manie yeildit for feir and favour of the man's smothe and pleasand utterance; bot the best, bathe of the Town and Universitie, could nocht of conscience heir him, and therfor resorted verie frequentlie[3] to the Collage everie Sabothe, and fand of Mr Andro and Mr Robert Bruce exceiding grait edification and confort. As for me, I was then apointed be the Presbyterie to teatche at Anstruther everie Sabothe, and was in-calling[4] to that ministerie, wherin I enterit the simmer following, about the sam age that the Preistes, and Chryst him selff, enterit and began thair ministerie. Anent the occasion, maner, and effects wharof, reid in beginning of this book, inregistrat ther at lynthe, and of purpose. The quhilk narration, in this discourse of my lyff, and maist mercifull and gratius working of God with me, an unworthie wratche, comes in in this place ordourlie.

Bot the memorie of my grait fascherie[5] and vexation wherin I was occupied in the simmer of the 1586 yeir, haid almost maid me forget a confortable benefit of God bestowit on me in the middes thairof; to wit, of a pleasand second sone, in this respect contrare to the uther, that the first was gottin in Scotland, and born in England; the second, gottin at London, was born in St Androis the nynt day of July. Be occasion I haid the Erle of Mar to my gossope,[6] whom I rememberit of his dewtie; bot in love and rememberance of him whom it was nocht thair part to let ly in ward from his calling, I called the bern Andro.

[1] Repair. [2] Fair shows and shadows. [3] Resorted in considerable numbers. [4] Called. [5] Trouble. [6] Godfather or sponsor.

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M.D.LXXXVII.

At the Generall Assemblie in the spring tyme of the yeir 1587, Mr Andro moved the Kirk of Edinbruche to desyre the Assemblie to cause Mr Robert Bruce pretche, and efter to sutt him att the said Assemblie to be thair pastor, in the place of Mr James Lawsone, and the said Assemblie to grant and appoinct him thairto: bot whowbeit that he and I bathe delt ernestlie with Mr Robert, he wald nocht assent thairto, but contented to teatche ther, and tak a sey[1] what God wald work with him; the quhilk he did, with the notable fruict that followed.

That yeir, in the monethe of May, Guiliaum Salust, S[eignour] du Bartas, cam in Scotland to sie the King, of whome he was receavit according to his worthines, interteined honourablie, and liberalie propyned[2] and dimissed in the hervest, to his Majestie's grait praise, sa lange as the French toung is used and understuid in the warld.

About the end of Junie, his Majestie cam to St Androis, and brought with him the said Du Bartas, and coming first without anie warning to the New Collage, he calles for Mr Andro, saying he was com with that gentleman to haiff a Lessone. Mr Andro answeres, That he haid teatched his ordinar that day in the fornoone. "That is all ane," sayes the King, "I mon haiff[3] a lessone, and be heir within an houre for that effect." And, indeid, within les nor an houre, his Majestie was in the scholl, and the haill Universitie convenit with him; befor whom Mr Andro *ex tempore* intreated maist cleirlie and mightelie of the right government of Chryst, and in effect refuted the haill Actes of Parliament maid against the discipline thairof, to the grait instruction and confort of his auditor, except the King allean,[4] wha was verie angrie all that night.

Upon the morn the Bischope haid bathe a prepared lessone and feast maid for the King. His lessone was a tichted upe[5] abregment of all he haid tetched[6] the yeir bypast, namlie, anent the corrupt groundes quhilk he haid put in the King's head, contrarie to

[1] Trial. [2] Presented with gifts. [3] Must have. [4] Alone.
[5] A close (literally a tightened up) summary or abridgment. [6] Taught.

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the trew discipline. To the quhilk lessone Mr Andro went, contrar to his custome, and withe his awin pen market[1] all his fals grounds and reasones, and, without farder, caussit ring his bell at twa efternoone the sam day; wharof the King heiring, he send to Mr Andro, desyring him to be moderat, and haiff regard to his presence, utherwayes he wald discharge him. He answered couragiouslie, that his Majestie's ear and tender breist was pitifullie and dangeruslie filled with errours and untreuthes be that wicked man, the quhilk he could nocht suffer to pas, and bruik a lyff, utherwayes, except the stopping of the breathe of God's mouthe, and prejudging of his treuthe, he sould behaiff him selff maist moderatlie and reverentlie to his Majestie, in all respects. The King send againe to him and me, desyring it sould be sa, and schawin that he wald haiff his four hours[2] in the Collage, and drink with Mr Andro. Sa coming to that lessone with the Bischope, wha requysted the King for leive to mak answer instantlie, in cais anie thing war spoken against his doctrine. Bot ther Mr Andro, making him as thouche he haid na thing to do but with the Papist, brings out thair works, and reids out of tham all the Bischopes grounds and reasones. The quhilk, when he haid at lainthe and maist cleirlie schawin to be plean Papistrie, then he settes against the sam with all his mean,[3] and with invincible force of reasone, from cleir grounds of Scripture, with a mightie parrhesie and fluide of eloquence, he dinges tham sa down, that the Bischope was dasht and strukken als dum as the stok he satt upon! Efter the lessone, the King, in his mother toung, maid sum distingoes,[4] and discoursit a whyll thairon, and gaiff certean injunctiones to the Universitie for reverencing and obeying of his Bischope; wha, fra that day furthe, began to tyre of his teatching, and fall mair and mair in disgrace and confusion. The King, with Monsieur du Bartas, cam to the Collage Hall, wher I causit prepear, and haiff in readines a banquet of wat and dry confectiones, with all sortes of wyne, wharat his Majestie camped[5] verie

[1] Marked, noted. [2] His refreshment or repast at four o'clock. [3] Might.
[4] Distinctions. [5] Caroused, *kemped*, or drank deep.

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mirrelie a guid whyll, and thairefter went to his hors. Bot Monsieur du Bartas taried behind and conferrit with my uncle and me a wholl houre, and syne followed efter the King; wha inquyring of him that night, as ane tauld me, "What was his judgment of the twa he haid herd in St Androis?" He answeret the King, "That they war bathe lerned men, bot the Bischope's war cunned,[1] and prepared maters, and Mr Andro haid a grait reddie store of all kynd of lerning within him; and by[2] that, Mr Andro his spreit and courage was far above the other." The quhilk judgment the King approved.

That Witsonday I removit my wyff and famelie from St Androis to Anstruther, quhilk was the twolt tyme I haid flitted sen my mariage in the space of four yeir; wherby I was rememberit this lyff to be but a sojourning in a wildernes, and was sett to considder mair neirlie the historie of the peiple of God in thair jorney from Egypt to the Promist Land, &c.

At my first coming to Anstruther ther fell out a heavie accident, quhilk vexit my mynd mikle at the first, bot drew me mikle neirar my God, and teatched me what it was to haiff a cear of a flok. Ane of our creares[3] retourning from Eingland was unbesett be an Einglis pirat, pilled,[4] and a verie guid honest man of Anstruther slean thairin. The quhilk lown[5] coming pertlie to the verie roade of Pittenweim, spuilzied[6] a schipe lying thairin, and misusit the men thairof. This wrang could nocht be suffered be our men, lest they sould be maid a comoun prey to sic limmers.[7] Thairfor, purchassing a commissioun, they riget to a propre flie-boot,[8] and everie man incuraging uther, maid almaist the haill honest and best men in all the town to go in hir to the sie. This was a grait vexation and greiff to my hart, to sie at my first entres the best part of my flok ventured upon a pak of pirates, wharof the smallest member of the meinest was mair in valour[9] then a schipfull of tham. And yit

[1] Conned, prepared beforehand. [2] Besides, over and above, *forbye*. [3] A sort of lighter or barque with one mast. [4] Pillaged. [5] *Loon*, a worthless fellow, a rascal. [6] Spoiled, plundered. [7] Thieves, scoundrels. [8] Rigged out a proper fly-boat, *i. e.* a swift-sailing vessel. [9] Worth. Lat. *valor*.

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I durst nocht stay sum les nor I steyed all,[1] and all I durst nocht, bathe for the dangerus preparative,[2] and the frinds of the honest man wha was slean, and of tham that war abbusit, wha war manie, in sic sort as the mater concerned the haill. Bot my God knawes what a sear hart they left behind when they parted out of my sight, or rather what a hart they caried with them, leiving a bouk behind. I nather eat, drank, nor sleiped, bot be constraint of nature, my thought and cair alwayes being upon tham, and commending tham to God, till aught or ten dayes war endit, and they in sight retourning, with all guid takens of joy, flagges, streamers, and enseingyie displayit, whom with grait joy we receavit, and went togidder to the Kirk, and praised God.

The Captean for the tyme, a godlie, wyse, and stout man, recompted to me trewlie ther haill proceiding: That they meiting with thair Admirall, a grait schipe of St Androis, weill riget out be the Burrowes, being fyne of seale,[3] went befor hir all the way, and maid everie schipe they forgatherit with, of whatsumever nation, to strik and do homage to the King of Scotland, schawing tham for what cause they war riget furthe, and inquyring of knaves and pirats. At last, they meit with a proude, stiff Einglisman, wha refuises to do reverence; thairfor the Captean, thinking it was a lown, commands to giff tham his nose-piece,[4] the quhilk delashit[5] lightes on the tye of the Einglisman's mean seale,[6] and down it comes; then he yeilds, being but a merchant. Bot ther was the mercifull providence of God, in steying a grait piece of the Einglisman lying out hir starn in readines to be schot, quhilk if it haid lichted amang our folks, being manie in litle roum, without fence, wald haiff crewalie demeaned tham all: But God directing that first schot preserved tham. From them they approtched to the schore at Suffolk, and findes be Providence the lown, wha haid newlings[7] takin a crear of our awin town, and was spuleing[8] hir. Whowsone they spy ane coming war-lyk, the lownes leaves thair pryse,[9] and rines

[1] I dared not prevent some, unless I had prevented all of them. [2] Example. [3] A fast sailer. [4] A piece of ordnance in the fore-part of the ship. [5] Which being discharged. [6] Mainsail. [7] Newly. [8] Plundering. [9] Prize.

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thair schipe on land. Our flie-boot efter, and almaist was on land with tham; yit steying hard be, they delaishe[1] thair ordinance at the lownes, and a nomber going a-land persewes and takes a halff a dissone of tham, and putes tham abord in ther boot. The gentle men of the countrey and townes besyde, heiring the noyes of schoting, gathers with hast, supposing the Spainyard haid landit, and apprehending a number of the lownes in our men's handes, desyrit to knaw the mater. The quhilk, when the Justices of Peace understude, and saw the King of Scotland's armes, with twa galland schippes in war-lyk maner, yeildit and gaiff reverence thairto, suffering our folks to tak with tham thair prisoners and pirat's schipe, quhilk they brought hame with tham, with halff a dissone of the lownes; wharof twa war hangit on our Pier-end, the rest in St Androis; with na hurt at all to anie of our folks, wha ever sen syne hes bein frie from Einglis pirates. All praise to God for ever. Amen.

[This yeir, ryding upe to Carnbie, in companie with the Lard of Balfour and his brother, to desing the manse and gleib of the Kirk to Mr Andro Hounter, minister, upon an kitle hat ridden hors, approtching to a strype weill how of sevin or aught feet brod, I put at the hors to cause him lope[2] it; and because he was evill-mouthed and hat ridden, I held his head streat, wharat he repyning in the middes of his lope, cust down his head, sa that all the seddle-gear braking, he cust me ower on the uther bank with the sedle betwix my legges, and his heid going down, he lopes the supersault,[3] and his buttokes lightes hard besyd me, with all his four feit to the lift![4] The lyk wharof was never hard in the judgment of the behaulders, and all that hathe considderit it sen syne, without anie hurt to man or beist, except the sadle-grathe braking.]

That yeir, about the end of July and beginning of August, was haldin the first Parliament be the King efter his perfyt age of twentie and a[5] yeirs: Wherin, except the ratefication of the Actes maid of befor for establishing of the trew Relligion and abolishing

[1] Discharge. [2] Leap. [3] Casts a somerset. [4] Sky, firmament. [5] One.

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of Papistrie, na guid was done for the Kirk; bot, be the contrar, sche was spuilyet be a plane law of the ane halff of her patrimonie, to wit, of the temporall landes of all her benefices be that Act of Annexation: Her ei in the mean tyme blearit with twa fear[1] promises; ane of abolishing of all Bischopries and Prelacies, and yit the Bischope of St Androis was a speciall doar thairin, (and was the last publict act that ever he was at;) ane uther, that the haill teinds sould be peaceablie put in the Kirk's possession. Bot of God's just judgment, that annexation of the temporalitie hes done the King alsmikle guid as sic promises of the Kirk's Spiritualitie.

The sam yeir, in the hervest, brak upe a grait pest[2] in Leithe, and continowit all that wintar, quhilk strak a grait terrour in Edinbruche and all the cost syde. Be the occasion wharof we began the exerceise of daylie doctrine and prayers in our Kirk, quhilk continowes to this day with grait profit and confort, bathe of the teitchars and heirars.

[This wintar I past ower to Dalkethe, and obteined the gift of the stipend of Anstruther Waster, whar God, be sum helpe of me, an unworthie instrument, called Mr James Nicolsone from the Court to the Ministerie; and in retourning, of mere Providence, was the occasion of the mariage of Patrik Forbes of Cors with Lucres[3] Spence, sistar to the Lard of Wilmerston,[4] maried in Anstruther in the simmer following.]

M.D.LXXXVIII.

That wintar the King was occupied in commenting of the Apocalypse, and in setting out of sermontes thairupon against the Papists and Spainyarts: And yit, by a piece of grait owersight, the Papists practeised never mair bisselie in this land, and maid graitter preparation for receaving of the Spainyarts nor[5] that yeir. For a lang tyme the newes of a Spanishe navie and armie[6] haid

[1] Fair. [2] Pestilence, plague. [3] Lucrece, Lucretia. [4] Wormiston. [5] Than. [6] The "Invincible Armada," which, through the merciful Providence of God, was wonderfully dispersed and destroyed so shortly afterwards.

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bein blasit abrode; and about the Lambes tyde of the 1558, this Yland haid fund a feirfull effect thairof, to the utter subversion bathe of Kirk and Polecie, giff God haid nocht wounderfullie watched ower the sam, and mightelie fauchten and defeat that armie be his souldiours, the elements, quhilk he maid all four maist fercelie to afflict tham till almost utter consumption. Terrible was the feir persing war[1] the pretchings, ernest, zealus, and fervent war the prayers, sounding war the siches and sobbes, and abounding was the teares at that Fast and Generall Assemblie keipit at Edinbruche, when the newes war crediblie tauld, sum tymes of thair landing at Dumbar, sum tymes at St Androis, and in Tay, and now and then at Aberdein and Cromertie first: And in verie deid, as we knew certeanlie soone efter, the Lord of Armies, wha ryddes upon the winges of the wounds,[2] the Keipar of his awin Israell, was in the mean tyme convoying that monstruus navie about our costes, and directing thair hulkes and galiates to the ylands, rokkes, and sandes, wharupon he haid destinat thair wrak and destruction. For within twa or thrie monethe thairefter, earlie in the morning, be brak of day, ane of our bailyies cam to my bedsyde, saying, (but nocht with fray,[3]) "I haiff to tell yow newes, Sir. Ther is arryvit within our herbrie this morning a schipe full of Spainyarts, bot nocht to giff mercie bot to ask!" And sa schawes me that the Commanders haid landit, and he haid commandit tham to thair schipe againe till the Magistrates of the town haid advysit, and the Spainyarts haid humblie obeyit: Therfor desyrit me to ryse and heir thair petition with tham. Upe I got with diligence, and assembling the honest men of the town, cam to the Tolbuthe; and efter consultation taken to heir tham, and what answer to mak, ther presentes us a verie reverend man of big stature, and grave and stout countenance, grey-heared, and verie humble lyk, wha, efter mikle and verie law courtęssie, bowing down with his face neir the ground, and twitching my scho[4] with his hand, began his harang in the Spanise toung, wharof I understud the substance; and being about

[1] Piercing were. [2] Winds. [3] Affright, terror. [4] Touching my shoe.

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to answer in Latine, he haiffing onlie a young man with him to be his interpreter, began and tauld ower againe to us in guid Einglis. The sum was, that King Philipe, his maister, haid riget out a navie and armie to land in Eingland for just causes to be advengit of manie intolerable wrangs quhilk he haid receavit of that nation; but God for ther sinnes haid bein against thame, and be storme of wather haid dryven the navie by the cost[1] of Eingland, and him with a certean of Capteanes, being the Generall of twentie hulks, upon an yll of Scotland, called the Fear Yll,[2] wher they maid schipewrak, and whar sa monie as haid eschapit the merciles sies and rokes, haid mair nor sax or sevin ouks suffred grait hunger and cauld, till conducing that bark out of Orkney, they war com hither as to thair speciall frinds and confederats to kiss the King's Majestie's hands of Scotland, (and thairwith bekkit[3] even to the yeard,) and to find releiff and comfort thairby to him selff, these gentilmen Capteanes, and the poore souldarts, whase condition was for the present maist miserable and pitifull.

I answerit this mikle, in soum:[4] That whowbeit nather our frindschipe, quhilk could nocht be grait, seing ther King and they war frinds to the graitest enemie of Chryst, the Pape of Rome, and our King and we defyed him, nor yit thair cause against our nibours and speciall frinds of Eingland could procure anie benefit at our hands for thair releiff and confort; nevertheles, they sould knaw be experience, that we war men, and sa moved be human compassione, and Christiannes of better relligion nor they, quhilk sould kythe,[5] in the fruicts and effect, plan contrar to thars. For wheras our peiple resorting amangs tham in peacable and lawfull effeares of merchandise, war violentlie takin and cast in prisone, thair guids and gear confiscat, and thair bodies committed to the crewall flaming fyre for the cause of Relligion, they sould find na thing amangs us bot Christian pitie and warks of mercie and almes, leaving to God to work in thair harts concerning Relligion as it pleased him. This being trewlie reported again to him be his trunshman,[6] with

[1] Past the coast. [2] Fair Isle. [3] Made obeisance. [4] In brief, in sum.
[5] Manifest. [6] Interpreter. Evidently from Fr. *trucheman*.

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grait reverence he gaiff thankes, and said he could nocht mak answer for thair Kirk and the lawes and ordour thairof, onlie for him selff, that ther war divers Scotsmen wha knew him, and to whome he haid schawin courtesie and favour at Calles,[1] and as he supposit, sum of this sam town of Anstruther. Sa schew him that the Bailyies granted him licence with the Capteanes, to go to thair ludging for thair refreschment, bot to nane of thair men to land, till the ower-lord[2] of the town war advertised, and understand the King's Majestie's mynd anent thame. Thus with grait courtessie he departed.

That night, the Lard[3] being advertised, cam, and on the morn, accompanied with a guid nomber of the gentilmen of the countrey round about, gaiff the said Generall and the Capteanes presence, and efter the sam speitches, in effect, as befor, receavit tham in his hous, and interteined tham humeanlie, and sufferit the souldiours to com a-land, and ly all togidder, to the number of threttin score, for the maist part young berdles men, sillie, trauchled,[4] and houngered, to the quhilk a day or twa, keall, pattage, and fische was giffen; for my advyse was conforme to the Prophet Elizeus his to the King of Israel, in Samaria, "Giff tham bread and water," &c. The names of the commanders war Jan Gomes de Medina, Generall of twentie houlkes, Capitan Patricio, Capitan de Legoretto, Capitan de Luffera, Capitan Mauritio, and Seingour Serrano.

Bot verelie all the whyll my hart melted within me for desyre of thankfulnes to God, when I rememberit the prydfull and crewall naturall of they[5] peiple, and whow they wald haiff usit us in ceas they haid landit with thair forces amangs us; and saw the wounderfull wark of God's mercie and justice in making us sie tham, the cheiff commanders of tham to mak sic dewgard[6] and curtessie to pure simen, and thair souldarts[7] so abjectlie to beg almes at our dures[8] and in our streites.

In the mean tyme, they knew nocht of the wrak of the rest, but

[1] Calais. [2] Over-lord or feudal superior. [3] The Laird of Anstruther. [4] Young beardless men, feeble, dragging their limbs after them with debility. [5] These. [6] Salutation, God save you. Fr. *Dieu garde*. [7] Soldiers. [8] Doors.

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supposed that the rest of the armie was saifflie returned, till a[1] day I gat in St Androis in print the wrak of the Galliates[2] in particular, with the names of the principall men, and whow they war usit in Yrland and our Hilands, in Walles, and uther partes of Eingland; the quhilk when I recordit to Jan Gomes, be particular and speciall names, O then he cryed out for greiff, bursted and grat.[3] This Jan Gomes schew grait kyndnes to a schipe of our town, quhilk he fund arrested at Calles at his ham-coming, red to court for hir, and maid grait rus[4] of Scotland to his King, tuk the honest men to his hous, and inquyrit for the Lard of Anstruther, for the Minister, and his host, and send hame manie commendationes. Bot we thanked God with our hartes, that we haid sein tham amangs us in that forme.

That [15]88 yeir was also maist notable for the deathe of Quein Mother of France, Catherin de Medicis, bludie Jezabell to the Sanctes of God, wha then was callit to hir recompence. As also the maist remarkable wark of God's Justice in repeying the twa cheiff executors of that horrible carnage and Massacre of Paris, making, first, King Hendrie to cause his Gard stik the Duc of Guise, under trest, with the Cardinall of Lorean: And syne a Jacobin Frier, of that ordour quhilk the King did maist for, maist treasonablie to stik the King. The Lord working be maist wicked instruments, maist wyslie and justlie! [The Duc and Cardinall war slean in December [15]88; the Quein, for hartsearnes, followit[5] in Januar; and the King was sticked[6] the August following.[7]]

Thus God glorefiet his name maist remarkablie in justice against the graittest enemies of his Kirk, and sweit mercie and favour towards his: for by the continuance of pace in this Yll, the Kirks of France, from almaist a desperat esteat, becam mair and mair to be conforted, betterit, and at last releivit. In the [15]85 and [15]86 yeirs, all the Protestants war chargit af France within sic a day,

[1] One. [2] Galleons. [3] Sobbed and wept. [4] Praise, commendation. [5] Followed her husband, dying of a broken heart. [6] Stabbed. [7] Margin of MS.

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under pean of lyff, lands, guids, and gear; sa that the number of banished in Eingland war sa grait, and the pure of tham so manie, that they war compelled to seik releiff of us for the saming. And to the glorie of God I remember it, in the pure bounds I haid under charge at the first beginning of my ministerie, we gatherit about fyve hounder marks for that effect; [bot few or nan did samikle, as be the smalnes of the soum may appeir.] The soum of the haill collection quhilk the Frenche Kirks gat extendit bot till about ten thowsand marks, as thair acquittances and letters of thanksgiffing beares, quhilk I haiff in custodie, delyverit to me be the Generall Assemblie to translat in Scottes, and set furthe to close the mouthes of invyfull sklanderars, wha gaiff out that that collection was maid for an uther purpose. As also, the collection maid for the town of Geneva, wharfore[1] we gat mair thankes by a Letter of Theodor du Bez, in the name of the Senat and Kirk thairof, nor it was all worthe, readie to be producit.

Nochtwithstanding of the Lord's judgments that yeir upon Papists, yit efter the spreit of the serpent wharwith they are led, altho cut and deadlie woundit in divers partes, nevertheles war ever steiring and menassing. Sa that divers practeisars and trafectars, Jesuistes, Seminarie Preists, and uther emissars of the Antichryst crape in the countrey, and kythed[2] dangerus effects in divers partes, namlie, in the Northe and Southe. And, thairfor, the maist wacryff[3] and cearfull of the breithring, everie an warning and moving uthers, as the custome of the Kirk of Scotland was from the beginning, conveined at Edinbruche in the monethe of Januar the sam yeir, and gaiff in to the King and Counsall the Petitiones following:

THE KIRK'S HUMBLE PETITION TO HIS MAJESTIE AND COUNSALL FOR PREVENTION OF THE DANGERS THREATNED TO THE PROFESSION OF THE TREW RELLIGION WITHIN THIS REALME. JAN. 1588.

"THAT it may pleise his Majestie giff command, bathe to parti-

[1] For which. [2] Produced, manifested. [3] Wakeful, watchful.

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cular Presbyteries, and sic uther ministers, and barrones, and gentilmen, as salbe thought meit, to convein and consult upon the readiest remedies of thir dangers appeirand, sa oft as they sall think expedient, and to report thair opiniones and advyses to his Majestie betwix this and the xx. day of Januar.

"That it may pleise his Hienes to forbeare, in tyme to cum, to interpon his Privie Letters or discharges to the Kirk for steying of thair proceiding with thair censures against the Papists, when as they can nocht be reclaimed be lawfull admonitiones.

"That Commissiones may be directed to sum specialles of his Hienes' Counsall, best affected and of graittest powar to serche, seik, and apprehend and present to justice all Jesuistes and uthers, privat or publict seducers of his Hienes' leiges, and that the saids Commissionars may be instantlie named, and a day apointed to the report of thair diligences in that behalff.

"That sum specialles of the ministerie, assisted with sum weill affected barrones or uther gentilmen, may be authorized with his Hienes' Commission and licence, to pas to everie quarter of this realme; and ther, be meanes that they find meittest, try and exploir what Noble-men, Burrowes, Barrones, and uthers of anie rank or calling, profes the Relligion, and will joyne afauldlie[1] in the defence thairof, and wha will nocht; and that a day be appointed, in lyk maner, for reporting of thair diligence.

"That seing the speciall occasion of the sinister suspitiones conceavit of his Hienes' synceritie in the treuthe, and that inanimates[2] the Papists maist, is his authoritie and service put in the hands of Papists, under whase winges all Jesuistes, and uthers devoted to that superstitioun, findes countenance and confort: That, for remead thairof, it may pleis his Majestie to purge his Hous, Counsall and Sessioun, and to reteire his powar of Lieutenantdrie, Wardanrie, and uther his auctoritie whatsumever, from all and whatsumever persones, avowit or suspected to be Papists; and to let proclamationes be immediatlie directed for publication of his Hienes' guid

[1] Sincerely, without duplicity.

[2] Encourages, inspirits.

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intention and meaning in that behalff, to the confusion of the Papists and thair patrones, and confort of the godlie, offendit, this tyme bygean, with thair lang intolerance and oversight.

"FINIS."

Thir Petitiones presented be us to his Majestie and Counsall war granted, and thairefter meitting, Commissionars war nominat throuchout all the partes of this land, to put in execution the things cravit; wharupon an Act of Counsall and Proclamation past out extant in print. The sam day, it was thought guid that a certean sould be nominat to consult in privat concerning the best and maist reddie way of the said execution, wharof was ten of Noble men, lawers, and burgeses, viz. the Erle of Angus, Guid Archbald, the Erle Mareschall, Mr [of] Glames, Thesaurar, the Lard of Louchleaven, the Clark Register, Mr Jhone Scharpe, Mr Thomas Crag, Mr Jhone Nicolsone, Jhone Jhonestone of Elphistone, and Jhone Adamsone; and ten of the Ministrie, viz. Mr Andro Malvin,[1] Mr Robert Pont, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr David Lindsay, Mr Andro Hay, Mr Thomas Bowchanan, Mr Patrik Galloway, Mr Nicol Dalglas, Mr Andro Mill, and my selff: Wha, meitting the sam day at efter noone, efter lang reasoning and advysment, thought it maist expedient and neidfull, First, that the said execution sould be without deley, in respect of the imminent danger; nixt, that forsamikle as ther war thrie rankes of enemies—the first of cheiff meanteiners of Papists and Papistrie; the second of Jesuists, Seminarie Preists, and Trafectars; the thrid of allowars, receavears, and interteiners of these in thair housses, and partakers of thair purposes and ydolatrie—It was thought best that the first sort sould be chargit to warde; the second apprehendit at unawars[2] and punished; the thride proceidit against conforme to the lawes of the countrey; and being found culpable, to be punished accordinglie. And, last, to the intent that sa weghtie a mater might be solidlie advysit and sett doun in all poincts, the Clark Register, Alexander Hay, Mr Jhone

[1] Melvill.

[2] Suddenly, unaware.

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Scharpe, Mr Thomas Crag, and uthers, war requeisted to tak tyme and panse[1] upon the mater, and everie ane severalie sett down thair judgment in wrait. The quhilk being conferrit togidder, conclusion was taken and reported to his Majestie, wharof proceidit the acts and proclamationes, and commissiones soone efter published in print.

At the sam tyme, in that Convention war apointed certean Commissionars and Breithring to meit everie ouk in Edinbruche for consulting upon maters perteining to the weill of the Kirk in sa dangerus a tyme, viz. Alexander Hay, Clark Register, Mr Jhone Lindsay, Lord of Session, Mr Jhone Scharpe, Mr Thomas Crag, Mr Jhone Skein, Mr Jhone Nicolsone, Advocats, Wilyeam Lytle, Provost of Edinbruche, Jhone Jhonstone, Jhone Adamsone, Hendrie Charters, Burgesses of Edinbruche, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr David Lindsay, and Mr Robert Pont, Ministers.

Also the King's Ministers, with sum uther breither, war apointed to travell with his Majestie for a proclamation to be sett furthe, to let all his subjects understand his Hienes' zeall and cair for repurging of the land of Papistrie, and meantenance of the trew religion: And to desyre his Majestie of new again, now in his perfyt age, to subscryve the Confession of Faithe maid; and renew the charge giffen in his minoritie to all his subjects to subscryve the saming ower again. The quhilk also was obteined and published in print.

It was fordar ordeanit that all Commissionars and Moderators of Presbyteries in all partes sould be cairfull to haiff intelligence of all maters concerning Religion and weill of the Kirk within thair boundes, and to mak advertisement of the saming from tyme to tyme to the forsaid Commissioners apointed ouklie to convein in Edinbruche.

Item, ther was a Generall Assemblie apointed to be hauldin at Edinbruche the saxt of Februar following; and the Provinciall Assemblies in everie schyre to be endit befor the xxiij. of that instant Januar. For the quhilk cause, it was thought necessar that

[1] Reflect, study. Fr. *penser*.

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the Commissioners of Provinces, and everie Minister within thair awin bounds, sould inform all weill-affectioned gentlemen to Relligioun, of the attempts of Papists, and imminent danger thairby, and of the libertie granted to convein be his Majestie and Counsall, wherby they may be moved to tak Commissiones from Synods without feall to keipe the Generall Assemblie, and mak it frequent.[1]

And, last, as concerning Jesuistes, Seminarie Preists, and uthers deceavers of the peiple, it was ordeanit that [at] thair nixt Synods charge sould be giffen to everie Minister to declar tham excommunicat out of pulpit, at thair return immediatlie to thair awin kirks, that the peiple may bewar of thame, and siclyk the companie of sic as favours, interteines tham in thair housses, or hes anie thing to do with thame: And for that effect everie Minister to haiff thair names inrollit. At this Convention my uncle moderat, and I wrot.

That Generall Assemblie in Februar was verie frequent of noble and gentlemen. Thairat the Greives of everie Province and Presbyterie war giffen in, wherby it might be easelie perceavit whow horriblie the land was defyled all throuchout, bot namlie in the Northe and Southe, with Papistrie, Superstitione, blodsched, and all sort of villanie. Upon the quhilk, regrates, grives, complents, and petitiones, war formed and presented to the King and Counsall for punishment and redres, quhilk war ower lang and tedius to be registrat. And the breithring steired upe to wakryffnes[2] and diligence, in watching over thair floks and cairing for the haill Kirk.

For conclusion of this mervelus yeir, I can nocht forget my particular, seing that it is my speciall purpose to recompt the gratius working of my God with me. He corrected me sweitlie in taking from me at the beginning thairof my litle sone Andro; bot recompenced the sam again maist bountifullie, in giffing me another Andro, born that sam yeir, in the monethe of August: Sa the Lord taks, the Lord giffes, blessed be the nam of the Lord for ever!

[1] Well frequented, numerously attended.

[2] Wakefulness.

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The bern was fallon beautifull,[1] loving, and mirrhie, and seimed to be of a fyne sanguine constitution till a quarter efter he was speaned;[2] bot syne, wither be wormes or a hectik consumption, I knaw nocht, bot his fleche and cullor fealed, and be the space of a quarter of yeir consumed and dwyned[3] away, keiping alwayes the sweitest and pleasandest ei that could be in annes heid.[4] I was accustomed to sett him at the end of the table in tyme of denner and supper, as the Egyptiens did the picture of dead,[5] till aequent me thairwith; and yit, when he died, I mervelit at my awin hart that was sa urened[6] and moved with it, sa that yit, when I wrot this, I was nocht frie of the bowdnings of the bowelles of that naturall affection. And if we that ar erdlie[7] wormes can be sa affected to our childring, what a love beares that heavinlie Father to his? He was my first propyne and hansell[8] to heavin. I can nocht forget a strange thing at his deathe. I haid a pear of fyne milk whait dowes,[9] quhilk I fed in the hous: The ane wharof that day of his deathe could nocht be haldin af his cradle, bot stopped from sitting above it, crape in and sitt in under it, and died with him: The uther, at my hamcoming on the morn, as I was washing my hands, cam, lighted at my futt, and pitiuslie crying, "Pipe, pipe, pipe!" ran a litle away from me. Then I called for peyes and beanes[10] to giff it; bot they schew me it wald nocht eatt. I tuk it upe, and put pikles in the mouthe of it, bot it schuk tham out of the throt; and parting from me with a pitifull piping, within twa or thrie houre died also.

I maid on him this EPITAPHE.

A sojournar in London, I thie gat,
At hame, in tyme of trouble, thow was born,
The babbes for beautie thought maist diligat,
Thy beautie seim'd yit farder till adorn.

[1] The child was extremely beautiful. [2] Weaned. [3] Pined. [4] The pleasantest eye that could be in any one's head. [5] Death. [6] Probably troubled, wrung. In the form *urisum*, *urusum*, or *ooriesome*, it is more commonly met with in MSS. [7] Earthly. [8] Present and offering. [9] A pair of fine milk-white pigeons. [10] Pease and beans.

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As Democrit thow first the world did skorn,
For to refraishe the mynd a meakles marrow;[1]
Syn to beweall my wickednes forlorn,
The tears of Heraclit thow seimed to borrow.

I set thie in my sight at evin and morrow,
My hart till humble, acquenting me with deathe:
But, O the love of parents! what a sorrow
Did sease on me, fra th' anes thow lost thy breathe!

Oh! first lyk pleasand floure on erthe thow grew!
Syne dwyn'd to dead, with dowes[2] to heavin thow flew!

This page, if thow be a pater[3] that reids it, thow wilt apardone me. If nocht, suspend thy censure till thow be a father, as said the grave Lacedemonian, Agesilaus.

The ministerie of Mr Robert Bruce was verie steadable[4] and mightie that yeir, and divers yeirs following, maist confortable to the guid and godlie, and maist feirfull to the enemies: Sa that it was sensabilie perceavit that as God haid substitut to Mr Knox, Mr Lowsone; sa haid he provydit Mr Robert to supplie that inleak.[5] The godlie, for his puissant and maist moving doctrine, lovit him; the warldlings, for his parentage and place, reverenced him; and the enemies, for bathe, stude in aw of him. The Chancellar, Mr Jhone Metellan,[6] enterit in speciall frindschipe with him, Mr Andro, and me, and keipit trew and honest till the day of his deathe. He helde the King upon twa groundes sure, nather to cast out with the Kirk nor with Eingland. Whowbeit he haid maid informationes to him of guid men by[7] the treuthe, to win him court at the beginning in the Duc his dayes, quhilk he wald fean haiff mendit, bot could nocht.

[1] A matchless companion. [2] Doves, in allusion to the above story. [3] Parent, father. [4] Serviceable, profitable. [5] Deficiency. [6] Maitland. [7] Against, contrary to.

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M.D.LXXXIX.

The yeir following ther fell out a mater in St Androis that wrought heavie and grait trouble to the best and honestest men in all that town, and quhilk occupied me mikle and sear;[1] bathe in mynd and body, manie yeirs efter. The occasion wherof was this:

The Bischope haid lurked a yeir or twa lyk a tod[2] in his holl, as his custom was when things framed nocht with him; and, indeid, be the Chancellar's moyen, efter he was joyned with us, the King's opinion and lyking was far diverted from him. He devyses in this mean tyme a mischeiff to be revengit upon his mislykers, and steires upe a jakman[3] of his, called Hendrie Hamilton, to quarrell a Maister of the Universitie, Mr Wilyeam Walwode, Professour of the Lawes, a man bathe in blude and affinitie joyned neir to the maist honest in all the town, knawing weill that bathe sic of the Universitie and town that lyked him nocht, wald tak part with the said Mr Wilyeam. This Hendrie comes upon the Hie-gett, Mr Wilyeam going to the Principal's Lessone of the New Collage, and efter quarreling words, touks[4] him and striks him with the gardes of his sword. Mr Wilyeam plantes[5] to the Rector, wha calling the said Hendrie befor him, efter cognition, depryves him of his name of Maister, (for he was maid Maister,) and ordeanes him to mak a humble satisfaction to Mr Wilyeam in the sam place whar he injourit him. This he refusing to do, the complainer meined his cause to the Lords of Session, wha gaiff out compulsitors upon the Rector's decreit, wherwith the said Hendrie being chargit, first be the moyen of a certean wicked men, misgyders of the town, favorars of the Bischope, and haters of thair honest and guid nibours, onlie for their vertew, he is receaved in the number of the citicinners, and maid burges. Then he comes dissimulatlie to the Rector, desyring the execution of the charges to be superceidit, and promisit to mak a mends to Mr Wilyeam on the Hie-streit sic an day. Be this Mr Wilyeam is secoure, and within a day or twa addresses

[1] Sore. [2] Fox. [3] Jackmen were armed retainers, who generally acted as bullies. Fr. *jaque*. [4] *Tugs*, or pulls him violently. [5] Complains.

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him to his ordinar Lessone of the Lawes within the Auld Collage, and going from his hous in the town to the Collage, his gown on, his book in the a hand, and sand-glass in the uther, meditating on his Lessone, Hendrie-Hamiltone ushes[1] out of a hous, where he lay in wait for bloode, and unbeseatting[2] Mr Wilyeam, with the first strak[3] wounds him in the hand and mutilats him, and haid proceidit fordar, giff be sum gentle men passing that way he haid nocht been steyed. Mr Wilyeam is lead to his mother's hous crewallie woundit; the newes wharof gaes amang his frinds, they ryse and rine togidder in armes to assist the Bailyies for justice. Bot an of the Bailyies being upon the conspiracie, refusing thair assistance, brings the murdarer, accompanied with the Bischopes guid brother, James Arthour, called comounlie Jaques, and a officer or twa and na ma,[4] and in plane provocation, by the teithe of the partie, convenit befor Mr Wilyeam's mother's stare, yet whar he was lying with his wound bleiding, sa that it could nocht be steamide.[5] The quhilk, his brother and brother-in-law seing, could nocht abyde, bot making a mint,[6] maid the lown to flie, and steirit upe a grait tumult of all sort rinning togidder in armes, Universitie, citie, and gentle men being in the town for the tyme. In this tumult naine is sa bissie to schow his manreid[7] in feghting as the said Jaques Arthour, and meitting with his marrow,[8] with rapper and dagger, missing his ward, he gettes a porh[9] at the left pape, wharof he dies. His corps is brought to a cheirurgian's boothe and sighted ther, and sought be his frinds and a number in publict, and fund to haiff that onlie a poinct streak of a rapper sword,[10] be whom giffen na man could certeanlie knaw, sum suspecting an, and sum another. Mr Wilyeam's brother, Jhone, persewes efter Hamilton; wha, crying for mercie, and randring him selff, obteines mercie at the said Jhone's hand, and be him is brought out and delyverit to the Bailyies againe.

[1] Issues. [2] Besetting, attacking. [3] Stroke. [4] No more. [5] Stemmed, staunched. [6] Attempt. [7] Manfulness. It also implies his obligation, as a feudal retainer bound, by bond of *manred* or *manrent*, to fight in his superior's quarrels. [8] Match, equal. [9] Thrust, stab. [10] *Rapier* or small sword.

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The tumult steying, the honest men goes to thair houses, ignorant altogidder of anie evill done, namlie of the slauchter of the said Jaques. Amangs the rest, an [James Smithe,] a man of singular qualities, graitlie beloved of all godlie and guid men for his vertew and guid conditiones, and asmikle invyed and hated be the wicked, is warned be divers that loved him, that ther was a man slaine, and the mater was dangerus, prayed him thairfor to hauld him selff quyet and out of the way for a tyme. The quhilk he refused, reposing on his innocencie, and saying they haid sufferit wrang in the persone of thair frind, bot haid done nane. Incontinent, the Bailyies comes to the hous of the said honest man, better accompanied nor when they convoyit Hamiltone to the Tolbuthe, and charges him in the King's name to go to warde with thame. He willinglie obeyes and gaes with thame, and sa does the rest, to the number of nyne or ten.

These simple foulles, this way fangit[1] in the net of these craftie hountars, (wharin the partis of all I could pent out,[2] particularlie giff my purpose permitted,) war from the Tolbuthe brought to the Provest's hous, wha, withe the Bischope and rest of the misreaullars[3] of the town, war all under a complot, resolving then to be weill revengit upon those honest men, wha, at the ham-coming of the Lords out of Eingland, haid sought redres of manie grait abuses and inormities committed be the saids misrewlars of St Androis, luiking that all things then sould haiff bein corrected and sett in guid ordour—that Yuill comoun they thought to repey weill now at Pasch.[4]

Sa they ar summoned to a day of law in Edinbruche, whar, understanding the law to be streat,[5] and wanting the Prince's favour, quhilk was caried by[6] tham be the Bischope's faction, and thairwithall craftelie abbusit be thair feinyied[7] frinds, they ar brought in effect to com in the will of the partie, wha decernes upon thame all banisment furthe of the town during thair will; and upon twa in speciall, to wit, James Smithe, to whase worthie praise I spak be-

[1] Caught, secured. [2] Depict. [3] Misrulers. [4] A proverbial expression, denoting that they would handsomely repay their Yuill or Christmas reckoning at Easter. [5] Stringent, strict. [6] Past. [7] Feigned, pretended.

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for, and Jhone Walwode, brother to the said Mr Wilyeam, banisment out of the countrey, upon grait soumes of contravention and sure caution. By this malitius craftie devys and convoy war these guid honest men thus wayes maist innocentlie and unjustlie vexed and banissed out of the realme from thair wyffes and childring [sax yeires,] and at thair retourning warse[1] handlit, as we sall heir in the awin place. Bot as the Bischope, withe the rest of the misrewlars of that town, war the beginnars, sa I can nocht omit unmentioned a maist vennemus and malitius prosecutor, whase unplacable hatred and insatiable gredines of these honest men's gear was sic, as na kynd of dealling, credit, favour, or requeist of men of all sortes, rankes, and degries within the countrey, employed ernestlie for to brak and mitigat him, could purchas nor procure ony kynd of dres[2] at his hand. This was Mr Jhone Arthour, stubburnlie and despytfullie refusing all reasone; for this speciall cause, for that the Ministers favorit tham, inspyrit, but question,[3] be the spreit contrar to Chryst and his Ministers. The pretence of his malice and avarice was, that as he wald affirme against all the warld and treuthe it selff, that James Smithe was the slayer of his brother, against whom James haid never anie querrell, nor cam near him that day; bot was cleirlie sein and knawin to be a pair of buttes lainthe[4] from him when he was slaine; and farder, fyve hounder saw that onlie a porhe of a rapper,[5] wharof he died, haiffing na kynd of stroak or wound ma,[6] and everie man spyed James' sword that day to be a brad sword.[7] Bot the treuthe was, James was ritche, honest, and upright, verteus in his calling, and the uther pure,[8] debauchit, greidie, and neidie, and thairwithal a lawer, attending on Session, and wating to mak his prey of the soumes of contravention, quhilk war grait and large, or then thair æquivalent be composition; for he kend they could nocht, nor wald nocht, byde out of thair awin countrey.

The mere pitie and indignation of my hart (as the Cerschar of hartes knawes!) maid me to indevor what I could for the helpe

[1] Worse. [2] Redress. [3] Without a doubt. [4] A butt's length, in archery, being about 200 yards for *rovers*, and 80 yards for point-blank or butt-shooting. [5] Only one thrust of a rapier. [6] More. [7] Broad-sword. [8] Poor.

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and confort of that honest man, in speciall. Lykas ther was na honest or godlie man in the land wha ather knew him or hard of him bot meined his ceas,[1] and moyenned[2] for it as they might, bot na grace was to be fund at a graceless man's hand.

About the middes of that yeir 1589, François, Erle of Bothewall, tuk upe bands of men of weare, under the conduct of Coronell Hakerston, under pretence to tak ordour with the Ylles, bot it preived, in end, a Spanishe Papisticall course, as is discovered in the buik of the execution of Fyntrie.[3] His Capteanes, leading his men langs the cost syde, opprest and troublet the townes thairof, evill favored by going and returning anes. The second tyme they enterit to compas and visit ower againe, and cam to Kirkady, sending thair furriours[4] and commissars befor, to prepear for tham sum pices of armour and interteinment. But Carell, Anster,[5] and Pittenweim, with assistance of sum gentilmen of the countrey about, resolved to resist and feght tham. The quhilk when I perceaved, I maid hast to Court, and informed the King of the abbus and commotion that was lyk to be, and purchassed Letters to discharge the Capteanes from proceiding any farther, and if they wald nocht, to warrand the subjects to resist. The Erle, being Admirall, discharges the bottes at Leithe from giffing me passage; bot, taking jorney to the Quein's-ferrie, I cam with sic diligence as I could; bot or I cam,[6] the Coronell, with his men of wear, war fean to tak the steiple of St Monians on thair head, utherwayes haid gottin sic wages peyed tham as wald haiff interteined tham all thair dayes. And yit insisting, they brak the apointment quhilk the Tutor of Pitcure (that notable Provost of Dondie) maid betwix tham and the towns, and cam fordwart to Pittenweim; bot, at my coming with the King's discharge to tham, and warrand to our townes to resist, in cais of disobedience, they war fean to reteire and leave af. Sa it

[1] Bemoaned his case. [2] Used *moyen* or influence. [3] David Grahame of Fintry, who was executed Feb. 15, 1592. [4] Forayers, foragers. Here it denotes Quarter-masters. [5] Craill, Anstruther. [6] But before I came.

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pleased God to keipe from blod-schedding, and releive our townes of a grait feir and vexation.

In the beginning of wintar, the King, accompanied with the Chancellar and certean uthers of the Counsall, with twa of the Ministerie, in very secret maner imbarkit, few knawing till he was away, and landit at Upslaw in Norroway, efter mikle foull wather of a stormie wintar, and from that travelit be land to Denmark, throw manie woods and wildernes, in confermed frost and snaw, and thair maried his Quein Anne, and maid guid cheir, and drank stoutlie till the spring tyme. At his departing, he apointed Mr Robert Bruce to be on the Counsall, and recommendit the esteat of his countrey to him, and the Ministerie in speciall, reposing, as he professit, upon him and tham above all his Nobles. And, indeid, he was nocht disapointed, for of the favour of God thair was never a mair peaceble and quyet esteat of the countrey nor[1] during that tyme of the King's absence: Sa that, whar befor or sen syne, few monethes, yea oukes, was ther without sum slauchter, ther was na sic thing during that tyme.

Boduell[2] cam then in publict, and of his awin accord maid his repentance befor Mr Robert Bruce, in the Kirk of Edinbruche, for his licentius, dissolut lyff, and all his bypast sinnes; and promised, be God's grace, to kythe[3] another man in tyme coming, &c.[4] Bot it was a taking of God's name in vean, and publict abusing of him selff and the Lord's peiple; and thairfor the Lord cursed him, for na thing succeidit weill with him thairefter.

M.D.XC.

In the spring tyme of the yeir following, the Generall Assemblie conveined at Edinbruche. At quhilk diligent tryall being taken, it was fund, that na steirage[5] at all was in the countrey of Papists, of theiffes, or anie trubelsome inordinat persones. Wharof the breithring praisit God, and apointed, efter the ordour that the Kirk

[1] Than. [2] The Earl of Bothwell. [3] Turn out, manifest himself to be.
[4] See *Bruce's Sermons*, Wod. Soc. Edit. [5] There was no stir or movement.

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of Edinbruche haid taken upe, that thair sould be fasteing and moderat dyet usit everie Sabathe till the King's returning. The quhilk custom being found verie meit for the exerceise of the Sabathe, was keipit in Edinbruche, in the housses of the godlie, continualie thairafter. Sa that sparing thair gros and sumptuus dinners, they usit nocht bot a dishe of brothe, or sum litle recreation, till night; and that quhilk was sparit was bestowit on the pure. Boduell resorted to that Assemblie, and, keiping hous in the Abbay in the King's awin housses, he haid the Quein of Eingland be hir Ambassator ordinar, (Mr Robert Bowes, wha ley at Edinbruche, a verie godlie man, and to his uttermaist loving and cairfull of the peace and weill of the twa realmes of Eingland and Scotland,) to be his commer,[1] and Mr Robert Bruce, my uncle, and me, being Moderator of that Assemblie, invited now and then to guid cheir, haiffing sum grait purpose and to luik in hand; bot he wes never lukkie nor honest to God nor man.

At this Assemblie it was ordeanit, That all and everie Minister that haid ma Kirks nor ane[2] in cure sould demit the rest, and tak him till ane only. Also that the townes of Edinbruche, Dondie, Stirling, and St Androis, sould aggrie with sic as they thought meit for tham, and report againe to the Assemblie for thair transportation. Upon the quhilk I was ernestlie delt with be all the saids townes; bot the love of my awin flok and Presbyterie, and vicinitie of my uncle in St Androis, permitted me nocht to condiscend unto tham. For this my parochiners aggreit amangs tham selves to big me a hous; bot being undertaken, as it comes of comoun warkes, it fealit. Thairfor my God and heavinlie Father, the giffar and provyder for me of all guid things, put in my hart to tak the wark in hand my self; and, albeit I haid nocht fourtie pound in readie money, yit furnesit all things so stranglie to me, that annes begoun, it ley never a day till it was compleit, God haiffing sum confort to minister to his awin servants thairby, from tyme to tyme, thairefter. It was begun the 5th of Junij, and endit with October following, 1590.

[1] Intimate friend, companion, "gossip." [2] More than one; a plurality of livings.

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In the yeir 1590, the King, accompanied with his Quein, cam hame the first of May, to the grait joy and contentment of all the countrey. Divers practeses of witchcraft and devilrie[1] was against him, as he was certified of thairefter, bot the mercifull and mightie hand of God watched over him, and preserved him at the ernest prayers of his fathfull servands the Ministers, whom then he acknawlagit to be his maist fathfull freinds. Within a monethe or twa efter his retourn was keipit a maist solemne action and magnific of the Quein's Coronation, and entres in Edinbruche; at the quhilk my uncle, Mr Andro, in favour of the Ambassatours sent from divers Duces and Princes of Almanie and Flanders, maid and pronuncit an Oration in vers to the grait admiration of the heirars, and thair exceiding joy and contentment, namlie of bathe thair Majesties. The King gaiff him grait thankes, saying, he haid sa honored him and his countrey that day, that he could never requyt him; and thairefter wald insist farder, and command him to giff the sam to the printar, that with diligence it might be exped, for ther was nan of the Ambassadours bot haid maid him requeist for that effect. And, indeid, this was the wark of God, to haiff his awin servand honored, for Mr Andro haid nocht bein warnit to this Coronation in anie convenient tyme, and haid na thing preparit bot sic as cam in his meditation a night or twa, anent the right way of rewling and goverment, the quhilk he utterit with a mervelus dexteritie and grace; and, at the King's comand, the morn efter the pronuncing, gaiff it to the printar, with an epigram of dedication to the King, and intitulat the Στεφανισκιον. The copies of it past throw all Europe, and was mikle esteimed of be the lernit. Josephus Scaliger wrait to him congratulating, and said, "Nos talia non possumus." Lipsius, reiding it, said, "Revera Andreas, Melvinus est serio doctus." Be the quhilk occasion, as often befor and sen syne, all the lerned in a maner lamented that he wald nocht set him selff to wryt, quhilk was mikle meined[2] to him be all his frinds, bot he said, that God haid callit him to use his toung and vive voice yit; when he fand

[1] See *Pitcairn's* Ancient Crim. Trials, I. 209-223.

[2] Complained, lamented.

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the calling and warrand for the pen, quhilk God wald giff if he thoucht it guid, he sould do thairefter.

The apointed ordinar Generall Assemblie was keipe at Edinbruche in August, at the quhilk it behoved me to mak the exhortation. I cam to the Kingorn the night befor, and, imbarking with certean breithring, we cam within a myle and les to Leithe; bot a contrarie wind coming just in our teithe when we haid usit all meanes be burding[1] and rowing, we war compellit to go bak againe, with a foull schoure, and landit at Brintyland, whar na horses war to be gottin, and being past sax hours at evin, I was to enter in jorney on my feit to go about; when God, respecting his awin wark, send the wound in the wast[2] with a pleasand fear night; and sa finding be the sam Providence a lytle schollab,[3] reposing on him whase turn[4] was in hand, we tuk the sie, and gat verie fear passage, and cam to Edinbruche even as nyne of the night strak, obteining of God's mercie that night's repose, quhilk I luiked nocht for, to inable me for the morne's action.

It sall nocht be impertinent to remember sum poincts of the doctrine uttered at that tyme upon the 1 Thess. v., ver. 12, 13.

The text being soumed and opened upe, thir heades war insisted into:—First, anent the weght of the charge of the Ministerie; nixt, anent the honour thairof; thridlie, whow neidfull νουθεσια, rebuk or admonition, was in the Kirk and amangs breithring. Upon this last head, occasion was takin to speak at lainthe of disciplin, quhilk also at mair lainthe I thought pertinent heir till insert, because the course of the cheiff mater of this storie rinnes upon that.

First, That discipline was maist necessar in the Kirk, seing without the saming, Chryst's Kingdome could nocht stand. For, unles the Word and Sacraments war keipit in sinceritie, and rightlie usit and practesit be direction of the discipline, they wald soone be corrupted. And, thairfor, certean it was, that without sum discipline, na Kirk without trew discipline, na rightlie Reformed Kirk; and without the right and perfyt discipline, na right and perfyt Kirk.

[1] Tacking. [2] Sent the wind into the west. [3] Shallop. [4] Business.

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[At this the Einglishe Ambassatour, being present, sturred,[1] and conferrit with me thairefter at lainthe, whom I satisfeit.[2]] This was cleirlie declarit be the exemples of a republict and citie, and of artes of warfear and pastorage. The storie of the giffing, beginning, continowing, brak and restoring againe of the trew discipline within the Kirk of Scotland, was recompted and callit to remembrance; and thairupon exhortation giffen to dell[3] with his Majestie in maist grave and instant maner, That his Majestie wald schaw that taken[4] of trew thankfulnes to God for the grait benefit of his saiff preservation and retourning with his Quein from Denmark, as to reschinde and abolishe obscure and dangerus lawes maid in prejudice of the discipline and libertie of Chryst's Kingdome within this realme, haiffing fund, in guid experience, in his absence, as alwayes befor, the guid will, fidelitie, love, and cear[5] of the Ministerie as of thair God, and Chryst Jesus his King, be him anointed and sett over all, whase cause this was quhilk he haid put in the hands of his pure servants, &c.

Also, the haill breithring war ernestlie exhorted to studie the discipline diligentlie, and practise it cearfullie, that they might be able at all occasiones to stand in defence thairof, as it hes bein of God's grait favour with the treuthe of the doctrine sett doun out of the Word of God; and the practise of the sam fund maist halsome and profitable within the Kirk of Scotland. And that at this tyme, for thrie causses, namlie; first, because of the esteat of the godlie, guid, and zealus breithring in Eingland, our nibour Kirk, standing for the treuthe thairof, and searlie[6] suffering for the sam. Secondlie, because these Amaziases, belli-god Bischopes in Eingland, be all moyen, yea and money, war seikand conformitie of our realme with thairs, till invert and pervert our Kirk, as did Achaz and Urias with the King and Altar of Damascus. Thridlie, because we haid lurking within our awin bowelles a poisonable and vennemus Psyllus, a warlow,[7] I warrand yow, sa empoisoned be the vennome of that auld

[1] Objected, remonstrated. [2] This added by the Author on margin of MS.
[3] Deal. [4] Token. [5] Care. [6] Sorely. [7] Warlock, wizard.

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serpent, and sa altered in his substance and naturall, that the deadlie poisone of the vipere is his familiar fuid and nuriture, to wit, lies, falshode, malice, and knaverie; wha hes bein lurking a lang tyme hatching a cocatrice eagg, and sa fynlie instructed to handle the whissall[1] of that auld inchantar, that na Psyllus, Circe, Medea, or Pharmaceutrie, could ever haiff done better. This is Patrik Adamsone, fals Bischope of St Androis, wha at this tyme was in making of a buik against our discipline, quhilk he intytles Psyllus, and dedicates to the King, the epistle dedicatorie wharof is in my hand, wharin he schawes his purpose to be, to souk out the poisone of the discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, as the Psylli, a vennemus peiple in Afric, soukes out the vennom of the wounds of sic as ar stangit[2] with serpents. But I trust in God (said I) he sall prove the foole als madlie as did these sillie Psyllies, of whom Herodot, in his Melpomene, wryttes, that they perished altogidder in this maner: When the south wound[3] haid dryed upe all thair conservars and cisterns of water, they tuk counsall, all in a mynd, to go against it in armes for advengement; but, coming amang the deserts and dry sandes, the wound blew hichlie and overwhelmde thame with sand, and destroyed tham everie man. Sa, I dout nocht, sall com of this obstinat, malitius foole, whilas he intends nocht onlie to stope the breathe of God's mouthe,[4] bot also to be advengit upon it, because it hes strukken him sa, that he is blasted thairwith and dryed upe, and maid voide of all sape and moisture of heavinlie lyff. But, alas! my breithring, (said I,) giff yie wald do that quhilk I think yie bathe might and sould do at this tyme, to wit, to ratefie and approve that sentence of excommunication maist justlie and ordourlie pronuncit against that vennemus enemie of Chryst's Kingdome, as I am assurit it is ratefeit in the heavines, as cleirlie may appeir be the effects thairof, na les then in the dayes of Ambrose, when Sathan sensiblie possesit sic as war delyverit to him be excommunication, he wald feill better his miserable folie, and be woun againe to Chryst, if he be of the number of the elect. The quhilk if yie do

[1] Whistle. [2] Stung. [3] Wind. [4] The free preaching of the Gospel.

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nocht, my breithring, be a soar experience nocht lang syne past befor, I may foretell yow a thing to come, giff God in mercie for his Chryst's seak stey it nocht, that yie will find and feill yit mair pernitiuslie the reserved poisone of that Psyllus in brangling[1] the discipline of the Kirk, and punissing of our undewtifull negligence.

An uther poinct of the doctrine then uttered I hald it nocht unprofitable heir to insert, because of the necessitie thairof yit abyding unamendit. This was anent the dewtie of the flockes to thair Pastors and watchmen. The flocks aught to love their Pastors deirlie, be this text and uther of Holie Scripture; they aught to provyde for tham all things neidfull and confortable for this lyff, and to giff tham that honour quhilk aperteines to the ambassatours of Chryst. God biddes thee honour him in the ministerie of his worschiping, and thy salvation with the best of thy substance; and giff thow do nocht, this way, acknawlage the awnar of all thy substance and giffar thairof, thow art bot an unthankfull theiff, and nocht a lawfull possessor thairof with guid conscience, and at that day of God's justice court, thow sall heir the dome and feill the punisment of a theiff, if thow prevent nocht be repentance.

But heir our flockes excuses thamselves, saying, Our teinds ar riguruslie exacted and taken upe from us, therfor this burding lyes upon tham that gettes the teinds, &c. Answer, If men pitie [nocht?] thair awin saulles, it is na excuse for tham; for giff they war never sa sear spulyied and oppressed, wald they want the necessar fuid of the body, and reyment thairof, sa lang as they haid anie thing left, yea, or could beg or borrow? Na: They wald use the reddiest for the present necessitie, and prease to remead the oppression and wrang, by what meanes they could. And why will they nocht use the lyk for the fude and reyment of the saull and inwart man? Is it warse then the bodie? Is it nocht to be ceared for? Or is ther nocht a saull, a heavine, a hell, a God, a devill? Na, I am sure my breithring, if this doctrine soundit often in publict and privat amangs the pure famising saulles in this land, a guid number at least wald

[1] Shaking, menacing. O. Fr. *bransler*.

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be walkned and moved to seik pastors on thair awin charges.[1] I speik be guid experience, I thank God for it: Tak peanes and distrust nocht God, he will work and bring furthe sum guid effect. I never saw yit a piece of fathfull peanes taken uprightlie for the honour of God, and salvation of pure saulles, bot it fand a blessing and succes worthie of all, and[2] it haid bein ten tymes mair. Nather yit ever knew I in Scotland a man of guid conscience, that durst in conscience come to the schaking af of the dust of his feit against anie town or congregation. And for my awin pairt, I fand ever the fault mair in the peanes of the Pastor nor[3] the purs of the peiple, if they haid it. Yea, can it be possible that a man sall gean or fordar a saull to Chryst and the lyff everlasting, and nocht receave of his purs and things of this lyff as he may spear, and it war to speare it on him selff? Na, nocht possible! for a thankfull hart getting mon giff againe; and if nocht thankfull, na Christian; and winning the man's hart and saull to Chryst and thie, the man him selff, and what he hes, mon be at thy command in Chryst.

O bot they will say, Sall the sacrilegius then pas frie, and bruik the teinds? Na, nocht sa: Bot let the flocks and Pastours joyne togidder, and cry and crave at the King, Counsall, and Esteattes, and be bot als ernest in that mater concerning the service of God, and the weill of thair awin saulles, as gentilmen and uthers are in things twitching thair heritage, honour, and uther civill or criminall actiones, and I will warrand they sall com speid! For whow ather could they, or durst they, be refused in sa reasonable a petition, &c. Bot what is the Kirk's dewtie in this ceas? That we leave na thing undone that Chryst hes put in our hands, and requyres of us, according to our office, in the rewling of his Kirk and Kingdome. Ar we the trew Kirk? Ar we the lawfull Ministerie? Haiff we the authoritie and powar of his schapter?[4] Haiff we that fyre that devores the adversar, and that hammer that braks the rokkes? Yea,

[1] "*Nota.*—That nochtwithstanding of the ordinance of the last Assemblie, men war leathe to quyt the multitud of Kirks, saying, ther wald na stipends be gottin to Kirks, and men could nocht enter to charges without stipends." Margin of MS.
[2] If. [3] Than. [4] Sceptre.

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and haiff we nocht that scharpe twa-eagit sword? or is it scharpe and drawin onlie against the pure and mean annes,[1] and nocht potent in God for owerthrawing of hauldes, for doing vengeance upon haill nationes, chestesing of peiples, yea, binding of kings in channes, and the maist honourable princes in fetters of yron, to execut upon tham the judgment wryttin? And, finalie, is thair exception ather of persones or sinnes befor the judgment seat of Chryst? or sall his sword or censour strik upon the pure adulterar or furnicator being *contumax*,[2] and ly in the scabart rusting from the sacrilegius, suffering tham to go on contemptiuslie obstinat? Na, na! deir breithring, I man utter the advys that God hes put in my hart, submitting alwayes my spreit to the prophettes.

First, I wald the King's Majestie sould be traveled withe for his favour and concurrence, wha is neir als far hurt in this mater as the Kirk is. We haiff his will; we haiff his promise; we haiff manifold exemples and reasones to ley befor him. We, and the graittest and best number of our flockes, haiff bein, ar, and mon be, his best subjects, his strynthe, his honour. A guid Minister (I speak it nocht arrogantlie, bot according to the treuthe!) may do him mair guid service in a[3] houre, nor manie of his sacrilegius courteours in a yeir, &c.

Nixt, I wald wis that from this present Assemblie war directed to the cheiff sacrilegius persones in all the schyres of this realme, chosin men of godlie gravitie and authoritie, full of the Holie Ghost, till instruct, admonise, and charge tham, in the name of God, and of his Sone Chryst Jesus, till amend but[4] deley, &c.

Last, that a frequent and honourable Assemblie war keipit, assisted be the King's awin presence in persone, solemnlie sanctified with the exerceis of fasting and humiliation, with a guid number of gentilmen and burgesses, directed in commission from everie paroche and brouche thairunto: Befor the quhilk certean of the specialles of these sacrilegius persones might be callit, and compeiring, inquyrit if they war of Chryst, and of the trew members of his Kirk

[1] Poor and mean ones. [2] Contumacious. [3] One. [4] Without.

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or nocht? If they answered they war, then let them testifie it be heiring of his voice and the voice of his Kirk. If nocht, let be schawin tham that Chryst commands to hald tham as publicanes and ethniks.[1]

O then, me thinks, I heir sum crying, "Will ye excommunicat tham? That will breid a grait schisme and uproare; they are the cheiff that faught for Relligion; yie will ryde with a thine court if yie want tham!" Soft, I pray you, and heir reasone. I wald ask tham, wither it war the nam or the mater of excommunication that they abhorrit and fearde? Giff it be the mater, ar they ignorant of that quhilk is sa aft dung[2] in thair heides, to wit, that, *ipso facto*, befor God they ar excommunicat, sa lang as indurdlie[3] against thair conscience they ly under the curs of that execrable sacrilage? And as for the effects and inconvenients alleadgit, I ask onlie, if this be that dewtie that God bids us do, and requyres of us conforme to our office? When anie abyds in sinne, wherby God is dishonorit, the Kirk hurt and sklanderit, and the persone's selff indangerit of condemnation, can the Pastors be answerable for the discharge of thair dewtie, except they deall with that persone be all the meanes that God prescryvit to thair calling, wharof the speciall ar the word and discipline? And if it be our dewtie, what haiff we mair to do bot to obey and do it, leaving to God the effects, quhilk ar in his hand alleanerlie?[4]

And yit to answer, by guid appeirance, this mater sall proceide sa fearlie and cleirlie, that nan can repung thairto, except they will planlie ganstand God, the Kirk, the King, and all guid reasone; and, sa doing, wilbe sa weak, that they may be easilie owercom. As to thair number, it is na thing in respect of the multitude of pure saulles that wants thair spirituall fuid, and are oppressed in thair teinds, and of the number of guid men that fean wald sie Reformation. As for thair feghting for Relligion, sa did sacrilegius Achan for the inheritance of Canaan, Saull for Israell, Joab and the sonnes of Seruia[5] for the kingdome of David; bot they war

[1] Heathen. [2] Hammered. [3] Indurately. [4] Only, solely. [5] This evidently alludes to the sons of Zeruiah.—2 Sam. iii. 39; xvi. 10, &c.

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nocht approved of God. It is nocht the feghtar that is commendit and allowit, but he that feghtes rightlie and lawfullie. The praise of planting of Relligion in this land apperteines to the Lord of Hostes alleanerlie, and when ever they bost of that, they fall in a dowble and hichar degrie of sacrilage, arrogating to tham the gloric of God, and that maist falslie, nocht being sa mikle as God's guid instrument.

For if they refuse that quhilk we crave, they declar evidentlie they faught never for God nor Relligion, bot for the Kirk gear, to disturbe the possessours thairof that they might invade the sam; they faught never against the Papists, bot against the titulars of the teinds and rents of the Kirk; they sett nocht tham selves to hauld out Jesuistes, bot the suddarts[1] that clamed right to Chryst's cott;[2] they wald nocht rut out the Seminarie Preists, bot the seid of the Kirk, guid lerning, and all relligion. Sa that if God, if Chryst, if relligion, if ministerie, salbe reclamers of the teinds and Kirk gear againe, they sall at an instant becom to tham Satan, Antichryst, Papistrie, and Jesuittes. And now if it salbe the number of sic that sall mak out our number, war it nocht better to be few? or sic courteours to sett out our court, war it nocht better to be courtles?

Wharfor, deir breithring, (said I,) to be schort, and conclud my opinion, that it may receave ather your approbation or censure, my exhortation is, that we be cearfull till[3] understand our dewtie, and what command we haiff of God in this poinct, and weying it rightlie, that we be about cairfullie to put it in practise, leaving to God the event and effect, reposing our selves, what ever fall out upon the warrand of his will, and the testimonie of a sound and upright conscience. Let us nocht say with the slugart, "Ther is a lyon in the way;" nor, for feir of stormie wound or wather, leave af to saw and schear[4] the Lord's land. Gif Chryst and his Apostles haid sa done, the Gospell haid never bein preatched. And if these noble instruments steired upe in this last age, even in this countrey, haid been

[1] Soldiers. [2] Coat. [3] To. [4] To sow and reap.

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sa terrified, we haid never enjoyed this libertie and fruict thairof. Let us be then incuragit in the strainthe of our Almightie God, and in the authoritie of his hie calling; and the mair that sacrilegius avarice carie men away from God and Relligion, let us the mair ernestlie seik efter him, and procure the weill and confort of the saulles concredit[1] to us. And without question we salbe terrible to whatsumever enemie and contrarie powar, and sall want na guid thing. We sall feid sweitlier and better on a dishe of pottage, nor they on thair kinglie fear,[2] serving an[3] God trewlie, and stryving with our Chryst against the unthankfull warld. It was God, even our God, wha almost by all meanes begoud[4] the wark mervelouslie, and na les mervelouslie by all meannes hes continowed it, in despyt of all contrarie craft and powar; and the sam, our guid God, in the sam sort will croun and end it, that all praise thairof haillelie[5] may be His, to whom be it for ever. Amen.

This doctrine and advys was weill lyked and approvit of all, bot was nocht thought expedient to be practised at that tyme be the wesdome of the politik and warldlie-wyse. And siclyk concerning the Bischope, whom they perceavit to be fallin alreadie, gif he war lettin alean;[6] bot if he war put at, the King wald tak his part, thinking it was for his cause he war put at. Onlie this was concludit, That everie Minister sould haiff a copie of the Book of Discipline and peruse it; and everie Presbyterie sould cause thair haill members subscryve the sam, and the refusars to be excommunicat, purposing thairby to ather cause the Bischope subscrive the sam, or then to be of new excommunicat: Bot God wrought that mater better.

The Bischope, being a man that delt deceatfullie with all, and never dischargit sa mikle as a civill dewtie according to the lawes, reposing upon the King's favour, at last the King was sa faschit[7] with complents of all sortes of men upon him, that he was sa often

[1] Entrusted. [2] Fare. [3] One. [4] Against, beyond, or contrary to all means begun. [5] Wholly, entirely. [6] Let alone. [7] Troubled.

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denuncit to the horn, and sa lang lying registrat thairat; and understanding thairwith that he was infamus and evill-loved be all men, he was eschamed of him, and cust him af; and fordar, disponit his lyffrent to the Duc of Lennox, with the temporalitie of the bischoprik, wherby the miserable Bischope fell in extream povertie, and thairwithall in a heavie disease of body and mynd. Bot he haid simulat[1] sa often seiknes, that nan beleived him till he was brought to sic necessitie that he was compellit to wrait to Mr Andro, my uncle, mak confession of his offences against God and him, and crave his helpe; wha, but fordar,[2] visited him, and supported him sa, that the space of divers monethes he leived on his purse. At last he besought him to get him sum collection of the breithring in the town, and for thair satisfaction promised to present the pulpit, and mak publict confession. Bot whither he feiniyit excuses, or that it was sa indeid that God wald nocht permit him, I knaw nocht, bot he haid never that grace to present the pulpit againe.

In the end of that wintar he send to the Presbyterie, and maid humble sutt to be relaxed from excommunication; and the breithring, douting whither it was that he felt the dint thairof in effect upon his conscience, or to be a mean to insinuat him in the breithring's pitie, to gett wharby to sustein him, send Mr Andro Moncreiff, of guid memorie, and me, with sum others, to try him. We fand him in a miserable esteat; and whowsone he marked me, he plukked af the thing on his head, and cryed, "Forgiff, forgiff me, for God's seak, guid Mr James, for I haiff offendit and done wrang to yow manie wayes!" I schawing him his sine against Chryst and his Kirk, exhorted him to unfeiniyit repentance, and thairwith conforted him in the mercie of God, and forgaiff him with all my hart. Then proponing to him anent his excommunication, giff he acknawlagit it lawfullie done, and felt the force of it in his conscience, he interrupted me, and cryed pitiouslie out in these words: "Louse[3] me, for Chryst seak!" dyvers tymes, over and over. The

[1] Feigned, dissembled. [2] Without further ado. [3] Loose, absolve.

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quhilk, when we reported to the breithring, with prayer and thanksgiffing he was relaxit.[1]

M.D.XCI.

At the Provinciall Assemblie conveined in St Androis the 6 of Apryll 1591, Mr Jhone Caldcleuche presented, in his name, to the Assemblie, certean Articles of Recantation, wryttin in Latine. The quhilk being red, the Assemblie directs Mr Andro Melvill, (chosine that yeir Rector of the Universitie, in the roum of Mr James Wilkie, latlie departed, a guid, godlie, honest man,) Mr Robert Wilkie, David Fergusone, and Mr Nicol Dalglaishe, to the said Mr Patrik Adamsone, Bischope, to crave of him, in the name of the Assemblie, a mair cleir and ample Recantation, and that in vulgare langage, that all might understand the sam. The said Bischope sendes the sam, subscryvit with his awin hand, as efter followes:

THE RECANTATION OF P[ATRICK ARCHBISHOP OF] SANT ANDROIS, DIRECT TO THE SYNOD CONVENIT AT ST ANDROIS, 6 OF APRIL 1561.

"BREITHRING, being troublet with sicknes, that I might giff confession of that doctrine wherin I hope that God sall call me, and that at his pleasour, I aught depart in an unitie of Christian fathe, I thought guid to utter the saming to your Worschips, and likewyse to crave your godlie Worschips' assistance, nocht for the restitution of anie warldlie pompe or pre-eminence, quhilk I lytle respect, as to remove from me the sklanders quhilk ar reasit in this countrie concerning the varietie of doctrin, specialie upon my part, wherin I protest befor God, that I haiff onlie a single respect to his glorie, and be his grace I sall abyde heirin unto my lyve's end.

"First, I confes the trew doctrine and Christian Relligion to be

[1] From the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him.

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teatched and rightlie annuncit within this realme, and deteasts all Papistrie and superstition, lyk as, blessed be God, I haiff detested the sam in my hart the space of threttie yeirs, sen it pleased God to giff me the knawlage of the treuthe, wharin I haiff walkit uprightlie, alsweill heir as in uther countries, as the Lord beares me record, unto thir last dayes; wherin, partlie for ambition and vean glore to be preferit to my breithring, and partlie for covetousnes, I haiff possessit greidelie the pelff of the Kirk, I did undertak this office of Bischoprik, wherwith justlie the sinceirest professours of the Word hes fund fault, and hes condemnit the saming as impertinent to the office of a sinceir Pastor of God's Word. And albeit men wald cullor the saming and imperfectiones thairof be divers clokes, yit the sam can nocht be concilit from the spirituall eis of the fathfull, nather yit can the men of God, when they ar put to thair conscience, dissemble the sam.

"Nixt, I confes I was in an eroneus opinion, that I beleivit the government of the Kirk to be lyk the kingdomes of the erthe, plean contrar to the commandiment of our Maister Chryst, and the monarche wherwith the Kirk is governit, nocht to be onlie in the persone of our Saviour Chryst (as it is) bot in the Ministers, wha ar na thing but vassalles, and under him in an æqualitie amangs thamselves.

"Thridlie, That I maried the Erle of Huntlie contrar the Kirk's command, without the confession of his fathe, and profession of the sinceir doctrine of the Word; I repent, and craves God pardone.

"That I travelit, bathe be reasoning and utherwayes, to subject the Kirkmen unto the King's ordinance in things that aperteines to Ecclesiastick maters, and thinges of conscience; I ask God mercie, wharupon grait enormities hes fallen furthe in this countrey.

"That I beleived, and sa teatchit, the Presbyteries to be a foolishe invention, and wald haiff it sa esteimed of all men, quhilk is an ordinance of Chryst; I crave God mercie.

"Fordar, I submit my selff to the mercie of God and the judgment of the Assemblie, nocht missuring my offences be my awin

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selff, nor infirmities of my awin ingyne, bot to the guid judgment of the Kirk, to the quhilk alwayes I submit my selff, and beseikes[1] yow to mak intercession to God for me, and to the King's Majestie, that I may haiff sume moyen[2] to live, and consume the rest of this my wretched tyme, for whase cause and favour I committed all thir errors; and God has justlie recompensed me in his judgments.

"And wharas I am burdenit to haiff bein the settar furthe of the buik called The King's Declaration, wherin the haill ordour of the Kirk is condemnit and traducit, I protest befor God that I was sa commandit to wrait be the Chancellar for the tyme, bot cheiflie be the Secretar, wha him selff pennit the second Act of Parliament concerning the powar and authoritie of Judicatour to be absolutlie in the King's powar, and that it sould nocht be leisome[3] to anie subject to reclame from the saming, under the penaltie of the Actes, quhilk I suppose was treasone.

"Item, Whar it is alleagit that I sould haiff condemnit the doctrine announced and teatched be the Ministers of Edinbruche, to haiff avowit onlie concerning obedience to the Prince, my doctrine, I confes and protestes befor God, that I never understud nor knew anie thing bot sinceritie and uprightnes in the doctrine of the Ministers of Edinbruche, in that poinct, nor na uther.

"Fordar, I confes that I was author of the Act discharging the Ministers' Stipends that did nocht subscryve the Actes of Parliament; wherwith God hes justlie recompensed my selff."

The premisses and divers uther poincts conteined in the Buik of the Assemblie war dyted be Mr Patrik Adamsone, and wrytin at his command be his servant, Mr Samuel Cunninghame, and subscryvit with his awin hand, befor thir witneses, directed to him from the Synodall, because of his inabilitie of body till[4] repear to the Assemblie, James Monipennie, fear of Pitmlilie, Andro Wod of Streawithe, David Murray, portionar of Ardet, Mr David Rus-

[1] Beseech, allowable. [2] Means. [3] Lawful. [4] To.

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sall, bailyie of St Androis, Mr Wilyeam Murray, Minister at Dysart, with uthers divers.

This man haid manie grait giftes, bot specialie excellit in the toung and pen; and yit for abbusing of the sam against Chryst, all use of bathe the ane and uther was takin from him, when he was in graittest miserie, and haid maist need of tham. In the latter end of his lyff his neirest frinds was na confort to him, and his supposed graittest enemies, to whom indeid he offerit graittest occasion of enmitie, was his onlie frinds, and ceased nocht to recompence guid for evill, namlie, my uncle, Mr Andro, but fand small takings[1] of anie spiritual confort in him, quhilk specialie he wald haiff wisset[2] to haiff sein at his end.

Thus God delyverit his Kirk of a maist dangerus enemie, wha, if he haid bein endowit bot withe a comoun civill piece of honestie in his delling and conversation, he haid ma meanes to haiff wrought mischeiff in a kirk or countrey nor[3] anie I haiff knawin or hard of in our yland.

Mr David Blak, a man mightie in doctrine, and of singular fidelitie and diligence int he ministerie, haid, be the cairfull procurment of my uncle at the Generall Assemblie, bein apointed Minister of St Androis, Mr Robert Wilkie taking him to a part thairof within the Collage of St Lenord's, as maist aggrieable with his naturall[4] and giftes. He attendit maist charitablie upon the Bischope, furnesing him confort bathe for bodie and saull, to whom the Bischope promisit divers dayes to com to the pulpit, and suppleing his roum to mak publict confession; bot so often was Mr David disapointed, and maid to occupie his awin roum[5] with the les preparation. He cravit of his wyff, and tham that wated on him, that in anie ceas he sould be advertised of the tyme when they saw him weakest, for Mr David wald haiff fellon fean sein[6] sum confortable mark of God's Spreit working with him; bot being warnit, came and fand him, as he levit, sensles of spiritual sanctification, sa to die; thair-

[1] Tokens. [2] Wished. [3] Than. [4] Temper, disposition. Fr. *naturel*
[5] Place in the pulpit. [6] Would have very fain have seen.

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for, comending him to the mercie and guid pleasour of God, with a heavie hart, departed.

That yeir also Boduell lost the King's favour, the quhilk being excessivelie indulgent towards him divers yeirs, turned at last in implacable hatred. He maid manie attempts for surprysing of the King's persone, quhilk was the cause of manie pitiful executiones, wharof a number I saw with my eis, as tragicall spectacles in the theater of this miserie of man's lyff. But things done be forme of justice haid with tham joyned sum confortable consideration; but the murdour done of the Erle of Murray, at Dinnibirsall, be the Erle of Hountlie, on fear[1] day-light, the King luiking on it with forthought, fellon hamsukin, and treason under tryst, maist crewalie with fyre and sworde, yit mightelie cryes and importunes the ear of the righteus inquyrar and revengar of bloode!

M.D.XCII.

The aw of Boduall's remeaning alwayes within the countrey, and often tymes hard about the Court, togidder with the horrour of the deid of Dinnibirsall, quhilk the unburied corps, lyand in the Kirk of Leithe, maid to be nocht onlie unburied amangs the peiple, but be comoun rymes and sangs keipit in recent[2] detestation, alsmikle as the publict threatning of God's judgments thairupon from pulpites, obteined (at the Parliament hauldin at Edinbruche in the monethe of Junie 1592, for better expeding of the forfaultrie of Boduall) by[3] our expectation, that quhilk haid cost us mikle pean in vean monie yeirs befor, to wit, The Ratification of the Libertie of the Trew Kirk, of Generall and Synodall Assemblies, of Presbyteries, [and] of Discipline; the tennor wharof, because it is the speciall evident of our discipline amangs civill men, and for that it cost me a piece of peanes, I could nocht bot heir inregistrat.

[1] Open, fair, broad. [2] Fresh. Lat. *recens*. [3] Beyond, contrary to.

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THE RATIFICATION OF THE LIBERTIE OF THE TREW KIRK; OF GENERALL, SYNODALL ASSEMBLIES, PRESBYTERIES AND DISCIPLINE; AND LAWES IN THE CONTRAR, ABROGRAT [IN] PARL. JUNIE 1592.

"OUR Soveraine Lord and Estaites of this present Parliament, following the lovable and gude exemple of thair predecessours, hes ratified and approved, and be the tenour of the present act ratifies and aproves, all liberties, privileges, immunities, and friedomes whatsumever, given and granted be his Hienes his Regents in his name, or anie of his predecessours, to the trew and halie Kirk, presentlie established within this realme, and declared in the first act of his Hienes parliament, the twentie day of October, in the yeir of God a thowsand fyve houndrethe threescore nyntein yeirs,[1] and all and whatsumever Actes of Parliament and statutes maid of before be his Hienes and his Regents, anent the libertie and fredom of the said Kirk: And, specialie, the first Act of Parliament haldin at Edinbruche the twentie-four day of October, the yeir of God a thowsand fyve hounder fourscore ane yeirs,[2] with the haill particular Actes there mentioned, quhilk salbe als sufficient as gif the sam war heire expressed; and all uther Acts of Parliament maid sensyne in favour of the trew Kirk: And siclik ratifies and approves the Generall Assemblies apointed be the said Kirk, and declares that it salbe lawfull to the Kirk and Ministers, everie yeir at the least, and ofter, *pro re nata*, as occasion and necessitie sall requyre, to hald and keipe Generall Assemblies: Provyding that the King's Majestie, or his Commissionars with them, to be apointed be his Hienes, be present at ilk Generall Assemblie, befor the dissolving thairof, nominat and apoint tyme and place when and whare the nixt Generall Assemblie salbe haldin; and in case nather his Majestie nor his said Commissionars beis present for the tyme in that town whare the said Generall Assemblie beis halden, then and in that case, it salbe leisum[3] to the said Generall Assemblie, be tham-

[1] 1579. [2] 1581. [3] Allowable, lawful.

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selves, to nominat and appoint tyme and place whare the nixt Generall Assembly of the Kirk salbe keipit and haldin, as they have bein in use to do thir tymes bypast. And als ratefies and appreives the Synodall or Provinciall Assemblies to be haldin be the said Kirk and Ministers twyse ilk yeir, as they have bein and ar presentlie in use to do within everie Province of this realme.

"And als ratefies and appreives the Presbyteries and particular Sessions apointed be the said Kirk, with the haill Jurisdiction and Discipline of the sam Kirk aggreit upon be his Majestie, in conference haid be his Hienes withe certean of the Ministers conveined to that effect: Of the quhilk Articles the tenor followes:—'*Maters to be intreated in Provinciall Assemblies:* Thir Assemblies are constitut for weghtie maters, necessar to be intreated be mutuall consent and assistance of breithring within the Province, as neid requyres: Thir Assemblies hes powar to handle, ordour, and redres all things omitted or done amiss in the particular Assemblies: It hes powar to depose the Office-bearers of that Province, for gude and just cause deserving deprivation: And, generalie, thir Assemblies hes the haill powar of the particular Elderschipes wharof they ar collected. *Maters to be intreated in the Presbyteries:* The powar of the Presbyteries is to give diligent laboures in the boundes committed to thair charge; that the kirks be keipit in gude ordour; till inquyre diligentlie of nauchtie and ungodlie persones; and to travell to bring tham in the way again be admonition or threatning of God's judgments, or be correction: It aperteines to the Elderschipe to tak heide that the Word of God be purlie pretched within thair bounds; the Sacraments rightlie ministered; the Discipline interteined, and Ecclesiasticall gudes uncorruptlie distributed: It belanges to thir kynd of Assemblies to cause the ordinances maid be the Assemblies, Provincialles, Nationalles, and Generalles, to be keipit and put in execution; to mak constitutiones quhilk concernes τόπρεπον in the Kirk for decent ordour in the particular kirk whar they govern, provyding that they alter na rewles maid be the Provinciall or Generall Assemblies; and that they mak the Provinciall Assemblies foresaid privie of the rewles that they sall mak; and to

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abolishe constitutiones tending to the hurt of the sam: It hes powar till excommunicat the obstinat, formall proces being led, and dew intervall of tymes observed. Anent particular kirks, giff they be lauchfullie reuled be sufficient Ministerie and session, they have powar and jurisdiction in thair awin congregationes in maters Ecclesiasticall.'

"And decernes and declars the said Assemblies, Prebyteries, and Sessiones, Jurisdiction and Discipline thairof foresaid, to be in all tymes coming maist just, gude, and godlie in the selff, nochtwithstanding of whatsumever statutes, actes, canon, civill, or municipall lawes maid in the contrare: To the quhilks, and everie an of tham, thir presentes sall nocht express derogation. And because there ar divers Actes of Parliament maid in favour of the Papisticall Kirk, tending to the prejudice of the libertie of the trew Kirk of God presentlie professit within this realme, jurisdiction and discipline thairof, quhilk standes yit in the Buikes of the Actes of Parliament, nocht abrogated nor annulled, therfor his Hienes and Esteates forsaids hes abrogated, cassed, and annulled, and be the tenor heirof abrogates, casses, and annulles all Actes of Parliament maid be his Hienes' predecessours, or anie of tham, for meantenance of superstition and ydolatrie, with all and whatsumever actes, lawes, and statutes, anie tyme befor the day and dait heirof, against the libertie of the trew Kirk, jurisdiction and discipline thairof, as the saming is used and exerceised within this realme.

"And in speciall, that part of the Act of Parliament halden at Stirling, the fourt of November, the yeir 1443, commanding obedience to be giffen to Eugenius, the Pape for the tyme; the act maid be King James the Thride, in his parliament, haldin at Edinbruche the 24 Februar 1480, and all uther actes, wharby the Pape's authoritie is established: The act of King James the Thrid, in his parliament haldin at Edinbruche, 20 November 1469, anent the Satterday and uther vigilles to be halie dayes from even-sang to even-sang.

"*Item*, that part of the act maid be the Quein Regent in the parliament haldin at Edinbruche, 1 Februar 1552, giving speciall licence for halding of Peace and Zuill.[1]

[1] Pasch or Easter, and Yule or Christmas.

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"*Item*, the King's Majestie and Esteates forsaids declares, that the 129 Act of the Parliament haldin at Edinbruche, the 22 day of May, the yeir of God a thowsand fyve houndrethe fourscore four yeirs,[1] sall na wayes be prejudiciall, nor derogat anie thing to the privilage that God hes giffen to the spirituall Office-bearers in the Kirk, concerning Heads of Relligion, maters of heresie, excommunication, collation or deprivation of Ministers, or anie siclyk essentiall censors,[2] specialie groundit, and haiffand warrand of the Word of God.

"*Item*, our Soveran Lord and Estaites of Parliament forsaids abrogattes, casses, and annulles the act of the sam parliament haldin at Edinbruche the said yeir 1584, granting Commissiones to Bischopes and uthers Judges constitut in Ecclesiasticall causses, to receave his Hienes' Presentatiounes to Benefices, to give Collation thairupon, and to put ordour in all causses Ecclesiasticall; quhilk his Majestie and Estaits forsaids declares to be expyred in the selff, and to be null in tyme coming, and of nan availl, force, nor effect; and, thairfor, ordeanes all Presentationes to benefices to be direct to the particular Presbyteries in all tyme comming, with full powar to give collationes thairupon; and to put ordour to all maters and causses Ecclesiasticall within thair bounds, according to the Discipline of the Kirk: Provyding the forsaid Presbyteries be bund and astricted to receave and admit whatsumever qualified Minister presented be his Majestie or laik Patrones."

This act is maist remarkable, for the passing thairof was flatlie denyed till it was extract, and being extract and fund to haiff bein published and giffen out with the rest, it was mikle rowed and detested in *anno* 1596. And, in deid, the Kirk is addettit to Mr Jhone Mettellan,[3] Chancellar for the tyme, for the sam, wha inducit the King to pas it at that tyme, for what respect I leave it to God, wha workes for the confort of his Kirk be all kynd of instruments, to whom thairfor be all praise and thankes for ever!

Ther was that yeir, in the monethe of November, a Convention

[1] 1584. [2] Church censures. [3] Maitland.

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keipit at Edinbruche of a number of breithren, conveined from divers partes of the countrey, to foresie and prevent the dangers imminent to the Relligioun and professours thairof. The quhilk I mention and sett down of purpose, to schaw the custom of our Kirk, lovablie and profitablie observit heirtofore in tyme of neid and danger, quhilk, to the graitt perrell of the Kirk, is now restranit and dischargit.

[PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION] "AT EDINBRUCHE, THE 15, 16, 17, 18, AND 20 DAYES OF NOVEMBER, IN THE YEIR 1592.

"The quhilk dayes the Breithring, conveined from divers partes of the countrey, to foresie and prevent the dangers imminent to the Relligion and professours thairof, efter incalling[1] of the name of God, haiffing communicated mutuallie thair intelligences, hes fund the enemies of the treuthe within this countrey verie diligentlie laboring for subversion of the Relligion, and sindrie crewall and dangerus plottes concludit and intendit to be execut with all possible diligence, unles the Lord, of his mercie, disapointed thair interpryse. For remead[2] wharof, it is concludit, that ther be a Generall Fast in all the Kirks of this countrey the 17 and 24 dayes of December nixt, that be trew humiliation and unfeinyed[3] repentance, the feirfull judgments of God that hingethe ower this land may be prevented.

The Causses of the General Fast.

"1. The practises of the enemies without and within this countrey, intending till execut that blodie decrie of the Counsall of Trent against all that trewlie profes the Relligioun of Chryst, to the utter subversion thairof, and of the King's esteat and persone, whase

[1] Invoking. [2] Remedy. [3] Unfeigned.

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standing and decey they acknawlage to be joyned with the standing and decey of Relligion.

"2. A miserable desolation of the graittest part of the countrey, perishing in ignorance, throw leak of Pastors and sufficient moyen[1] to intertean the Word of God amangs tham, with a cearlesnes of the Magistrats to remead thir miseries.

"3. A feirfull defection of a grait number of all esteats in this land to Papistrie and Atheisme, specialie of the Nobilitie, throw the resorting and trafecting of Jesuites, Seminarie Priests, and uther Papists, without execution of anie law against thame.

"4. The generall disordour of the haill esteat of the Comounwelthe, overflowing with all kynd of impietie, as contempt of the Word, blasphemie of the name of God, contempt of the Magistrat, tresson, innocent blood schede, adulteries, witchcrafts, and sic uther abominable crymes.

"Thir causses to be inlargit and eiked[2] be the discretion of everie brother, according as he sall haiff sure knawlage and sense of the premisses.

"*Item*, it is ordeanit that everie Presbyterie travell within thair awin bounds till inform the specialles and best affected gentilmen amang tham of the practise of the enemies, and to move tham to be upon thair gard, and in readines upon advertisment for defence of Relligion and professours thairof, and resisting of the enemie; and to tak upe and compose all feiddes,[3] namlie amang tham that ar trew professours, or at the least assurances, whar full aggriement can nocht be presentlie procured, and to resave thair subscriptiones unto The Generall Band, at least whar it salbe thought requisit, at the discretion of everilk[4] Presbyterie. And because the Presbyteries underwrytten, for divers considerationes, craves the assistance of sum uther breithring, the breithring heir conveined hes apointed Mr Robert Pont to concure with the Presbyterie of Aberdein for the effect above wreittin; Mr Robert Rollok with the Presbyterie of Dalkethe, and Mr Robert Bruce and David Lindsay with the

[1] Means. [2] Added to. [3] Deadly feuds. [4] Each, every.

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Presbyteries of the Wast, for uptaking of the deadlie feiddes betwix the Maister of Eglintoun and the Erle of Glencarn, the Lardes of Garlies and Blakwhean, &c. And to this effect, that they obtein his Majestie's Commission, and procure his Majestie's Commissionars may be direct with thame; and they till attend on this as thair lesar will serve. And, in the mean tyme, that his Majestie's Letters be obteined to move the parties till assure, and the Presbyteries to travell sa far as they may, be thair awin labours.

"*Item*, that the breither acquent tham selves withe the histories of the crewaltie of the confederates of the Counceill of Trent, practeised against the fathfull in uther countreyes, and inform thair congregationes thairof, as lykwayes of the lyk crewelties against tham selves, gif they preveall in thair wicked attempts. And, in respect of the subtiltie and secreit craft of the adversars, wha now sa deiplie hes lerned to dissemble thair proceidings, that speciall sutt be maid to God in our publict prayers, that the plats and hid practises of the enemies may be discovered, brought to light, and disapointed.

"*Item*, it is ordeanit that ther be an Ordinarie Counseill of the breithring underwrytten, viz. Maisters Robert Bruce, David Lindsay, Robert Pont, Jhone Davidsone, Walter Balcanquall, James Balfour, Patrik Galloway, Jhone Dunkesone, wha sall convein ordinarlie everie ouk ans, and ofter, as occasion sall crave, to consult upon sic advertisment as salbe maid to them from divers partes of the countrey or utherwayes, and *providere in omnibus, ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti capiat.* And for the better execution of thair conclusionnes, it is ordeanit that ther be ane ordinarie Agent to attend in Edinbruche upon tham, viz., Mr James Carmichael, till the nixt Assemblie Generall, whase office sall consist in the poincts following:—

"*Imprimis*, He sall travell diligentlie, be all meanes, to be informed of the practises of Papists, as be merchants and passingers coming from uther countreyes, and all sic as from anie part of this countrey resorts to Edinbruche. For the quhilk cause also, the Ministers in everie part ar commandit to mak cearfull advertisment of all kynd of practises against the Relligioun of all Papists, Jesuistes, and re-

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seatters of tham within thair bounds, and all uther weightie enormities that sall fall out and com to thair knawlage, and that in forme as efter followes :—

"Mr Andro Cramby and Mr George Monro for Ross; Mr Thomas Howisone for Invernes, and Jhone Forstar for Forrese, sall send thair advertisments to Mr Alexander Dowglas, Minister of Elgean.

"Mr Alexander Dowglas for Elgean sall send to Mr Piter Blakburn, Minister of Aberdein. Mr George Hay for Banff, Mr James Duff and Mr Gilbert Gardin for Strathbogy, Mr Jhone Strath auchsone for Mar, Mr George Patersone for Garioch, and Mr Douncan Davidsone for Dear, sall send to Mr David Cunningham, Minister at Aberdein. Mr Piter Blakburn and Mr David Cunninghame sall send thair advertisments to Montrose. Mr Andro Miln for Mernes, Jhone Dury for Breachin, Mr Arthour Fithie for Arbrothe, Mr James Nicolsone for Meigle, sall send to Wilyeam Chrystisone, Minister of Dondie. Wilyeam Chrystisone sall send to Mr Adam Mitchell, Minister at Cowpar, and Mr Adam to Mr Thomas Biggar, Minister at Kingorn, and Mr Thomas to Mr Walter [Balcanquall,] Minister at Edinbruche.

"Mr Wilyeam Glas for Dunkeld sall send to Mr Jhone Malcolme at Perthe; Mr Jhone Malcolme to Mr Walter [Balcanquall] at Edinbruche. Mr Wilyeam Stirling for Dumblean, Mr Patrik Simsone for Stirling, Mr Jhone Spotswode for Linlithgow, Mr Adam Jhonstoun for Dalkethe, James Gipsone for Hadintoun, Mr Robert Habroun for Dumbar, Mr Archbald Dowglas for Peapbles, Jhone Clapperton for Hutton, Mr Wilyeam Meffan for Dunse, Mr Jhone Knox for Melrose, Mr Andro Clayhill for Jedbrouche, Mr Hew Foullarton for Drumfreise, Mr David Blythe for Kirkcowbrie, Mr James Davidsone for Wigtoun, Mr Andro Hay for Glasgw, Mr Robert Darrouche for Hamilton, Mr Robert Lindsay for Lannerik, David Fergusone for Dumfermling: All thir sall send thair advertisments directlie to Mr Walter Balcanquall in Edinbruche.

"Jhone Porterfield for Aire, Mr Robert Wilkie for Irewing, Mr Jhone Rose for Dumbartan, Mr Andro Knox for Pasley, sall send

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to Mr Andro Hay in Glasgw, and he to Mr Walter [Balcanquall] in Edinbruche.

"Mr Andro Melvill for St Androis, Mr Thomas Bowchanan for Cowpar, sall send to Mr Thomas Biggar, Minister at Kingorn, and he to the said Mr Walter; and last, Mr David Spense for Kirkady to the sam Mr Walter. Provyding that if anie of the above wrettin breithring haiff the commoditie of a trustie bearer utherwayes, or if the mater be of sic weght that it will nocht suffer delay, in that case they sall send to Edinbruche to the said Mr Walter immediatlie. And, to the end that the forsaid breithring may haiff the mair sure intelligence, it is ordeanit that everie brother within the Presbyterie sall giff tham sure information at all occasionnes neidfull.

"Secondlie, Efter the said Agent sall receave thir intelligences and advertisments, he sall at the first meitting communicat tham to the Conceill of the Breithring; and if the mater requyre hast, the Agent sall convein the Counceill for that effect; and being found be tham to requyre fordar advyse of uther breithring, the said Agent sall convocat them be his lettres, according as he sall receave direction fra the Counceill.

"Thridlie, Whatsoever sall happin to be concludit be the Counceall of the Breithring to be suted at his Majestie, Counsall, Session, Provest and Balyies of Burrowes, Convention of Esteates, Burrowes or Barrones, or uthers whatsumever, the said Agent sall attend fathfullie and diligentlie for executing thairof, and report his diligence to the Counceill.

"The said Agent sall seik out and extract all Letteres, Acts, and Decreits anent the causes committed to him, and use and direct tham as they aught to be, and to communicat tham, togidder with the conclusiones of the Counceill, to sic Presbyteries and partes of the countrey as the Counceill sall direct, according to the forme, and be the persones above wrytten, *ordine retrogrado*.

"The said Agent sall wryt the Memoirs of the Kirk's proceidings and dealling with the Prince, Councell, and Esteattes of this realme, fra tyme to tyme sen the Reformation of Relligion, to be a monu-

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ment to the posteritie. And for that effect, it is ordeanit, that from all Presbyteries, scrolles, wryttes, and anie pices that ar in the haldin of anie breither, salbe directed to Mr Walter Balcanquall, to be delyverit to him. And lykwyse all proceidings and deallings, quhilk the Kirk sall haiff with the King, to be noted be him heirefter, &c.

"*Item*, It is ordeanit, that thair be a comoun purse for furnesing of necessarie expences for the effaires forsaids, without the quhilk they can nocht tak effect. And that for the present, Mr Robert Bruce, with sic as he thinks guid to adjoyne to him, sall mein the want of thir comoun expences in sa dangerus a tyme to sic men of all esteates as he knawes to be weill affected, that be thair liberalitie this want may be supplied, untill sum guid ordinarie mean be fund out for that effect. And that the soumes collected be put in a box, wharof thair salbe twa or thrie keyes in the hands of twa or thrie Breithring of the Councell, wha sall deburse thairof as the said Counsall sall command thame.

"*Item*, It is ordeanit, that the said Counsall sall travell ernestlie with his Majestie and Counsall, that the Articles following may be granted :—

"That his Majestie, be publict proclamation, mak his guid affection toward the Relligion and professours thairof knawin to his haill subjects, and promise to meantein and defend it against all enemies without and within, to the uttermaist of his powar; and that he accompt all the enemies thairof to be enemies of his esteat and persone, and of this Comounwealthe; charging heirfor his haill subjects to joyne tham selves in a unitie and profession of the trew Religion professed within this countrey, and subscryve The Generall Band for the meantenance thairof against whatsoever enemies, quhilk salbe presented to tham be the Ministrie.

"That a Commission be granted till a certean of the best affected Noble men, Barrones, and Gentilmen and Magistrats within Borrowes, that is to say, to the Provest and Bailyies of everie broughe within thair towns and liberties thairof; Robert, Erle of Orkney, James, Lord Zetland, Michall Balfour of Montwhanie, for Orkney, &c., to execut all acts of Parliament and Counsall against what-

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sumever Jesuites, Seminarie Preists, excommunicat and trafecting Papists and thair reseatters, and to cause mak wapinschawings,[1] and convein the countrey in armes, at all occasions neidfull for defence of the trew Relligion, and resisting of the enemies thairof.

"That a sufficient number of the wysest of the Noble men, Barrones, and best affected to Relligion, his Majestie's esteat and standing, and the weill of this Commoun-welthe, be apointed upon the Secret Counsall, and mak thair residence in Edinbruche this wintar, and fordar, ay whill[2] the conspiracies, plattes, and attempts of the enemies of Religion within this countrey be disapointed and repressed.

"That all Papists and practeisars against the Relligion be removed from his Majestie's companie, and debarrid from all publict charge, commission, lieutenandrie, or publict office.

"That all skippars and maisters of shippes sall present to the Magistrat and Counsall of the place whar they sall aryve, all passingers, merchants, and uthers that sall com with tham in thair shippes, wha sall giff thair conscience and aithe[3] of all persones and packets of letters or buiks whatsumever, quhilks they haiff receavit at anie port sen thair departour, to be delyverit to anie persone or persones, within this countrey or without. And giff they haiff sett on land, at anie part, anie persone or persones, or delyverit packets or buiks, coffars or kists,[4] to anie whatsoever, under pean of confiscation of shippes, guids, and gear.

"That a Commission be giffen to the persones underwryttin, viz. . . . . .,[5] to sett down a constant form of provision of Ministers' Stipends at everie Congregation within this countrey; and that to be ratefied in Secret Counsall, Sessioun, and Chacker,[6] to haiff the strainthe of a law quhill[7] Parliament, and then to be ratefied be the haill Esteatts.

"Last, It is ordeanit that ther be a Generall Assemblie at Edinbruche, the nynt of Januar nixtocom, in cais the Parliament hald; and giff the Parliament be continowed, that the Presbyterie of Edin-

[1] Musters for military exercises, &c. [2] Until. [3] Oath. [4] Coffers or chests. [5] A blank is left in the MS. for inserting names. [6] Exchequer. [7] Until.

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bruche giff advertisment thairof to the breither of all Presbyteries, that they mak na wast travell."

And thir things, devysit be my uncle, Mr Andro, with the rest of the breithring, Mr James Nicolsone and I war ordeanit to pen and sett in ordour.

Betwix this Convention and the Generall Assembly following apointed, the Lord, ever watchfull over his Kirk, detected a strange Conspiracie of certean of our Nobles[1] in maner following. A certean young gentilman, Mr George Car be nam, was attending on a schipe at the Wast-sie, whar his privie conversation being espyed and his speitches taken heid to, it was perceavit him to be a Papist passing to Spean; and first greatly suspected, and thaireftar certeanlie knawin be sum of his familiares that he was a trafectar directed with commission, in word and wryt, to the King of Spean be sum Scotes Noble men. Of this Mr Andro Knox, Minister at Pasley, being certeanlie informed, accompanied with sum of his frinds, went a borde on the sheppe, sche being readie to mak seale, and apprehends the said Mr George,[2] and cersing his coffers, finds divers Letters and Blankes, directed from George, Erle of Hountlie, Frances, Erle of Arrol, and Wilyeam, Erle of Angus, subscryvit with thair hands, wryttin, sum in Latin and sum in Frenche, togidder with thair cachets,[3] signets, &c. He being thus appre-

[1] The singular story of "The Spanish Blanks," the particulars of which will be found at length in *Pitcairn's Ancient Criminal Trials*, vol. i. 310, *et seq.* [2] *Vide* "The Discoverie, &c. and examination of Mr George Car and David Grame of Fentrie, publist in print at the executioun of the said David." Margin of MS.—The title of this scarce tract is as follows: "A Discoverie of the Vnnaturall and Traiterous Conspiracie of Scottisch Papistes against God, his Kirk, their native cuntry, the Kingis Maiestie's persone and estate. Set downe as it was confessed and subscrived bee M. George Ker, yit remaining in prison, and David Grahame of Fentrie, iustly executed for his Treson in Edinburgh, the 15 of Februarie 1592. Whervnto are annexit certain Intercepted Letters, written by sundrie of that faction, to the same purpose. Printed and published at the speciall command of the Kingis Majestie. At Edinburgh, printed by Robert Waldegrave, Printer to the Kingis Majestie. *Cum privilegio Regali.*" [3] Fr. *cachet*, a stamp for marking a signatnre.

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hendit, is brought with diligence to the King, and put in pressone. Upon the quhilk also the said Erle of Angus is put in the Castell of Edinbruche, and a most frequent[1] Generall Assemblie convenit at Edinbruche, of a grait number of Barrones from all the partes of the realme, besought the King to tak ordour with these unnaturall subjects, betrayers of thair countrey to the crewall Spainyeard. With the quhilk the King tuk nocht weill at the first, quarreling the Barones for thair conveining in sic number at the Ministers' warning, without his calling for and licence. To the quhilk they answerit freilie, that it was na tyme to attend on warnings when thair Relligion, Prince, countrey, thair lyves, lands, and all was brought to jeopard be sic treasonable delling. Thairfor, the King satteling, aggreagit[2] thair cryme verie hilie, and said it was of the nature of the things that was abon him, and withe the quhilk he could nocht dispense; and thairfor promisit to tak tryell thairin with diligence, and put ordour thairto with all severitie, to thair contentment. Nevertheles, the Erle of Angus eschaped out of the Castle of Edinbruche. The rest war oversein,[3] quhilk wrought a grait suspition and miscontentment in the harts of all the guid subjects of the land towards the King. [Then did I first put in print sum of my Poesie; to wit, the Description of the Spainyarts' Naturall, out of Julius Scaliger, with sum Exhortationes for warning of Kirk and countrey.[4]]

In that simmer the devill steired upe a maist dangerus uproar and tumult of the peiple of St Androis against my uncle, Mr Andro, to the extream perrell of his lyff, if God haid nocht bein his protection and delyverance. The wicked, malitius misrewlars of that town, of whom I mentioned befor, in the trouble of the honest men thairof, hated Mr Andro, because he could nocht bear with thair ungodlie and unjust delling, and at thair drinking, incensit the rascals be fals information against Mr Andro and his Collage, making tham to think that he and his Collage sought the wrak and

[1] Crowded, numerously attended. [2] Aggravated. Fr. *aggreger*. [3] Overlooked, their crimes winked at. [4] Margin of MS.

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trouble of the town; sa that the barme[1] of thair drink began to rift[2] out crewall thretnings against the Collage and Mr Andro. They being thus prepeared, the devill devyses tham an appeirance of just occasion to fall to wark. Ther war a certean of Students in Theologie, wha weireing to go out of the Collage to thair exerceise of bodie and gham,[3] causit big a pear of buttes[4] in the Collage garding, joyning to a wynd and passage of the town. Wharat a certean of tham shootting a efter noone, amangs the rest was Mr Jhone Caldcleuche, then an of the Maisters of Theologie, bot skarse yit a schollar in archerie, wha missing the butt and a number of thak[5] housses beyonde, schouttes his arrow down the hie passage of the wynd, quhilk lightes upon a auld honest man, a matman[6] of the town, and hurts him in the crag.[7] This coming to the eares of the forsaid malitius and seditius, they concitat the multitud and popular crafts and rascall,[8] be thair words and sound of the comoun bell; wha setting upon the Collage, braks upe the yett[9] thairof, and with grait violence unbesets[10] the Principall's chalmer, dinging at the forstare[11] thairof with grait gestes,[12] crying for fyre, &c. Bot the Lord assisting his servant with wesdome and courage, maid him to keipe his chalmer stoutlie, and dell with sum of tham fearlie,[13] whom he knew to be abbusit, and with uthers scharplie, whom he knew to be malitius abbusars of the peiple. Be the travelles of Mr David Blak, new entred to his Ministerie, and Mr Robert Wilkie, Primarius of St Leonard, with uther Maisters and schollars of the Universitie, efter lang vexation and mikle adoe, the peiple's insurrection was sattelit.

The King, be the Cancellar's counsall and moyen, was graitlie offendit with this, and calling the Magistrats and certean of the ring-laders, ordeanit tham to be tryed, in particular,[14] be the Barones and gentilmen of the countrey about St Androis; bot be that occasion getting graitter bands,[15] and mair streat, abone the

[1] Yeast. [2] Belch. [3] Game, [4] Erect a pair of butts for archery. [5] Thatch. [6] Maltster. [7] Neck, throat. [8] "The rascal multitude." [9] Gate. [10] Surround and attack. [11] The fox stair. [12] Great joists or beams. [13] Fairly, gently. [14] Individually. [15] Bonds, security.

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heids of the town, for staying of the lyk in tyme coming. Seing God haid keipit bathe the honest man that was schot, and the Collage from grait hurt, Mr Andro overpassit and forgaiff bygeanes,[1] upon a humble submission and band of preventing and absteining from sic fasones in tyme to come.

M.D.XCIII.

[This yeir, 1593, in the monethe of August, the 28 day, being Tysday, efter fyve yeirs cessing, my wyff brought furthe a douchter, quhilk I named Margrat. Sche never leuche[2] in this lyff, bot within sax or sevin moneths died; the onlie corpse that past out of my hous these dissone of yeirs. Of the quhilk visitation I thank God I gat a saftned hart and graite confort, quhilk I can nocht omit unrememberit to His praise. For the quhilk I wrot this EPITAPHE:

Sen all mon[3] enter into presson strang
Of erdlie fleche, and ther remean a space,
They ar, but dout, maist happie all amang,
Wha schortest tym remeanes in sic a place.

Lo! this hes bein my luk and happie cease,
Above sax monethes nocht to ly opprest
Withe erdlie bands, when God, of his guid grace,
Has tean me ham to his æternall rest.

Sen Chryst hes then receav'd me in his glore,
Deir mother, cease, lament for me no more![4]]

In the monethe of September 1593, the Provinciall Assemblie convenit at St Androis, wharin the Lord's watchmen of the schyr of Fyff, being informit of the bissines and dangerus delling of the Papist Erles and Lords, throw impunitie and oversight of the Prince, began to wey the mater gravelie; and efter guid and

[1] Bygone, all that was past. [2] Laughed. [3] Must. [4] Margin of MS.

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throuche advysment, condiscendit all in on voice to pronunce the sentence of excommunication upon certean of the cheiff of tham. The quhilk was done be my mouthe, Moderator for the tyme, and the quhilk God sa blessed that the haill Kirk of Scotland approvit the sam, and the quhilk the Lord maid to be a speciall mean of preventing extreame danger of wrak of the Kirk and Comoun-weill of Scotland, and bringing of the enemies to forfaultrie and exyll. The names of the excommunicat was Wilyeam, Erle of Angus; George, Erle of Hountlie; Francis, Erle of Arroll; Jhone, Lord Home; Sir Patrik Gordoun of Achindown, and Sir James Chisholme, Knights. This our Synod communicat with diligence to all the Provinces of the land, and cravit a meiting of Commissionars from thame to be keipit at Edinbruche in October following, for prosecuting of the mater.

That Convention at Edinbruche was frequentlie keipit bathe be Ministers and Barones, wherin it was thought guid that Commissionars thairfra, bathe of the Ministrie, and gentilmen, and burgesses, sould be direct to the King, craving ordour taking with these excommunicat Papist Lords; namlie, it was verie greivus to the breithring to heir that the saids excommunicat Lords haid repearit to his Majestie and spokin him at Faley,[1] even immediatlie befor the meiting of the Kirk. This was gevin in Commission to be regratit. The King at this tyme was in Jedbruche, and the mater suffered nocht delay, for these Papist Lords was making grait preparation of armes, and amassing thair frinds to repear to the King and cease[2] about his persone. Therfor it behoved me (all uther refusing except Mr Patrik Galloway, the King's ordinar Minister, wha was to go thither) to tak jorney to Jedwart,[3] accompanied with twa Barrones, the Lards of Merchistoun and Caderwoode, and twa Burgesses of Edinbruche; whar, finding the King, war bot bauchlie[4] lukit upon. Our Assemblie of Fyff was bitterlie inveyit against, namlie my uncle Mr Andro and Mr David Blak. I answerit for all, as it pleasit God to giff, and efter the King's coler

[1] Fala. [2] Seize. [3] Jedburgh. [4] Sorrily, indifferently.

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appeasit, we dischargit our Commission in maist humble and fectfull maner. The King againe was crabit[1] at the Convention of Edinbruche, namlie at the Barrones and Burgesses, wha stude honestlie be it, saying it was in trew and upright hartes, with all dewtie and reverence to his Majestie for preventing of imminent evill and danger to his Stat, Relligion, and Countrey. Sa that night delyvering our petitiones in wryt, betymes on the morn, we gat our answers in wrait fear aneuche, and returned on the thride day to the breithring. Ane of the speciall answers was, That the King sould hauld a Convention, at Lithgow, soone efter his retourn from the Southe, whar he sould tak ordour with all these maters.

Bot the Breithring, certeanlie informit that the Papist Erls was conveining all thair frinds, of purpose to be present at the said Convention, and place tham selves about the King, thought meit that all sould with diligence retourn ham to thair countreyes, and mak warning thairof to thair Barrones and brouches,[2] schawing the King's guid answers and the enemies' purpose; desyring thairfor all to be in readines to keipe[3] the said Convention, for disapointing the adversar; and for that effect to repear till Edinbruche a few dayes befor, ther till advys[4] anent thair proceidings. The quhilk was done be everie Commissionar with exact diligence.

Ther was a Convention of the Barrones of Fyff keipe at the sam tyme at Cowpar, to the quhilk my uncle, Mr Andro, and I hasting, maid tham to direct speciall Barrones of thair number with certean of the ministerie, to the town of Perthe to incurage tham, and to promise tham assistance for keiping of thair town against the excommunicat Erls and thair forces. The quhilk they did, till, be the King's charge, they war constreanit to receave tham. The best and maist zealus Barrones, gentilmen and burgesses, war on fut in readines to keipe the dyet at Edinbruche, namlie heiring of the Erls of Hountlie and Errol's forces come to St Johnstoun, till the King send expres discharge of the said Erles' forces, and commandit tham withe a few of thair frinds to abyde quyetlie in

[1] Cross, angry. [2] Burghs. [3] Hold. [4] To advise.

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Perthe, attending his will anent thair effeares. Quhilk being understud, leaving ther armes, commissionars coming from everie paroche and presbyterie, keipit the dyet at Edinbruche, at quhilk they resolvit to direct from that Convention a Comission of Barrones, Burgesses, and Ministers, to the King and Convention of Esteattes at Linlithgow, withe petitiones, as of befor. Sa the number send to Jedwart being dowblit, cam to Lithgow, amangs the quhilk (because, as they said, best acquent with the haill proceadour of the mater) I was chosin to be speitchman[1] and presentar of the petitions. Bot the Chancellar, Mattellan,[2] haid dressit all to our coming, sa that thair was nocht mikle ado at that dyet, bot all remitted to a new Convention of Esteats, to be haldin at Edinbruche the monethe following. The Erles Papists turning bak, and all our folks going ham, with thankfull harts to God for disapointing of a maist dangerus interpryse, as ever was of an be Papists in this land.

The Convention at Edinbruche followit efter, in the monethe of December, whar I, withe uthers apointed, presented of new our former petitions; the quhilk the King perceaving, contentedlie promised to satisfie at efter noone. At quhilk tyme we attending, ther was offers of satisfaction to the Kirk and the King's Majestie, giffin in be the Erls' agents; wherupon the nixt day, the King, with large discourse, schawes to the Esteattes whow dangerus the mater was; for giff[3] the offers of these Noble men war refusit, they wald disperatlie go to armes, and get forean assistance, quhilk might wrak King, Countrey, and Relligion. And sa, be that and sic lyk arguments, inducit the Esteattes (wha, seing the King's inclination, uses nocht to gainstand, for manie of tham that ar called ar prepeared befor hand for the purpose) to condiscend to an uptaking of the mater. And sa divers dayes was devysit that Act of Abolitioun; of the quhilk I will nocht speak, nocht being my purpose to wryt a storie,[4] ather Civill or Ecclesiastick, bot onlie to

[1] Spokesman. [2] Maitland. [3] If. [4] History.

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minut, in Memoirs, the things quhilk God maid me to heir and sie; bot trewlie quhilk my hart pitied fallon sear.[1] The King, by this dealing, brought him selff in graitt suspition and mislyking of his best subjects, bathe for favouring of Papists, and of him wha haid sa notoriouslie committed that filthie murdour of the Erle of Murray at Donibirsall.

My uncle, Mr Andro, using alwayes to speak planlie, with zeall and birning affectiones to the honour of God and the King's weill, gaiff him at this time a maist scharpe and frie admonition concerning his evill thinking and speaking of the best frinds of Chryst and him selff, the Guid Regent, Mr Knox, and Mr George Bowchanan; and his thinking weill and favouring of Chryst and his graitest enemies the Papists, and, namlie, that Hous of Hountlie; desyring, confidentlie, that sic as war his counsallours thairin sould kythe[2] in presence of the Esteatts, and giff he convicted tham nocht of fals, treasonable, and maist pernitius doing thairin against Chryst, the King's persone, his esteat and realme, he sould nocht refuse to go to the gibbet for it, provyding they being convict sould ga the sam gett![3] Withe the quhilk the King and his Counsallors comported, and past ower the mater with smylling, saying the man was mair zealus and coleric nor wyse.

[On the Michelmes that yeir, the crafts and burgesses of St Androis changing thair Provest, for the Lard of Darsie, chosit Capitan Wilyeam Murray, quhilk maid Darsie's frinds to rage sa, that Burley cam under sylence of night, and tuk an honest man out of his hous and caried him away; at the quhilk brave exployt Burley was mutilat of a fingar to begin his warrs withall. His man, Mylles, another night, with certean companiones, his complices, cam to an uther honest man's hous and reft away his douchtar: And last, the said Lard of Darsie maid a grait convocation of his frinds, with the quhilk in armes he purposed to enter in the town, and abbuse certean citiciners thairof at his pleasour, and that indeid of the best sort. The quhilk, when it was meined[4] to my uncle, Mr Andro,

[1] Very sorely. [2] Appear, show themselves. [3] The same way. [4] Complained of.

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being then Rector of the Universitie, and sa a civill Magistrat, convocat the haill Universitie, and schew tham whow thair nibours of the town war oppressed, and what God's law, and mane's bathe, craved in sic a ceas: And sa resolvit to tak armes for helpe and defence of the town, and confortablie assisted with my Lord Lindsay, Sir George Dowglas, and divers gentilmen of the countrey, maid the invadder fean, for all his forces, to byd out, and tak reasone in part of payment. He merchet mikle of that day[1] with a whait[2] speare in his hand, as he ware[3] a corslet thairefter at the dinging down of Streabogy.

The wintar following, God provydit, in the place of Mr Jhone Robertsone, an of the Maisters of the New Collage, a godlie, honest, and lerned man, Mr Jhone Jhonston, wha, efter divers yeirs' peregrinatioun for the studie of guid letters in Germany, Genev, France, and Eingland, cam ham and contented to tak part with my uncle, Mr Andro, in the said Collage; and wha sen syne hes bein a grait helpe and comfort to my said uncle, and ornament to the Collage and Universitie. Mr Jhone Caldcleuche withstud his electioun, and troublit the Collage and Universitie verie mikle, and last raisit soummonds and callit us befor the King and Counsall; bot he was send ham the graitter fooll, whar, for his violation of the actes, and troubling of the Universitie, he was deposit from all office-bearing within the sam. God warnit me of that trouble be a dream of fyre and water, quhilk moved me mikle, and wharof I fand a notable effect be an extream danger of drownning going over the Ferrie of Kingorn, at Granton Cragges,[4] to keipe a dyet in that mater. And a wounderfull delyverance alas for thankfulnes! THE XX. DAY OF MERTCHE, AT GRANTON CRAGES.[5]]

M.D.XCIV.

About the spring tyme in the yeir following, 1594, the outlaw, Bodwall,[6] kythe openlie[7] with forces at Leithe and at Preistfeild,

[1] He marched the greatest part of that day. [2] White. [3] Wore. [4] Near to where the Duke of Buccleuch's Pier and Docks at Granton are now being erected. [5] Margin of MS. [6] The Earl of Bothwell. [7] Appeared, showed himself openly.

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bot withe lyk succes as often tymes befor. He tuk upe men of war, in secret, upe and down the countrey, and gaiff out that it was at the Kirk's employment against the Papists, quhilk maid me, being then mikle occupied in publict about the Kirk's effeares, to be graitlie suspected be the King, and bak-speirit[1] be all meanes; bot it was hard to find [that] quhilk was never thought. For I never lyket the man, nor haid to do with him directlie or indirectlie; yea, efter Guid Archbald, Erle of Angus, whom God called to his rest a yeir or twa befor this, I kend him nocht of the nobilitie in Scotland that I could communicat my mynd with anent publict effears, let be to haiff a delling with in action.

The Generall Assemblie conveined at Edinbruche in the monethe of May; my uncle, Mr Andro, chosin Moderator. Thair compeired the Lord Home, making humble supplication to be relaxed from excommunication. It was granted upon certean conditiones verie streat;[2] the quhilk, in cais he sould thairefter contravein or nocht fulfill, he sould be of new denuncit accursit. Bot the said Moderator nocht finding sic takens of trew repentance as he wald have cravit, and thought neidfull to be sein be the Kirk, namlie, sic grait number and force of enemies being in the countrey, efter he haid schawin his reasones to the Assemblie, wald nocht pronunce the sentence of absolution; bot Mr David Lindsay, being last Moderator, did it.

Thairefter a Commission, with the sentence pronuncit be the Synod of Fyff against the rest, was approven and ratefied be the haill Assemblie, acknawlaging thairin the speciall benefeit of God's providence in steiring upe the spreits of his servants to be wacryff,[3] cearfull, and curagius in the wark of his glorie and cause of his Kirk. And during the tyme of Assemblie was directed, with Commissionars, certean Articles and Petitiones to the King. Amangs the quhilk commissionars I being named, sum said it was nocht convenient, being suspected and evill-lyked of be the King. To the quhilk opinion the Assemblie beginning to inclyne, I stud upe and said, "I haid bein employed in commission oft tymes against my

[1] Cross-questioned. [2] Strict, stringent. [3] Wakeful, watchful.

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will, and when things was mair peanfull and dangerus, even when uthers refusit; bot now, even for the reasone quhilk was alleagit, I wald requeist for it as a benefit of the breithring to send me, quhilk wald be the onlie way to cleir bathe them and mie of suspition and sklander, for even utherwayes I meined to present my selff at Court befor the King, to sie gif anie man haid ought to say to me." Of this the breithring war glaid, and resolved, in a voice,[1] to send me. Sa, coming to Sterling, whar the King was, far by[2] our expectatioun we war maist gratiouslie accepted.

All our Articles war reasonit and answerit be his Majestie's awin hand-wryt upon the mergent, and that verie favourablie, to our grait contentment; and thairefter, I, that was the grait tratour, with the rest callit in to the Cabbinet with the King allean![3] His Majestie beginnes to regrat that he could nocht find that freindlines in the Kirk quhilk he cravit and wissed.[4] I, haiffing the speitche, answered, Ther was a peccant humor in the body quhilk behoved to be purged, or it could nocht be out of danger of disease, yea, deathe. The King asked me what that was? I said it was suspition on ather syde; for purging wharof it war best we sould be frie on ather syde, and schaw our greiffs and occasiones of suspecting the warst, the quhilk being removit, the body wald be curit and haill. The King thought it maist meit and pertinent, and begins and expones what he haid [to say?]

First, concerning the assembling of his subjects without his licence:—To the quhilk we answerit, we did it be the warrant of his Majestie's lawes, and of Chryst, according to the Word, and custom of our Kirk sen the beginning; quhilk nather haid, nor be God's grace ever sould be to his Majestie's hurt, bot honour and weill.

Second, concerning the excommunicating of his speciall servant and noble-man, the Lord Home:—We answerit, That he was a profest dangerus Papist, in course with the rest, and whowsone he repented and reteired from them, as we war in guid hope he sould do, and approve him selff to the present Assemblie, he sould be relaxed, and his Majestie satisfeit thairanent.

[1] Unanimously. [2] Beyond, exceeding. [3] Alone. [4] Wished.

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The Third and last was concerning Mr Andro Hountar, Minister, wha haid kythed[1] in open fields with Bodwell:—We answerit, that incontinent thairefter the Presbyterie of St Androis haid proceidit against him, and haid deposit him of his office of Ministerie.

Then his Majestie ceassing, I asked, if his Majestie haid anie thing to say to me? He answerit, Na thing mair nor to all the rest, saiff that he saw me ane in all commissiones! I answerit, I thanked God thairfor, for thairin I was serving God, his Kirk, and the King publictlie, and as for anie privat unlawfull or undewtifull practise, I wald wis traducars (if anie was of me to his Majestie) sould be maid to schaw thair face befor ther King, as I presentlie haid procured of the Kirk to do, of sett purpose. And thairefter exponing all our greiffs and petitiones, receavit, as said is, verie guid answers, namlie a promise of a Parliament with all convenient diligence, wharin these excommunicat Papist Erles sould be forefaultit, and thairefter proceidit against with fyre and sword. Efter the quhilk, the King, taking me asyde, caussit ushe[2] the Cabinet, and ther conferrit with me at lainthe alean[3] of all purposes, and gaiff me speciall commendationes and directiones to my uncle Mr Andro, whom with me he acknawlagit to be maist fathfull and trustie subjects. Sa of the strang working of God, I, that cam to Sterling the trator, retourned to Edinbruche a grait courteour, yea a Cabinet Counsallour! And sa, indeid, continowed till these Papist Erls war brought hame and restored againe, as we will heir at lainthe heirefter.

The Parliament, according to promise, was solemnizet in the moneth of Junij, 1594, at quhilk the excommunicat Erls forsaid war, upon the intercepted wryttings and blanks,[4] forfaulted, streat[5] actes maid against Mes-heirars[6] and Papists, and monie guid in favour of the Kirk, for ministers' leivings, gleibs, and manses. And I being then in grait credit, purchassit, be the King's awin speciall

[1] Appeared; had shown himself. [2] Caused the Cabinet to be dissolved.
[3] Alone. [4] See Notes to p. 306. [5] Strict, stringent. [6] Hearers of Mass.

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cear and favour, ane act in favours of the honest men of St Androis, James Smithe and Jhone Walwode, for retourning of tham from exyll to thair awin countrey, citie, hous, wyff, and childring.

In the hervest quarter thairefter, the Erle of Argyll, authorised with the office of Lieutenantrie, prepeared a grait armie, with the quhilk he cam upon the Erle of Hountlie, and faught him at Glenrinnes, above Murray land, with uncertan victorie, bot graittest los to Hountlie; for excommunicat Auchindown was ther slean, with uther divers gentilmen of his kin, ther horses all spoilled, and a grait number of the best heavilie woundit; quhilk maid tham unable thairefter to mak anie resistance to the King's armie.

This was in the end of September, and, in the beginning of October following, the King, with companies of horsmen and futtmen, under wages, by[1] the comoun forces gathered be proclamation, past Northe against these rebelles, whom my uncle Mr Andro and I, with uthers of the ministerie accompanied also at his Majestie's desyre, to bear witness of his peanes and sevear proceidings against these, because the peiple war yit gealous over the King for his knawin and kythit[2] favour to the Erle of Hountlie. At our coming to Aberdein we fund na resistance, bot the enemies fled and darn'd.[3] Yit the King resolvit to go fordwart to thair cheiff housses for demolishing thairof; bot extremitie of wather steyed him till almaist the first monethe was consumed, and for the nixt ther was na pay to the wagit horsmen and futmen, wherin stud the forces that war reposit on to do the turn.[4] It was thairfor, be his Majestie and Counsall, thought a turn wheron the haill cause dependit, to direct a man of credit, fathfulnes, and diligence, to move the brouches[5] and weill affected of all rankes to send with diligence the second monethes pay, for the quhilk I was maid choise of be the King, Counsall, and Breithring. Wharof I mak mention to the praise of my guid God, wha keipit me, and directed all aright, the message being maist peanfull and perrillus, bathe for my persone, and fame,

[1] *Forbye*, besides, over and above. [2] Manifested. [3] Hid or concealed themselves. [4] Business. [5] Burghs.

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and estimation. The jorney was lang to go to Edinbruche and retourn again with diligence to Aberdein, in extremitie of evill wather; the oountrey broken and dangerus; and that quhilk effrayed me maist, I was commandit to wrait to Eingland to Mr Bowes, ordinar Ambassatour, and to assure the Breithring of the ministerie of Edinbruche and all uther, yea to preatche it, that seing the rebels war fugitive, thair principall housses sould be demolished to testifie the King's utter indignation against thame. And yit the treuthe was, I was nocht twa dayes on my jorney, when sic moyen was maid that thair sould be na mair done bot a viewing of the places and returning againe! Bot the Lord my God, haiffing a cear of me, saved all, except my man, wha, at my retourning, throw exces of travell, tuik seiknes in Cowy and died. I haid also a speciall frind behind, whom God usit as instrument to work that wark and saiff my creadit. This was my uncle, Mr Andro, wha being at Streabogy, and present in Counsall daylie, when be maniest vottes it was inclyning to spear[1] the hous, he reasoned and bure out the mater sa, be the assistance of the guid Lord Lindsay, and Capteans of horsmen and futmen, that at last the King takes upon him, contrar to the graitest part of the Counsall, to conclud the demolishing of the hous,[2] and giff command to the maister of wark to that effect; quhilk was nocht lang in executing be the souldiours. When all was done, lytle sound meining and small effect fordar was producit. For the King returned Southe, and left the Duc, Lieutenant, behind to accomplis the mater; wha tuk upe rigoruslie the penalties of countrey peiple that obeyed nocht the proclamationes, and componed[3] easelie with the assistars of the rebels, be avaritius and craftie counsallars wha war left with him, quhilk rased a grait offence and out-cry, and litle uther guid. Alwayes,[4] in end, these Papist, excommunicat, and forfaultit Erls, war compellit to pas aff the countrey, and sa God triumphit ower tham, till, in his justice for our sinnes, they war retournit and sett upe againe. Bot because

[1] Spare. [2] Of Strabogy, the Earl of Huntly's seat. [3] Compounded. [4] Nevertheless.

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thairefter my diligence was thought ower grait, and my speitches ower frie in that mater, for my awin releiff and defence I haiff thought guid till inregister heir the wrytings quhilk I gat at that tyme from the King and Breithring:—

TO OUR TRAIST FRINDS, THE MINISTERS OF THE EVANGILL AT EDINBRUCHE.

"TREST FRINDS, We greit yow hartlie weill. At the leat Conventioun of our Esteats assemblit for the preventing of the dangerus practeises of the Papists, and uthers our unnaturall subjects, joynit and conspyring the subversion of Relligion, the wrak of our persone and esteat, and perpetuall thraldome of our countrey, to maist merciles strangers, it was resolvit that we sould with all celeritie haist in expedition towards the Northe, lest, giff tymous remead[1] war nocht provydit, thair expected strangers might arryve: And for the better effectuating thairof, it was thoucht requisit that we sould haiff our ordinarie force of horsmen and futmen, (of the quhilks our Burrowes verie kyndlie, and of guid will, yeildit to a sowme for susteining of a thowsand futmen the space of twa monethes, as we our selff provydit be our awin privat moyen the first monethe to our horsmen,) the wather being verie unseasonable, and sic spaittes[2] of waters, as with grait difficultie, and nocht without perrell of a grait part of our armie, could we attein to this town befor the halff of the first monethe was expyrit: Wherby, and be the retreat of our rebelles, coveredlie, to corners and hiddilles,[3] thinking to weirie us, and abyding the ischew of the pay of our waigit men, as things heir ar lyk to draw to graitter lainthe then we expected, yit seing what our departour from this might import, and whow manie dangers ar imminent, we are fullie resolved to mak our residence heir, and to depart na whar elles, whill we have fullie settled this part of the countrey, and put it to sic poinct as litle danger salbe fearit, giff

[1] If timely remedy. [2] Floods. [3] Hiding-places.

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we be aydit be your kyndlie helpe and promised releiff. We will, thairfor, maist effecteouslie desyre you, that yie wilbe instant be all meanes to move that our Brouche of Edinbruche, and the rest of our Burrowes, to have at us in this town befor the xxviij. of this instant the second monethes pay, with the rest of the first monethes, wherof onlie that an halff yit is ressaved; without the quhilk we wilbe constreanit to leave this guid and necessar wark undone, wharby the adversaries wilbe sa incouragit as they will luk for na resistance, and haiff the countrey opin to strangers; quhilk, befor it sould fall out in our tyme, or anie blam might be imput to us, we haid rather giff croun, lyff, and whatsoever God hes put in our hands! Be nocht, thairfor, cauld nor slaw in this mater, but employ your haill means, and sie the sam effectuated, whilk we dout nocht bot yie will do, and interpon all your guid travelles and diligence to that effect. Fordar, we commit to this bearar, Mr James Melvill, whom we haiff expreslie chosin to this message, and we wis you to credit as our selff. Sa we comit you in God's holy protectioun. From Aberdein, the xvj. of October, 1594.

(*Sic subscribitur,*) "JAMES R."

TO OUR TREST FRINDS, THE PROVEST, BAILYIES, AND COUNSALL OF OUR BROUCHE OF EDINBRUCHE, AND THE REST OF OUR BURROWES.

"TRAIST FRINDS, We greit you hartlie weill: This bearer, Mr James Melvill, being an of the Ministerie that hes accompanied us in this haill jorney, and thairthrow best acquented with all our proceidings in the way, and since our heir coming, We haiff takin occasion, annes earand,[1] to direct him toward you, to signifie to you particularlie, whow we haiff bein occupied, and what our intention is befor our retourn. As alswa, haiff instructed him in sic things as he sall specialie impart to you in our name, anent the furtherance

[1] For the express purpose.

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of the cause in hands, whom we will desyre you firmlie to credit as our selff. And sa, remitting the mater to his sufficiencie, and the particular Letter of the rest of the Ministerie heir, We commit you to God. From Aberdein, the xv. of October, 1594.

(*Sic subscribitur*,) "JAMES R."

TO OUR RIGHT WORSCHIPFULL AND DEIR BREITHRING THE MINISTERS OF EDINBRUCHE.

"*Manie ar the tribulations of the righteus, but the Lord delyvereth tham out of tham all.*"

"RIGHT WORSCHIPFULL and deir Breithring: Albeit the Lord, in justice, thretned this land withe heavie judgments for the contempt of his favour, yit we find that in the middes of wrathe he remembrethe mercie, and owercomethe when he is judged! For the King and his Counsall, with his haill companie, daylie growes in ernest affection to advance the guid cause against the enemies thairof, and hes reasolutlie concludit, be the grace of God, nocht to remove out of thir partes befor the utter overthrow of the adversarie caus, wherin, as we haive just occasion to prais God, sa we ernestlie recommend to your prayer the guid and happie succes of this actioun. Requysting you lykwayes to employ your selffs with our brother Mr James Melvill, the bearer, at the hands of your awin town, that a guid cause be nocht forsaken at the utmaist poinct, and fall throw leak of sufficient moyen to bear it furthe; as we dout nocht to find your effectuall assistance according to your zeall. The rest to the bearer, whom yie will creadit. The Lord preserve you, and direct all your proceidings to his glorie. From Aberdein, the xvj. of October, 1594.

"Your breithring and fellow-laborars in the Lord's hervest,

(*Sic subscribitur*,) "AN. MELUILE.
"MR. P. GALLOUAY.
"JA. NICOLSON."

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M.D.XCV.

[In the monethe of Merche, 27, [1595,] being Furisday,[1] about alleavin houres of the night, in place of a sarie las that never leuche,[2] God gave me of my wyff, dearlie beloved, a pleasand boy, wha, during his infancie, being of a fyne sanguine complexioun, was a pastyme and pleasour, nocht onlie to my haill familie, bot almost throw all the town whar ever he was caried. Sa it is a guid thing to tak in patience whatever God sends. His guid-shyr,[3] Jhone Durie, being with me at that tyme, gave him the bage[4] of baptisme, and called him JHONE,[5] in remembrance of the inspeakable grace of God bestowit on him and his successioun. The grace of God mak as mikle to kythe in him, coming to age, if sa be His pleasure, as appeires in the youthe inwartlie and outward!]

The yeir following, [1595,] Mr David Blak's ministerie in St Androis, quhilk haid wrought notable guid effects, bathe in the town for the weill of all the peiple's saulles, and ther republict, and guid ordour of provisioun for the pure, as also to landwart for purpose of biging of kirks, and in the Presbyterie moving non-residents to tak tham to thair kirks and charges, began now, be the devill invying it, to be branglit.[6] The instruments war the Manse-moungar, (sa Mr David named him,) Wilyeam Balfour, and his favourars, wha, fearing Mr David's prevaling against him, and evicting of his hous in the Abbay to be a manse to the Minister, causit, be divers courtiours and uthers, the King's eares to be filled with calumnious informationes of the said Mr David his doctrine and ministerie: As lykwayes be his occasioun of Mr Andro, my uncle, Rector of the Universitie, being the principall mean of the said Mr David's bringing and placing thair, and meantiner and assistar of him in his ministerie.

Sa, in the monethe of August 1595, the said Mr David and my uncle ar chargit to compeir befor the King and Counsall at Falkland, to answer for certean speitches uttered be tham in thair doc-

[1] Thursday. [2] Sorry, sad, or weakly girl, that never laughed. See *ante*, p. 309. [3] Grandfather, by the mother's side. [4] Badge, seal. [5] *John* signifies the grace, gift, or mercy of the Lord. [6] Menaced. O. Fr. *bransler*.

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trin against his Majestie's progenitours; of the quhilk I knew na thing bot be advertisment fra my uncle from St Androis to keipe the dyet. Coming to Falkland, the King inquyres of me, What I thought of Mr David Blak? I answerit, "I thought him a guid and godlie man, and a mightie preatchour, and a man whase ministerie haid bein verie forcible and fruitfull in St Androis."—"O," sayes the King, "yie ar the first man, and onlie, that ever I hard speak guid of him amangs ministerie, gentilmen, or burgesses!"—"Surlie, then, (says I,) I am verie sorie, Sir, that your Majestie hes nocht spoken with the best sort of them all."—"I ken," sayes the King in coler, "the best, and hes spoken with tham; bot all your seditius deallings ar cloked, and hes bein with that name of the best men."—"Then, surlie, (says I,) Sir, your Majestie sall do weill to giff Mr David a syse of anie in all tha thrie ranks, excepting nan bot sic as hes knawin particulars; and giff they fyle[1] him, I sall speak na mair in this maner to your Majestie, till your Majestie find what he is in effect." The King slipping away fra me, goes to a speciall courtier, and sayes to him, "Fathe, Mr James Melvill and I ar at our graittest, for I perceave he is all for Mr David Blak, and that sort!" The King, lest he sould irritat the Kirk be calling befor his Counsall anie Minister for thair doctrine, quhilk haid nocht succeidit weill of befor, called onlie a nomber of the Breithring of the ministerie, (namlie, sic whilk war offendit with Mr David's scharpe and plean forme of doctrine, sparing nather King nor Minister,) to try the mater, and judge thairupon.

Mr David compeiring, declynit the King's judicator, in doctrine; and as for the Breithring, he refusit tham nocht, being anie sort of Assemblie of the Kirk, rightlie callit for that effect, or utherwayes in privat to confer with thame, and satisfie tham in anie dout conceavit of his doctrine. The King summarlie and confusedlie passit ower all, and put nan of these things to interloquutor, bot called for the witneses. And Mr David, called to sie what he haid to say against tham, answerit, Gif that was a judicator, he sould haiff an

[1] *Fyle*, find him guilty.

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answer concerning the unlawfulnes and incompetencie alleagit; as lykwayes, put ceas[1] it war, as it is nocht, he sould haiff an accusar fortifeit with twa witneses, according to the rewll of the Apostle, &c. That in lyk maner is past, and a nomber of witneses is examined, Burley, the delatter[2] and accusar, being alwayes present: Whilk, when my uncle, Mr Andro Melvill, perceaving, chapping[3] at the chalmer dure, whar we war, comes in, and efter humble reverence done to the King, he braks out with grait libertie of speitche, letting the King planlie to knaw, that quhilk dyvers tymes befor with small lyking, he haid tooned[4] in his ear, "That thair was twa Kings in Scotland, twa Kingdomes, and twa Jurisdictiones: Thir was Chryst Jesus, &c.: And gif the King of Scotland, civill King James the Saxt, haid anie judicator or cause thair, presentlie, it sould nocht be to judge the fathfull messanger of Jesus Chryst, the King, &c., bot (turning him to the Lard of Burley, standing there) this trator, wha hes committed divers poincts of hie treasone against his Majestie's civill lawes, to his grait dishonour and offence of his guid subjects, namlie, taking of his peacable subjects on the night out of thair housses, ravishing of weimen, and receatting within his hous of the King's rebels and forfault enemies!" &c.

With this, Burley falles down on his knies to the King, and craves justice. "Justice!" sayes Mr Andro, "wald to God yow haid it! Yow wald nocht be heir to bring a judgment from Chryst upon the King, and thus falslie and unjustlie to vex and accuse the fathfull servants of God!" The King began, with sum countenances and speitches, to command silence and dashe him; bot he, insurging[5] with graitter bauldnes and force of langage, buir out the mater sa, that the King was fean[6] to tak it upe betwix tham with gentill termes and mirrie talk; saying, "They war bathe litle men, and thair hart was at thair mouthe!" Sa that meitting was demissit the forenoone. Nather war we assemblit again in anie forme of judicator; bot, when I perceavit the King to be incensed, and

[1] Put the case. [2] The dilator or informer. [3] Knocking. [4] Tuned, sounded. [5] Rising, overflowing. Lat. *insurgere*. [6] Fain, glad.

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verie evill-myndit bathe against Mr Andro and Mr David, I spak the Erle of Mar, being at Court, informing him of the treuthe of maters, and whow dangerus a thing it was to his Majestie, at sic a tyme, to brak out with the Kirk, whill as Boduell haid confederit[1] with the Papist Lords, and as he knew ther war presentlie a grait commotioun in all the Bordars, besought him thairfor to counsall his Majestie aright, and mitigat these maters. The quhilk he did fathfullie. And sa, the King callit Mr David to him selff, in privat and hamlie maner, desyring to understand the treuthe be way of conference; the quhilk Mr David schew him to his satisfactioun. In lyk maner, Mr Andro, wha, efter his fasone, maist frilie reasonit with the King, and tauld him his mynd betwix tham to the King's contentation; and sa, in end, his Majestie directed me, efter lang conference on thir maters, to go to St Androis and teatche, and declar the mater, sa as the peiple might be put out of evill opinion, baithe of his Majestie and thair Minister, and whow that all was weill aggreit. Whilk I did upon the morn, in St Androis, teatching the 127 Psalme; and because I knew it wald be marked, I sett down the haill poincts I was to speak, in wrait, upon that mater, as followes:

"Now, I am sure, guid Christianes and breithring, yie wald fean haiff newes from this last dyet whilk we have keipit with his Majestie at Falkland! And, indeid, the King's Majestie and breithring of the Ministerie ther convenit, fearing that quhilk in effect is fallen out, viz., the fasones of evill fame, quhilk ever reports of all things to the warst, and oftentymes sawes abrod[2] lies for veritie, and evill newes for guid, as we heir it hes been reported amangs yow, that the King haid begoun to put at the Kirk, and to plunge in maters with the Ministerie, namlie, haid melde[3] with your Pastor, and ather put him in exyll, warde, or sylence, whilas, indeid, ther is na thing les; therfor hes his Majestie and the said breithring directed me to this place to testifie and declar the treuthe.

[1] Confederated. [2] Sows abroad. [3] Meddled, interfered with.

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First, then, it is of veritie, that a grait number of evill reports hes bein caried from this place to the King, sa bissie hes men bein, specialie sic as war twitched in thair particulars,[1] quhilk might have easelie moved and crabet[2] the King; bot he suspendit his opinion, and reservit all to a just tryell, as occasion might best serve for the saming.

"Amangs the rest, a delatioun of leat was maid, maist offensive and odious, That Mr David, your Pastor, by name, sould have[3] publictlie from pulpit traducit the King's mother maist vyllie, to mak his Majestie contemptible in the eis of his peiple, and to steir upe the seditius to treasonable and dangerus attempts against his Majestie's esteat and persone; the quhilk could nocht be sufferit unput to tryell. Compeiring then befor his Majestie, and a guid number of the breithring of the Ministerie, bathe the accusar and accusit, the accusar affirmed that your Pastor haid spokin never a guid word of the King's mother, but mikle evill; the quhilk, gif he sould nocht prove be sufficient witneses ther present, he sould be content to tyne his land, his lyff and all.

"Your Pastor answered, he haid comendit his Majestie's mother for manie grait and rare gifts, and excellent verteus; and onlie verie sparinglie and soberlie haid twitched the treuthe of the judgments of God, quhilk haid com on hir for refuising the wholsome admonitioun of the Word of God. Sa the witneses war producit and examined. It was fund cleir, in end, that your Pastor, contrar to the accusation, haid spokin mikle guid of the King's mother, as also haid spokin concerning the judgments of God upon hir, in hir fall.

"The King could nocht think it altogidder unlawfull to use his mother for example; bot thought it na wayes expedient in his tyme, because of the peiple, that is ever readie to draw that to the contempt of his Hienes' persone, and of the seditius and treasonable, wharof ther is manie in the land, wha ar ever readie to grip thairat; as thought the forme of men's dealing against hir, quhilk

[1] Their own interests. [2] Irritated, incensed. [3] Had publicly, &c.

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was extraordinar, might be drawin in exemple, and usit be tham: Therfor, it was thought expedient be the haill breithring ther, that nather Mr David nor na Minister sould speak a word of his Majestie's mother, till that a certean Act of the Generall Assemblie, maid thairanent at Dondie, war sein and considderit, and in all tymes coming the tennour thairof to be keipit preceislie.

"And for satisfaction of his Majestie, the said Mr David cam maist humblie in his Majestie's presence, and acknawlagit ther, that, as he sould mak answer to God, upon the usage of his ministerie, he thought nocht that his speitches could be offensive to his Majestie, nor anie wayes meinit to haiff offendit his Hienes, bot onlie usit that exemple to bear down sinne in the persone quhilk he was rebuking; nather yit wald he heirefter use that speitche, nor anie uther wilfullie or undewtifullie, to his Majestie's offence or displeasour; bot as his hart wes afauld,[1] upright and maist affectioned to his Majestie, as anie subjects or Ministers in this realme, sa wald he mak it knawin in experience, and all dewtie to his Hienes heirefter. Wharwith his Majestie was weill pleasit, and in guid favour dimissed the said Mr David. Conceave thairfor rightlie and reverentlie, and stand in guid opinion bathe of your Prince and Pastor, for the discharge of all dewties addettit to tham, and pray God to keipe his Majestie in guid concord and aggriment with his fathfull and trew servands, deteasting from your harts the evill disposition of sic persones, that, for thair particular,[2] is sett to the contrar."

This piece of service was weill aneuche lyked and accepted on bathe the partes; bot my court grew les thairefter, and, as we will heir, at the ham-coming of the Papists Lords, clean deceyit. And to leave the treuthe of my courting testified befor God, befor whom I walked, I sought it nocht, but it fell on me be the occasion rehersed. When it cam on, I interteined it as I could in conscience, (quhilk, indeid, was hard to do, and cost me manie soar prik

[1] Single, sincere. [2] To promote or further their own private interests.

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in hart,) chieflie and first, to mak the King to ken that we loved him deirlie, and wald do anie thing that ley in us for his pleasuring with the warrand of God and a guid conscience, that, by his throuche lyking and conjunction with the Kirk maters, bathe in Kirk and polecie, might go right and weill fordwart. And trewlie, I thank God, during my twa yeirs court, it was sa. Bot as I was thus about to win the King, as in me lay, to the Kirk, sa was he in winning of me to the Court; and when on ather syde all meanes was usit, and bathe keipit our groundes, without grait vantage an of another, we relented and fearlie reteired,[1] as the continowing of this storie will in the awin[2] place declar. The onlie particular quhilk I haid, was the pitifull esteat of the guid honest men of St Androis, whase cause and condition was joyned sa with the esteat of the Kirk and guid breithring, that thairwith it stud and fell. Bot for my selff, as God knawes, I haid never a croun be my courtein, bot spendit everie yeir the halff of my stipend thairon; and the treuthe was, I never sought nane, and I gat nan unsought.

In the monethe of September following, the Erle of Orkney, be the Lard of Burleyes moyen, cam to St Androis, as direct from the King, and reconcyled the said Lard with Mr Andro Melvill, Rector, and Mr David Blak, and Mr Robert Wallace, Ministers of St Androis, and that verie craftelie, under pretext thairof to draw again the peiple to the hous of Darsy, and cause tham change thair Provest again, as they did: For Captean Murray, perceaving the changeablenes of the peiple, and the weght of the office, demitted the sam willinglie; and sa be the uther faction of the peiple, favored be Court, the Lard of Darsy wes receavit again. That cost us a faschius jorney to St Jhonstoun.[3] Returning fra the quhilk, certean newes cam of the Chancellar, Mr Jhone Metellan's departour, whom Mr Andro, Mr Robert Bruce, and I, haid visited nocht lang befor, and left at a verie guid esteat for the lyff to come. He was a man of grait lerning, wisdome, and stoutnes, and kythe in end to have the feir of God, deing a guid Christian, and lovar of

[1] Fairly retired. [2] In the proper. [3] Perth.

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Chryst's servants. And, indeid, he was a grait instrument in keiping the King af the Kirk, and fra favoring of Papists, as the yeir efter it kythed cleirlie.

M.D.XCVI.

That Wintar the haill Officiars of Esteat war alterit, and the King's haill effeares concerning his patrimonie, propertie, and casualities, war put in the hands of aught,[1] and sa almaist the haill administratioun of the realme, and thairfor named OCTAVIANS; the an halff wharof war suspected Papists, and the rest litle better This was mikle thought of, and portendit a grait alteration in the Kirk, whilk fell out the yeir following, 1596, quhilk may be markett for a speciall periodic and fatall yeir to the Kirk of Scotland, and thairfor man tak mair pean[2] to schaw the maters that fell out thairin. It haid a strange varietie and mixture: The beginning thairof with a schaw of profit in planting of the Kirks with perpetuall locall stipends; the mids[3] of it verie confortable for the exerceise of Reformatioun, and renewing of the Covenant; bot the end of it tragicall, in wasting the Sion of our Jerusalem, the Kirk of Edinbruche, and thretning na les to manie of the rest. The redeiming wharof, I feir be tyme, salbe fund to have cost us deirar be the los of the haill libertie of Chryst's kingdome in Scotland, nor giff all annes haid bein wasted and overrune. Wherin I pray God, of his mercie, that my feir may be fund foolishe.

[This yeir had twa prodigius things, quhilk I marked amangs us, on the coste syd. Ane in the Seinzie ouk efter Pace,[4] the day being fear,[5] about noone, ther fell a cloud of rean[6] upon Kellie Law, and the mounteans besyd, that for a space covered them with rinning water, the quhilk descending thairfra, rasit sa at ane instant the

[1] Eight. [2] Must take more pains. [3] Middle. [4] The Synod or Consistory Week, at Easter. Knox has the following pithy passage on this Assembly, which had its origin in the old Roman Catholic times:—"Efter the Pasche, he came to Edinburghe to hald the Seinye, as the Papistes tearme their unhappie Assemblie of Baale's schavin sort." *Knox's Hist.* p. 63. It was usual, during "*Seinzie week*," to have processions of the Priests, when their pretended Saints and idols were carried in great pomp through the streets, with banners, &c. [5] Fair. [6] A water-spout.

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strypes and burnes, that they war unpassable to the travellars, whowbeit weill horst.[1] The burn of Anstruther was never sein sa grait in man's memorie, as it rase within an hour. The read speat[2] of fresche water market the sie mair nor a myll and a halff. That brought grait barrennes upon the land the yeirs following. The uther was a monstruus grait whaale, befor the hervest cam in, upon Kincrag Sandes.[3]]

The occupatioun and continuall laboring to eschew ruting out, maid me befor nocht to mention anie peanes takin upon planting, whowbeit ther was mikle at divers tymes, namlie, in the yeirs four-score ten, twoll and threttein yeirs.[4] Wharanent we haid divers Commissiones from Parliament and Generall Assemblie, and quhilk indeid was bathe peanfull and expensive to me, amangs uthers; bot because I can recompt na effect of tham,[5] I sall set down this yeir's wark alleanerlie, when Commissiones war giffen out upon an act of Parliament and letters, to dell with taxmen[6] and all titulars of teinds for effectuating of the best Constant Plat, that efter lang advysment takin amangs us wes put in ordour and pennit be Mr Jhone Lindsay, Secretar, and the quhilk to serve for all those biotik[7] maters, I thought meit to be heir insert; if that first I mark a[8] thing that I hard Mr Alexander Hay, Clerk Register, a man of anie in Scotland maist exerceised in tha maters, and the said Mr Jhone Lindsay, a man of the graitest lerning and solid naturall wit joyned with that, I knew, controvert divers tymes, bathe be worde and wrait, anent that Plat: The an, halding that it was an impossibilitie, as things stud in Scotland, to devyse a Constant Platt, or,

[1] Horsed, mounted. [2] The flood, carrying the red-coloured soil into the sea. [3] Margin of MS. [4] In the years 1590, 1592, 1593. [5] "For the generall, whowbeit I man remember, to the grait praise of God, that our particular travelles war sa blissit, that whar at our coming to St Androis ther was nocht passing four or fyve Kirks thairabout planted with Ministers, ther is this day saxtein or sevintein in the Presbyterie thairof; manie of them alsweill provydit as anie of the countrey, 1600." [This is added, at a subsequent date, by the Author on the margin of the MS.] [6] Tacksmen, lease-holders. [7] Extraordinary, out of the way. [8] One.

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giff it war devysit, to effectuat it; and deid[1] in that opinion: The uther, to wit, Mr Jhone, halding that bathe was possible; and thairfor sett him selff to devyse the sam, and put it *in mundo*[2] as followes; bot, concerning the effectuating thairof, he died in the sam fathe with the Clark Register!

THE NEW AND CONSTANT PLAT OF PLANTING THE HAILL KIRKS OF SCOTLAND, PENNED TO BE PRESENTED TO THE KING AND ESTEATS IN ANNO 1596.

"OURE SOVERANE LORD, with consent of his Thrie Estaits in Parliament, understanding that be the Law of God it is expreslie commandit, lykas alswa for interteinment[3] of Relligioun and God's service, it is mair nor necessar that the Ministers of his Holie Word haiff sufficient rents for thair honest sustentatioun:

Kirk-rent damnified be Annexatiouns, Erectionnes, Setting of lang Taks, Peyment of Silver-dewtie, Lyffrents, Assignationnes, Pensionnes, King's Superplus, Comoun Kirks, First Fruits, Fyft Pennie, Patronages, Dispositions of Benifices, Ratificationnes in Parl.

"Considering also that the rents and patrimonie quhilk perteined of auld to the Kirk is graitumlie damnified and exhaust be the annexatioun of the haill temporalitie thairof to his Hienes' Croun, and be the erectionnes of a grait part of the said temporall lands of the Kirk with divers Kirks and Teinds includit thairwith in new Temporall Lordschipes, and be the new fasone of setting of lang takes of the said teinds for divers nyntein yeirs, and lyff-rents successive for peyment of small silver-dewtie, nawayes equivalent to the halff of the reasonable valor of the saids Teinds; and be the pretendit rightes of sa monie persones lyff-rents, assignationnes, and uther dispositionnes of the said Teinds and dewties of taks, and be his Majestie's rights of the Thrids, superplus, comoun Kirks, first-

[1] Died. [2] Write it out fairly. [3] Maintenance, support.

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fruicts, and fyft-pennie of ilk benefice, rights and disposition of the sam, proceiding from his Hienes efter his perfyt age; and fra his Grace's predecessours, for the maist part ratefied in Parliament: Wharby ther is na moyen[1] left presentlie to augment the small stipend of anie pure[2] Minister, albeit he haid never sa grait necessitie; nor yit to plant anie new Ministers at anie Congregation, albeit the maist part of all the Paroche[3] Kirks of Scotland ar altogidder destitut of all exerceise of Relligioun: And that ther is a grait number of Ministers nocht provydit, but awating upon sum speciall charge and vocatioun, lykas a grait number of guid schoollars of the youthe of this realme, for the lyk povertie, is compellit to pas to France, to the grait danger of apostasie fra Relligioun, whar utherwayes they might be profitable to the Kirk, and might be honestlie interteined upon the said Teinds:

Teinds, be all Law, the Kirk's just right.—Na new Provision to Prelacies befor the Ministers of the Kirks be provydit.

"Quhilk Teinds nocht onlie befor the wryttin Law of God, and thairefter be expres commandiment of the sam, bot also be the consent of all nationnes, and specialie of this realme, hes ever perteined to the Kirk; wherby of all reasone the Kirk, haveing na uther patrimonie, aught to be meanteined in the right and possessioun of the saids Teinds, at leist ay and whill[4] they be sufficientlie provydit utherwayes: Conforme to the quhilk, divers Actes hes bein maid in Parliament, that befor the new provision of anie Prelat, the Ministers at the Kirks and Paroches united to the said Prelacie sould be first provydit to sufficient Stipends, utherwayes the provision of the Prelacie to be null.

Act of Parliament [15]67.—*Act of Annexatioun.*—[*Manses, Gleibs.*]

"And lykwayes, in the tent act of the Parliament, hauldin 1567, it is ordeanit, that the haill Thriddes sould be first employed to the use of the Ministers, ay and whill the Kirk com in possessioun of

[1] Means. [2] Poor. [3] Parish. [4] Until.

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thair awin patrimonie, quhilk is the Teinds. And als, in the said act of Annexatioun, and divers uther loveable actes, it is expreslie provydit, that the Ministers sould be sufficientlie provydit of leivings[1] furthe of the best and readiest of the spiritualities, and that they sould be provydit in tytle to all small benefices; that they sould be provydit to Manses and Gleibs, for thair residence at thair Kirks; and that laic Patrones sould provyde qualifiet persones.

"Whilk actes hes nocht tean[2] fullie effect, but, on the contrar, the leivings of the said Ministers left incerteanlie to be sought from yeir to yeir at his Hienes' Checquer,[3] out of the Thrids, with infinit proces in law, be reasone of the manifald dispositiones of the said Thrides to uther laic persones, proceiding fra his Hienes as having right to the haill Thrids, comoun Kirks, superplus, fyft-pennie, and temporalitie of ilk benefice, and be reasone of the collation of benefices *pleno jure* to persones na wayes qualefied, contrar to the guid meining and intentioun of the forsaids actes of Parliament, to the utter wrak and distructioun of the Kirk be plean povertie, as the profest enemies of Chryst wald have done of auld, giff spidie remeadie be nocht fund:

All Teinds the proper Patrimonie of the Kirk.

"THAIRFOR his Hienes, remembering that ther is na thing mair proper to his royall office nor[4] to be the nurissar of the trew Kirk, and to be cairfull of the advancment of the trew Relligioun, and continowing thairof to the posteritie, with consent of the Estaits in Parliament, be the tennour of this act, DECLARES, That the haill Teinds of this realme, bathe of Personages and Vicarages, asweill united to Prelacies and uther dignities as nocht united, and uther Teinds whatsumever, hes perteined in all tymes bygean, and sall pertein in all tymes coming to the Kirk, as thair proper patrimonie: And of new, with consent forsaids, giffes, grants, and dispones, and perpetualie mortefies the saids Teinds of all Personages and Vicar-

[1] Livings. [2] Taken. [3] Exchequer. [4] Than.

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ages, and uther Benefices whatsumever within this realme, to the Kirk, to remean thairwith as thair awin proper Patrimonie, conform to the tennour of this present Act, in all tymes coming.

1. *Locall Stipends of a modifiet quantitie of Victuall, out of sic and sic Towns, in everie Paroche, with Gleib and Manse, nochtwithstanding anie man's right whatsumever.*

"And with advys forsaid, statutes and ordeanes that the Lords of Checquar, with sic of the Ministerie as salbe apointed heirunto, being of æqual number with the saids Lords, sall modifie and assing[1] out of certean townes of ilk Paroche[2] a certean quantity of victuall of the Teind-scheaves thairof, and uther dewties of the Vicarage, as the nature of the ground may pay, with the manse and haill gleib land, giff the sam remean yit unfewed; and giff the said gleib be fewed, four aikers of the said gleib, wither the sam be of the Persones', Vicars', Bischopes', Pryors' or Pryoreses', Deans' or Subdeans', Abbayes', or anie uther Kirk-land for the gleib; as an locall stipend to ilk Paroche Kirk of this realm, without exception, for sustentation of the Minister thairat sufficientlie and honestlie in all respects of the fruicts of the paroche it selff, nochtwithstanding the saids Kirks be annexed to Prelacies or uther Benefices or nocht, doted to Colleages or Universities, or utherwayes perteining to auld possessours of whatsumever degrie, or to Ministers newlie provydit in tytle thairto, at the King's presentation or laic patrones', devydit amangs manie Prebendaries, Dignities, or Chaplanries, or nocht devydit, comoun Kirks, or uther whatsumever qualitie or conditioun the said paroche Kirks hes bein, or be whatsumever maner of way the Teinds thairof hes bein bruiked in tymes bypast; and nochtwithstanding all and whatsumever right his Majestie may haiff or pretend to the Thrids, superplus, first-fruicts, and fyft-pennie of the saids benefices; and nochtwithstanding of all pensiones, takes,[3] assignationes, lyffrents, erectionnes, of the said Teinds, or anie part thairof, in an temporall Lordschipe, provision to Prelacies, or uther bene-

[1] Assign. [2] Parish. [3] Tacks, Leases.

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fices, unioncs, or divisiones of the saids paroches and uther dispositionnes of the saids Teinds, or anie part thairof whatsumever, proceiding from his Majestie or his predecessours, efter his or thair perfyt age, confirmed in Parliament, with whatsumever solemnitie or utherways, to whatsumever Castelles, Collages, or Universities, particular persone of whatsumever degrie: And nochtwithstanding whatsumever uther taks, pensionnes, lyffrents, fewing of the saids Teinds, with landes, and fewing of the saids gleibs, and uther disposition whatsumever, maid be Prelates or beneficed persones, with consent of thair Chaptours, to whatsumever particular persone, Collage, or Universitie, for whatsumever space of yeirs or yeirlie dewtie: And nochtwithstanding the privilage of Lords of Sessioun, and actes of Parliaments, and uther lawes bygean, uniones, annexationnes, and incorporationes of severall paroche Kirks to a Prelacie or uther benefice, or division of the fruicts of a parochine amang manie Prebendaries, or Chapleans, or uthers; and nochtwithstanding of all uther impediments quhilk anie way may stay the full execution of this present Act.

"DECLARING all and whatsumever the forsaids provisions of benefices, uniones, incorporationes, divisiones, takes, pensionnes, lyffrents, erectiones, and fewing of Teinds, Manses, Gleibs, privilages, actes, lawes, and constitutionnes, formar and uther dispositiones whatsumever of the saids Teinds, Manses, and Gleibs, proceiding from his Majestie, or his Majestie's predecessours, or fra whatsumever uther beneficed persone, with whatsumever solemnitie, to be null in tyme coming, in sa far as they may mak anie prejudice to this present act, and to the particular locall assignatioun of stipends to be assigned to ilk paroche kirk, conform thairto, and to the full execution thairof, but[1] anie uther reduction or declaratour of law. Withe powar to the saids Lords and Ministers to tak trew tryall of the valour[2] of the saids Teinds, and to apoinct, ordean, and assigne the saids perpetuall locall stipend at ilk paroche out of sic speciall towns and lands of the said paroches, and to uneit[3] severall

[1] Without. [2] Worth, value. Lat. *valor*. [3] Unite.

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paroches in an,[1] or dissiver and separat an in ma,[2] withe consent of the parochinars.

Buik.—The Ministers' right to the Teinds locallie assigned, with reservatioun.

"And to mak a speciall buik thairupon, and generallie to do all things necessar for this effect. Whilk locall assignationes of stipends and teinds whatsumever of the particular townes and lands to be specified thairin, sall pertein als frielie to the Minister of the said paroche as giff he haid bein provydit of auld in tytle thairto. Withe powar to the said Minister to collect, gather, and intromeat with, and to mak warnings and inhebitionnes against the possessours of the saids Teinds, Manses, and Gleibs, with als grait effect as anie Persone or Vicar, or anie uther beneficed persone might have done in anie tymes bypast, nochtwithstanding all impediments forsaids and uther whatsumever, but prejudice of the saids Ministers' rightes to the haill remanent of the saids benefices, when the sam sall veak[3] and fall in thair hands be deceas of the present possessours, reducing or expyring of takes, or utherwayes whatsumever, and of the frie dispositioun thairupon as accordes of the law, and conform to this present act in all poincts.

2. *Dissolution of grait Benefices.—Patronages.*

"And for the better executioun of the premisses, Our Soveraine Lord, with advys forsaid, dissolves expreslie all and whatsumever uniones of severall paroche Kirks to Prelacies, Benefices of dignitie and uthers, and suppresses and abrogattes the name and stylles of the said Prelacies and dignities, and unites of new the Teinds of ilk paroche whar the sam was devydit of auld amangs manie Prebendaries, Chapleanes, or uthers, in a haill benefice; and ordeanes that Ministers be provydit in tytle to ilk paroche Kirk in particular, quhilk was befor united to Prelacies now vacand, or quhilk hes vacked in his Grace's hands sen the Parliament halden at . . . . . *anno* 1584, or quhilk sall in anie wayes veak heirefter be dimis-

[1] Into one. [2] One into more. [3] Become vacant.

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sioun, deprivatioun, or utherwayes whatsumever; and to all uther severall[1] paroches, vacand bathe to the parsonages and vicarages thairof, with the manse and gleib of four aikers of land, conform to the formar actes maid anent the saids gleibs and manses; at the quhilk Kirks the said Ministers salbe oblesit to mak thair residence, and sall haiff intromissioun with the fruicts thairof, conform to this present act and Buik of Perpetuall Modificatioun of the locall Stipends to follow heirupon. And efter thair diceas, demissioun, or deprivatioun, uther qualefiet persones to be presented thairto be his Hienes and his Grace's successours, and be uthers haveand the right of presentatioun and patronage thairof; and that na new Prebendaries salbe provydit efter the deceis of the present possessours, bot the rent to accres to the leiving of the Minister, conform to this Act, etc.

3. *The Æstimators of the Valor of everie Towne's Teinds.*

"And because it is maist necessar that the saids locall stipends be of a certean quantitie, according to the nature of the ground, and out of certean speciall landes maist ewest[2] to the Kirk and commodius for the Minister, that the Minister may knaw whom of to crave his dewtie. And seing it is impossible to the Lords of Checquar to knaw what landes till[3] apoinct for peyment heirof, be reasone they knaw nocht nather the names of the lands nor the valour of the Teind-scheaves of ilk particular town and land within this realme; Thairfor his Hienes, with advys forsaid, ordeans, that ilk Presbyterie within this realme, with advys of thrie Barrones or landit gentilmen, wha hes thair residence within the said Presbyterie, of guid relligioun, and leist participant of Kirk rents, chosin be advys of the Generall Assemblie, and failyeing of the concurrence of the saids Barrones, that the saids Presbyteries be tham selves sall have powar till estimat reasonablie the valour of Teinds, bathe Personage and Vicarage, of ilk particular townes and landes lyand within ilk ane of the saids paroches of thair Presbyteries, and of the commodiusnes thairof to the sustentatioun of the Minister:

[1] Separate. [2] Lying nearest, most contiguous. [3] To.

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Whilk estimatioun salbe publist upon twa severall Sondayes in tyme of Divyne service in the said paroche Kirks, with provisioun, that whatsumever partie enterest in anie wayes be the said estimatioun, and pleise to complean thairupon, sall haiff maist summar remead, befor the saids Lords of Checquar, efter summarie cognitioun of the cause betwix the said Presbyterie and particular Minister of the paroche Kirk, and generall Procutour for the Kirk, or uthers having enteres on the an part, and the said partie compleaner on the uther part.

4. *The maner of setting Takes.*

"Attour, because the dilapidatioun of the rents of the Kirk hes proceidit for the maist part fra the Kirk men tham selves, wha haid ower grait libertie to sett sic lang takes and fewes, and for sic dewtie as they pleasit, the solemnitie of ordinar Chaptours serving nocht to restrean the said dilapidatioun for the quhilk they war first institut, bot rather to authorise the sam, quhilk Chaptours for the maist part ar now worn away; Thairfor, Our Soveraine Lord, with advys forsaid, statutes and ordeanes, that na Minister or beneficed persone sall have powar to sett in tak, or mak anie kynd of dispositioun, alteratioun, or change in anie wayes, the esteat of the locall Stipends of the paroches, with whatsumever consent or solemnitie; nather to sett new taks or to renew auld takes of whatsumever uther Teinds of his paroche, or of anie part thairof, or mak whatsumever dispositioun of the sam in tymes coming, without the consent of the haill or maist part of the Presbyterie wherin the paroche lyes, assemblit at thair ordinarie day of conveining, efter reasoning twa former ordinarie dayes anent the æquitie of the setting, renewing, or making of the saids taks and dispositiounes: And declares, that the converting of victuall or uther dewties in silver salbe expres diminutioun of the rentall, and a cause of nullitie or reduction.

5. *For eschewing of anti-daittes and lang Takes.*

"And for eschewing of ante-deatting of Takes and rightes of

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Teinds whatsumever, and of the infinit tyme for the quhilk the sam is sett in tyme bypast, his Hienes, with advys foresaid, ordeanes, That all and whatsumever Taks of whatsumever Teinds sett in anie tyme preceiding the dait heirof, for whatsumever langer tyme of manie nyntein yeir takes or lyffrents *successivè*, sall indure onlie for the space of nyntein yeirs efter the dait of the saids Taks. Withe provision, that whatsumever nyntein yeirs taks or lyffrent of teinds, quhilk hes nocht begoun in the settar's tyme, salbe null and of nan aveall, albeit an uther nyntein yeir tak or lyffrent contined in that sam tak hes begoun or run out in the said settar's tym. And that all former takes of teinds preceiding the dait heirof, lyffrents, assignationnes, pensionnes, erectionnes, fewes, and uther dispositionnes of teinds, salbe producit befor the Lords of Checquare before the day of nixtocome, and registrat in the buiks of the Collectorie; at the leist, sa mikle of the saids erectionnes and fewes to be registrat as concernes the right of teinds contenit thairin: And the dait of the registratioun thairof, and the persone ingiffar of the saids taks and uther rights, to be registrat thairwith in lyk maner, and market and subscryvit be the Collectour Clark upon the bak of the saids taks and rightes, for eschewing of all fraudes quhilk may be heirin; withe certificatioun, that the takes and uther rightes of whatsumever teinds nocht registrat, as said is, salbe null, and mak na fathe in judgment nor without. And that the imprenting or publicatioun of this Act salbe sufficient intimatioun heirof, and of the certificatioun forsaid, without any uther speciall Lettres, etc.

6. *For eschewing the faschrie and danger of Spuilyie.*

"MAIROVER, because the Ministers and uther beneficed or laic persones, having the right of teinds of uther mene's heritage, oftymes injustlie troubles bathe tham selves and the lawfull possessours of the saids teinds, with inhibitiones and actionnes of spuilyie, wherby they compell tham to height thair teinds above the reasonable valor: Thairfor, Our Soverain Lord, with advys forsaid, declares and ordeanes, that whatsumever persone is lawfullie in the naturall possessioun of teinds be the leading and intromeatting thairwith, the

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heritage or present right of possessioun of the land being his awin, and makes guid and thankfull peyment within dayes efter ilk term, of the dewtie of the said teinds, conform to the estimatioun above wrettin, to be maid be the Presbyteries forsaid to the Ministers and uthers having right to the said teinds, in that ceas the said persone salbe frie of all actioun of spulyie, and danger quhilk may follow upon inhibitiones led against him thairanent: Provyding alwayes, that whatsumever persone committes anie violence in ejecting of an uther furth of the naturall possessioun of leadding of teinds, salbe subject ather to the actioun of spulyie, or to the quadruple of the estimatioun forsaid, at the optioun of the partie ejected, as said is. Lykas also it is provydit, that whar the right, bathe of the propertie, and present right of the actuall possessioun of the land, and als of the teinds, concurres in a[1] man's persone, it sall be leisome[2] to him to use inhibitiounes, and conform to the auld ordour, apprehend possessioun of his awin teinds, payand alwayes the dewtie and valuatioun thairof to the Minister, or uthers haiffing right. In the quhilk cais, the offer of the æstimatioun forsaid salbe na relevant defence to rescind the naturall possessioun of the teinds of an uther persone's heritage: And to eschew the danger of spuilyie in prejudice of him wha hes the right bathe of the lands and teinds, as said is, and in favour of him wha hes na present right to the actuall possessioun of an uther mane's land, nor yit of the Teinds thairof, etc.

7. *The Rentall of the Superplus.*

"Attour, be reasone that the said Patrimonie of the Kirk sould also sustein and uphauld Scholes and Pure[3] with the comoun effeares of the Kirk, and uther godlie uses; Thairfor, Our Soveran Lord, with advys forsaid, statutes and ordeanes, that a perfyt Rentall be maid of the superplus of the rents of ilk Paroche Kirk, by and attoure the forsaids locall Stipends, conteining the rightes, be the quhilk the superplus of ilk benefice is presentlie possessit, and that the Minister, albeit he be provydit in tytle to the haill benefice, and haiff the collectione of the haill fruicts thairof, and libertie to re-

[1] One. [2] Allowable, lawful. [3] Poor.

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duce takes or fewes, as anie uther beneficed persone might have done of befor, yit the saids Ministers sall nocht have the frie dispositioun of the said superplus to thair awin use, bot salbe comptable thairfor to tham wha sall obtein the right thairof. And in ceas of thair failyie in thankfull peyment, or commit violence, they salbe subject to the danger of spulyies, duble or quadruple of the estimatioun forsaid, siclyk as uthers that makes nocht peyment thankfullie to the said Ministers tham selves, conform to the formar Article.

8. *Distribution of the Superplus.*

"And as for the said Superplus of the Rent of ilk particular Paroche Kirk, by and attour the locall and perpetuall stipend apointed for the Minister, whilk superplus ather presentlie perteines to the Kirk be vacking[1] of the benefice or utherwayes, or sall heirefter pertein or fall in the Kirk's hands, be expyring or reductioun of Taks and uther rightes, deceis of the present possessours, or utherwayes whatsumever; Our Soverain Lord, with advys foresaid, ordeanes and statutes, that the said superplus salbe disponit be advys of the Lords of Checquar, and breither of the ministerie apointed for Modificatioun of Ministers' Stipends: First, to the Collages and Lords of Sessioun, and auld possessours of the benefices induring thair lyfftymes, forsamikle as salbe tean[2] fra tham be the present ordour: Nixt, that the comoun effeares of the Kirk be sufficientlie susteined thairupon: Thridlie, that reasonable consideratioun be haid of the Pure, of Strangers, of Weidows, and Orphelings; Reparatioun of Brigges, Kirks, Hospitalles, and uther godlie warks: And gif ther be anie rest,[3] the sam salbe collected and keiped to the use of the Kirk, and at thair dispositioun alleanerlie.

The Comoun Effeares of the Kirk, the Scholles, and Pure, to be provydit out of the Superplus, sufficientlie, first of all.

"And whatsumever particular persone, Collage, or uther, sall obtein assignatioun of anie part of the superplus be the saids Lords and modifiers, thair said assignatioun and letters thairupon salbe speci-

[1] Vacancy, remaining vacant. [2] Taken. [3] Residue.

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alie in quantitie, and out of what townes and landes the sam is assigned; and the saids lettres salbe specialie directed against the tenents and actuall possessours of the saids particular lands, and the Minister of the paroche alleanerlie, swa that na lettres in tyme coming be directed generall against 'all and sindrie parochinars,' etc.; and of the best and readiest of the fruicts quhair the right quhairupon the lettres passes extendes onlie to ane part of the fruicts, and nocht to the haill fruicts of the paroche, as wes of befor, quhilk was the occasioun of grait confusioun.

9. *Commissionars from Presbyteries to Voit in Parliament.*

"And because the Prelacies in effect war befor dissolvit, the haill temporalities thairof being annexit to the Croun, and Ministers' Stipends ordeanit to be tean out of the Paroche Kirks united and incorporated thairwith, lyk as be this ordour the haill Spiritualitie and Teinds is of new destinat, gevin, and mortefied to the Kirk, quherby the saids Prelacies is alluterlie dissolvit, and sa ceisses in tymes coming to be an of our Esteattes in Parliament: Therfor, Our Soveraine Lord, with advys forsaid, statutes and ordeanes, that in tyme coming ilk Presbyterie sall send, of thair awin number, ane Commissionar to the Parliament, out of the quhilk haill nomber of Commissionars the rest of the Esteattes sall chuse sa manie as, being joyned with the auld possessours of the Prelacies quha salbe present for the tyme, may mak out the full and compleit number of tham wha hes vott in Parliament for the esteat of the Kirk, quhilk number salbe æquall with the number of anie of the uther Esteattes. And efter the deceis of the haill present possessours of Prelacies, the haill number of the Kirk's Esteat salbe elected, and tean of the saids Commissionars of Presbyteries, wha sall have sic vott, privileages, and liberties in Parliament as the saids Prelattes haid of befor, etc.

Act of Februar.

"And to the effect that the rightes of na parties be farder prejudget, Our Soveran Lord, with advys forsaid, Ratifies all actes and

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statutes, maid of befor in favour of the Kirk, in sa far as the sam aggries or may in any way fortifie this present act: And speciallie, the Act be Secret Counsall, Sessioun, and Checquare, upon the 14 of Februar, 1587: And in lyk maner, all Actes and Statutes maid in favour of Fewes, Takes, Patronages, Pensiounes, Erectiounes, and uther dispositiounes of the Kirk-rents, in sa far as they ar nocht contrare or anie wayes repugnant to this present act, and full execution thairof. Quhilk Actes, togidder with all and whatsumever rights perteining to privat persones and parties, sic as fewes, provision of their benefices, erectionnes, takes, lyffrents, pensionnes, patronages, assignationnes, and dispositionnes whatsumever of the Teinds, sall stand in the sam force as of befor the making of thir presents; exceptand, planlie, in sa far as they ar expreslie prejudgit be the said locall stipend to be apointed at everie particular paroche, conform to the tennour of this present Act, and Buik of particular Modificatioun to follow thairupon, and uther provisiouns and restrictiounes expreslie conteined heirin.

"Lykas our Soveran Lord, with advys forsaid, abrogates all former lawes, actes, constitutionnes, practiques, and ordinances whatsumever, quhilk may in anie wayes hinder, stope, or imped this present act and full force and execution thairof; and declares whatsumever salbe done in the contrar thairof, or anie part of it, the feilyie and contraventioun salbe tryed, and the right, disposition, or uther deid whatsumever done contrar to the tennour heirof, salbe reducit and annullit, as weill be way of exceptioun, reply, or duply, as be way of actioun. Lykas our Soveran Lord, with advys forsaid, commands that na Judges remit to an action, or delay the proponar of the said nullities be way of exceptioun, reply, or duply, but proceid instantlie to the tryell of the said nullitie, as said is.

10. *The Modifeing of the Local Stipend proportionablie.*

"Attour, because there is divers and sindrie persones wha presentlie brukes the rents of ilka paroche Kirk, Our Soveran Lord, with advys forsaid, ordeanes, that the quantitie of the locall and

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perpetuall stipends sould be æqualie tean fra ilk an of the saids persones proportionalie, at the least ilk an to releive uthers proportionalie, according to the frie profit quhilk they receave of the saids Teinds, at the discretioun and summar cognitioun of the saids modifiers, wha salbe onlie judges heirin, and sall try, judge, and cognos sumarlie upon the æquitie of the releiff betwix the possessours of the saids Teinds, sic as whar ther is an Prelat or auld provydit man, an or ma Taksmen or pensionars, new erected Lordschipe, with Teinds includit, with the fewes of lands, fewes of fermes, and whatsumever uther varietie ther is of rightes, be the quhilk the possessour of the Teinds of ilk paroche respective bruikes the sam.

11. *The King's Right and Releiff.*

"And what releiff the rest aught to mak to them fra whom immediatlie the rightes of the Teinds is tean, quhilk salbe assigned for the perpetuall locall Stipend of ilk Paroche Kirk, quherein also salbe considderit the right quhilk our Soverain Lord haid to the Thriddes or anie uther partes of the Benefices, togidder with sic uther actionnes for the quhilk his Majestie might have chargit the possessours of the said Teinds. Lykas also the saids Lords of the Checquar, in the making of the said releiff, sall considder immunities and privilages, and rightes quhilk parties haid of befor, and validitie thairof, with all uther circumstances, *ex æquo et bono:* And for this effect, Our Soveran Lord, with advys forsaid, giffes powar to the saids Lords of Checquar, and Ministers specialie to be apointed, be his Hienes' Commissioun, being alwayes æquall in number with the saids Lords, to interpret all obscurities, and to decyde summarlie all controversies, quhilk sall aryse upon this present act, and upon the forsaid releiff, betwix all parties subject thairto.

"FINIS."

This Plat was thought the best and maist exact that ever was devysit or sett down, and wald, sum litle things amendit, [haiff] bein glaidlie receavit be the breithring of best judgment, gif, in the

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monethe of August 1596, ther haid nocht bein ane act of Esteattes devysit anent the renewing of the Takes of Teinds to the present takismen for thair granting to the Perpetuall Plat, quhilk in effect maid the Teinds in all tyme comming heritable to tham; thir locall stipends and a portioun to the King sett asyde in ilka paroche.[1] To the quhilk, nather the Kirk, nor gentilmen whase teinds was in uther men's possessioun, could nor wald condiscend to. And sa, as I mentioned befor, the cheiff of this wark gaiff it ower as a thing nocht lyk to be done in his dayes.

The Generall Assemblie, convenit at Edinbruche in the monethe of Apryll that yeir, 1596, be the motioun of sum godlie fathers and guid zealus breithring, was almaist haillelie occupied in tryall of thair members, and exerceis of repentance and reformatioun of corruptiones in the office and lyves of the Ministerie; and remembering whow the peiple of God upon divers occasiones, namlie a grait apprehensioun of thair sinnes and God's judgments imminent thairfor, did tak tham to Humiliation and Fasting, and Renewing the Covenant of mercie and grace with thair God, for preventing of his judgments, and continuance of his gratius favour: As in the Plean[2] of Moab, be the motioun and direction of Moses, Deut. xxix. and xxx.; in the Field of Sichem, at Silo, be Josua, Jos. xxiv.; be Samuel, in Mizpa, 1 Sam. vii.; at Jerusalem, in the hous of the Lord, be Joiada, 2 Cornicl. xxiii.; sic lyk in the sam place be Josia, 2 Kings xxiii.; as also be Ezra and Nehemias; they thought it maist neidfull to giff tham selves to the saming, beginning ther presentlie amangs the Pastors at that Assemblie, and be that exemple to pas to the Synods in everie Province, and from tham to the Presbyteries, and sa to everie Congregation in particular. The quhilk, of the grait mercie and blessing of God, was effectuat, the Lord preparing his servants and Kirk for a tryall following, be a maist profitable and confortable exerceis going befor; yea, making that feirfull invasioun of the devill to com on when his servants war

[1] In each parish. [2] Plain.

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best sett and maist happelie occupied, quhilk giffes[1] me yit assurance that God will yit in mercie repear the brakes[2] and decayes of his Jerusalem!

First, certean Breithring of scharpest and best insight war sett asyde to pen The Enormities and Corruptiones of the Ministerie, and the Remead thairof; the quhilk, returnit to the Assemblie, was hard, considerit, and allowit. The tennour, in substance, wharof followes:—

THE TENNOR OF THE ADVYSE OF THE BREITHRING DEPUT FOR PENNING OF THE ENORMITIES AND CORRUPTIONS OF THE MINISTRIE, AND REMEAD THAIROF ALLOWIT BE THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE, APR. 1596.

Corruptions in the Office.

"FORSAMIKLE as, be the over suddan admissioun and light tryall of persones that entres in the Ministerie, it comes to pas that manie sklanders falles out in the persones of Ministers, It wald be ordeanit, for remead in tyme coming, that mair diligent inquisition and tryall be usit of all sic persones as sall enter in the Ministrie: As specialie, in thir poincts, That the intrant salbe posit upon his conscience, in the presence of God, and that in maist grave maner, What moves him to accept the office and charge of the Ministrie upon him? If it be a trew inwart motioun and desyre to serve God and win saulles to Chryst, or warldlie moyen of lyff and preferment? That it be inquyrit giff anie, be solistation or moyen,[3] directlie or indirectlie, pres to enter in the said office? And it being fund, that the solistar be repellit; and that the Presbyterie repell all sic of thair number fra voting in the electioun or admissioun as salbe fund moyennars for the solicitar, posit upon thair conscience to declar the treuthe for that effect.

"Because, be Presentationnes, manie are intrusit forciblie in the

[1] Gives. [2] Breaches. [3] Interest, influence.

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Ministrie and upon Congregationnes, that utters thairefter that they war nocht callit be God, It wald be provydit, that nan seik presentationnes to Benefices without advys of the Presbyterie within the bounds wharof the benefice lyes; and giff anie do in the contrare, to be repelled as *rei ambitus.*

"That the tryall of persones to be admitted to the Ministerie heirefter, consist nocht only in thair lerning and abilitie to preitche, bot also in conscience, and feiling, and spirituall wesdome, and namlie in the knawlage of the bounds of thair calling, in doctrine, discipline, and wesdome, that he may behave him selff accordinglie with the divers rankes of persones within his flock, as namlie Atheists, rebellius, and those that ar vexit with divers tentationes, and ar waik in conscience, and sic uther wherin the pastorall charge is maist kythed, and that he be meit to stope the mouthes and convince the adversars: And sic as ar nocht fund qualifeit in thir poincts, to be deleyit till fordar tryall, if ther be appeirance they may be fand qualefiet. And because men may be meit for sum places that ar nocht for uther, it wald be considderit that the principall places of the realme be provydit be men of maist worthie gifts, wesdome, and experience, and that nan tak the charge of graitter number of peiple nor they ar able to govern; and that this Assemblie tak ordour thairwith.

"That sic as salbe fund nocht gevin to thair buik, and studie of Scriptures, nocht cairfull to have buikes, nocht gevin to sanctificatioun and prayer, that studie nocht to be powerfull and spirituall in doctrine, nocht applying the sam to everie corruptioun, quhilk is the pastorall gift, obscure and over scholastic befor the peiple, cauld and wanting spirituall zeall, negligent in visiting of the seik, and caring for the pure, indiscreit in schosing of parts of the Word nocht meit for the flok, flatterers, and dissembling at publict sinnes, namlie of grait personages, in thair Congregationes, for ather flatterie or feir: That all sic personnes be censured according to the degries of thair faults; and if they amend nocht, bot continow thairunto, to be depryved.

"That sic as be sleuthfull in the ministration of the Sacraments,

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and irreverent profaners thairof, receaving clein and unclein, ignorant and sensles, profan, making na conscience of thair professioun in thair calling and families, omitting dew tryell and examinatioun, or using light, or nan at all, or having in thair tryell respect of persones, wharin ther is manifauld corruptiones; that all sic be scharplie rebuked, and if they continow thairin, deposit.

"Giff anie be fund sellars of the Sacraments, or colludars with sklanderus persones in dispensing and ower-seing[1] tham for money, be deposit *simpliciter*.

"That everie Minister be chargit to have a Sessioun established of the meittest men in his Congregatioun, and that discipline, strik nocht onlie upon gros sinnes, as hurdome, blodshed, &c., bot upon all sinnes repugnant to the Word of God, as blasphemie of God's nam, swearing in vean, banning,[2] profaning of the Sabathe, disobedience to parents, idle, unrewlie annes without calling, drunkards, and sic lyk deboushit men as hes na conscience in thair lyff and rewling of thair families, specialie in bringing upe of thair bernes, liars, sklanderars, bakbyters, braullars, uncharitable, merciles, brakers of promise, &c., and this to be an universall rewll throuchout the realme. And sic as be negligent heirin, and continow, efter admonitioun, in thair negligence, to be deposit.

"That ther be a cair in receaving of sic as fall in publict sklander, to sie tham nocht onlie gif outward obedience by constrent, quhilk is the Magistrat's office, bot to find appeirand warrand in conscience of thair trew conversion, finding in tham bathe a feilling of thair sine and apprehensioun of mercie; and that nocht onlie in that opin sine wherin they ar tean,[3] bot in far graitter covered sinnes committed against God, and knawin to him: And sa, to use this occasioun to win the saull throwlie to Chryst, be all diligence in doctrine and exhortation; and namlie, of repentance, quhilk nocht being trewlie practised then, that place is abbusit, and the persone casten in graitter sin, and God mair heilie offendit for publict profanatioun and mockage.

[1] Overlooking, winking at. [2] Cursing, using imprecations. [3] Taken.

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"Dilapidatioun of Benefices, demitting of tham for favour or money, that they becom new Patronages without the advys of the Kirk, to the wrak thairof; and siclyk interchanging of Benefices be transactioun, and transporting of tham selves be that occasioun, without the knawlage of the Kirk, preceislie to be punished. Siclyk, setting of Takkis, without the consent of the Assemblie, be punished according to the Actes; and that the demission in favours, for money or utherwise, to the effect above wryttin, be punished as dilapidators.

Corruptiones in thair Persones and Lyfs.

"That all sic as ar light and wanton in behaviour, as in gorgeus and light apperrell, in speitche, corrupt communication, morologie,[1] aischrologie, entrapelie, using vean and profan companie, unlawfull gaming, as dancing, carting, dicing, and siclyk, nocht beseiming the gravitie of a Pastor, be scharplie and gravlie rebukit be the Presbyterie according to the degrie thairof; and continowing thairin, efter dew admonitioun, that sic be deprivit as sklanderus to the Gospell.

"That Ministers being fund swearers or banners, profaners of the Sabbathe, drunkards, feghtars, guiltie of all thir, or anie of tham, be deposed *simpliciter;* and sic lyk leiars, detracters, flatterers, brekers of promise, brawlars, and quarrellars, efter admonitioun continowing thairin, incur the lyk punishment.

"That Ministers gevin to unlawfull and incompetent traids and occupationnes for filthie gaine, as haulding of hostillaries,[2] taking of ockar besyd conscience[3] and guid lawes, and bearing warldlie offices in noble and gentilmen's housses, merchandice, bying of victualles, and keiping of tham to the darthe,[4] and all sic lyk warldlie occupatiounes as may distract tham from thair charge, and that may be sklanderus to that pastorall calling, be admonished, and brought to the acknawlagment of thair sinnes, and if they continow thairin, to be deposit.

[1] Foolish divination. [2] Public houses or inns. [3] Usury, contrary to conscience. [4] "Forestalling" and "regrating" markets.

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"That Ministers nocht resident at thair flockes be deposit, according to the Actes of the Generall Assemblie and Lawes of the realme, utherwayes the burding to be leyed upon the Presbyteries, and they to be censured thairfor.

"That the Assemblie command all thair members, that nan of tham await on the Court, and effaires thairof, without the advys and allowance of thair Presbyterie. *Item*, that they intend[1] na actioun civill without the said advys; and for remeading of the necessitie that sum Ministers hes to enter in pley of law,[2] that remead be cravit for summar and schort processes to be usit in Ministers' actiones.

"That Ministers tak speciall cair in using godlie exerceis in thair families, in teatching of thair wyffes, childring, and servands, in using ordinar prayers and reiding of Scriptures, in removing of offensive persones out of thair families, and sic lyk uther poincts of godlie conversatioun and guid exemple: And that they at the visitatioun of thair Kirks try the Ministers' families in thir poincts forsaid; and sic as ar fund negligent in thir poincts, efter dew admonitioun, salbe adjudgit unmeit to govern the hous of God, according to the rewll of the Apostle.

"That Ministers, in all companies, stryve to be spirituall and profitable, and to talk of things perteining to godlines, as namlie, of all sic as may streinthen in Chryst, instruct in thair calling, and of the meanes whow to have Chryst's Kingdome better establishit in Congregatiounes, and to knaw whow the Gospell florishethe in flockes, the hinderances and remeadies thairof, &c., wharin and anent thair is manifauld corruptiounes bathe in our companeing with our selves and uthers. That the contraveinars herof be tryed and scharplie rebukit.

"Finalie, If a Minister be fund to countinance, procure, or assist a publict offendar put at be his awin Minister, and to beir with him, as tho his awin Minister war over seveir upon him, he be rebuikit," &c.

"FINIS."

[1] Intent, raise.

[2] Enter in law-pleas.

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Thir Corruptiones and Remeads, being read in the Assemblie, was recommendit to the consideration of all the Breithring betwix God and thair conscience; and all war exhorted to prepar tham selves again the day following to the exerceise of the Word, fasting and prayer, and sa to the actioun of renewing the Covenant.

The day following, the haill Breithring war assemblit in the Lessar Kirk[1] of Edinbruche, tham alean,[2] without the peiple, whar a godlie, zelus father, Mr Jhone Davidsone, haid the doctrin and directioun of the actioun, being the mouthe of the rest in prayer. His doctrine was upon the 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, and 46 verses of the xii. of Luc's Evangell; verie plean, particular, and powerfull, in sic sort as the gravitie and motion of the man him selff, with the mightie force of the Word, moved the haill Breithring exceidinglie. Efter the quhilk, all war directed to thair privat meditationes, confessioun, and prayer, a large space; efter the quhilk the forsaid mouthe maid publict confessioun and deprecatioun, during the quhilk tyme teares war shed aboundantlie. Thairefter the Moderator, declaring the purpose and end of the actioun, as be the teares and countenance of the Breithring, unfeinyit sorow and humiliatioun was testified, sa he desyrit that be the lifting upe of thair handes they sould signifie the desyre and resolution quhilk they haid of amendiment of all bypast sinnes, in commissioun or omissioun, against God and dewtie, in thair office and persones, promising, be his grace, an ernest indevour for the sam; and sa a entring of new againe in Covenant with thair God in Jesus Chryst, the grait Pastor of the saulles, and Mediator of the Covenant, &c. Efter the quhilk, prayer being maid be the Moderator, for obteining of grace, and working of the Spreit for that effect, the blessing was pronuncit, and the actioun endit, quhilk lasted about the space of thrie houres and mair.

[1] Also called the Little Kirk and Mr Robert Bruce's Kirk, and latterly Haddo's Hold, or the New North Kirk. [2] Alone.

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THE COVENANT RENEWED IN THE SYNOD OF FFYF, 12TH MAY 1596.

In the fourt sessioun thairof, anent the making of a new Covenant betwix God and his Ministerie within this realme, ordeanit in the last Generall Assemblie to be done in everie Synodall throuchout the land, the present Assemblie of Fyff, apprehending the weghtines, tending ather to an effectuall reformatioun of all things amis (sa far as can ly in the waiknes of man) in the Pastors first, and syne in thair flockes, or then to involve all in a mair feirfull giltines and danger of horrible judgment, be sealling upe a new and maist grave testimonie and witnessing against all, thought it maist neidfull that all meanes sould be usit that might move and steir upe the hartes of the breithring to an ernest consideratioun and feilling of thair undewtifulnes and transgressiones in thair offices, families, and persones, to bring tham to a trew humiliatioun, sorrow, and greiff thairfor, to a plean confessioun of the sam in the presence of God, a cearfull seiking of mercie for Jesus Chryst's seak, an avowing and promising of amendiment in tyme to come, be the assistance and mair effectual working of the Spreit of Grace, and a vehement solisting of God be prayer for that effect. And sa causit first to reid in the publict audience of the Assemblie, distinctlie, the Articles of Reformatioun sett down in the last Generall Assemblie, the quhilks war ordeanit to be insert in the Buik of the Synod, and everie Presbyterie commandit to haiff the copie thairof in thair buiks, and to cause everie an of thair members to extract to tham selff a copie thairof for thair rememberance. Nixt, for preparatioun of the hartes, ordeanit the Pastor of the place, David Fergusone, to keipe his awin place and houre of doctrine the day following, and studie to fram his doctrin for the purpose; and be the vottes of the maist part, all maid chois of Mr David Blak to teatche the nixt day thairefter, to be keipit with preceise abstinence. Immediatlie efter the quhilk doctrine, the haill breithring sould convein in the place of the Assemblie for the solem renewing of the said Covenant; and, in the mean tyme, ernest exhortatioun was maid be the Mode-

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rator to wey the mater and wark they war about, maist deiplie and ernestlie, with thair God, in thair conscience, with meditation of the forsaid poincts of Reformatioun, and rememberance of that curse upon sic as does the Lord's wark negligentlie and deceatfullie. Also to call to God ernestlie for the breithring apointed to deall in doctrine.

Sa, upon the 13 day of May, being Furisday,[1] efter the doctrin delyverit be Mr David Blak, upon the ground, the 13 chapter of Ezech., and last vers of the 5 Psalme, the quhilk was copius, powerfull, percing, and pertinent, the breithring of the Ministerie, and Commissionars of everie paroche present, haillelie and immediatlie convening in the place of the Synodall, the Moderator, for the better disposing of the harts, and exemple of ordourlie proceiding in the actioun, red the last chaptour of the Buik of Josua, wherin Josua, calling togidder the heades and rewlars of the peiple, recoumptes the benefites of God bestowit upon tham, and settes the said rewlars and heades of the peiple to advysment, Whidder they war resolvit and uprightlie meined to serve that God in uprightnes and treuthe, utherwayes to leave af anie professioun of his service, and tak tham to idolatrie; and sa, efter divers demands, and answers gevin be the peiple, he settes down the Contract and Covenant in forme, and registers the sam in the Buik of the Law, and setts upe a stan under an ake trie,[2] in a monument thairof for a memorandum in all tyme to come. The quhilk exemple and form was followed poinct be poinct. First, be commemoration of the benefites of God bestowit on the Kirk of Scotland in planting and garding the saming from the Castalians, Obenittes, Spaniarts, Bischope Balaam, and lait Conspiracie of the Papist Erles. The quhilk being endit, and a lytle begoun to be spokin of unthankfulnes and undewtifulnes in caring trewlie and ernestlie over that wark of God, and watching over the flockes of Chryst committed to the Pastors' charge, and over the quhilk the Lord haid sett tham sa lang with sic libertie and ease, the Lord

[1] Thursday.

[2] Sets up a stone under an oak tree.

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steirit upe sic a motioun of hart, that all war forcit to fall down befor the Lord, with sobbes and teares in aboundance, everie man mightelie commovit with the affectionnes of thair conscience in the presence of thair God, in privat meditatioun, rypping out thair wayes, confessing and acknawlaging thair unworthines, and craving ernestlie grace for amendiment, and that a lang space.

Efter the quhilk, the hartes being sattelit, the Moderator, as comoun mouthe of all, at grait lainthe maid open confessioun of unthankfulnes, forgettfulnes, undewtifulnes, negligence, and caldnes, hardnes of hart, darknes, senslesnes, instabilitie, vanitie of mynd, stubburnes and rebellioun in will, foulnes and uncleinnes in affectionnes, undantoned feritie[1] in perturbationes, unsavorines and folie of speiche, and of conversatioun facioned efter the warld, easeliar and mair reddelie drawin efter the maners and custome thairof from God, then having force of holines and of the Spreit, in word and actioun, to draw the peiple from thair vean conversatioun to God, and the seiking of thair lyff and salvatioun: And, finalie, with trimbling and manie teares for the offence of sa guid and gratius a Lord and Father, misusing of sa grait and honourable a calling, and quakking for feir of sic a weght of wrethe hinging on for the blud of sa manie saulles lying on our heids, we all bitterlie weipit, and ernestlie sought for a blessing and grace to use the present occasioun of the grait mercie and lang-suffering of God grantit to us rightlie and fathfullie for amendiment.

Efter the quhilk confessioun, the Moderator, entering again to deall in doctrine upon the dialogisme or conference of Josua with the eldars and rewlars of the peiple; and first, insisting sum what upon the rejecting of the consent as a thing impossible to tham to serve God, wha was holie, angrie, and indling,[2] to mak the breithring try out thair awin sinceritie and upright meining of thair hart, he resolvit the dout of impossibilitie, and the greiff of experience of relapse, schowing that the graitest perfectioun we can attein unto in this lyff is to ken and feill our awin imperfectioun, and stryve

[1] Violence. [2] Jealous. The common form in which this word occurs in old Authors and Manuscripts is *eldnyng*, *elduring*, and *indilling*.

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and labour against the saming in treuthe and uprightnes of hart; absteining from all things that may quenche the Spreit, and cearfull using of all that may steir upe the sam, sending all unto Chryst Jesus, the guid and gratius Pastor, and to his fulnes and perfectioun.

Nixt, upon the thrid consent of the peiple, and reply of Josua, commanding them to cast away their idolles, the Moderator insisted ernestlie upon the casting away of our idolles; that is, all these things of this warld wharof we tak mikle thoucht, and wharin oftentymes we tak mair pean, and delytes mair nor in God his service, or our calling; schawing, that it was our part, in this Contract and Covenant, to give our selves haillelie to serve the Lord in treuthe, uprightnes, and fidelitie. And the part of God was to be our God, to keipe us from all evill, and provyde for us all things guid for us; the quhilk his part he wald, but dout,[1] fulfill aboundantlie, if we haid a cair of our part. But, alas! whill as forgetting our part, and leaving it undone, we tak on the part of God, caring for provision, defence and preservatioun of our selffs, we fall in infidelitie and distrust of him, yea and in proude idolatrie, placing our selves and moyens of this warld in the roum and dignitie of God Almightie! etc.

And sa, efter divers other poincts of doctrine, admonitiones, and exhortationes, for the purpose, be lifting upe of the hand, everie an testified befor God, and mutualie an to an uther, the sinceare and ernest purpose of the hart to studie till amend and serve God better in tyme to come, bathe in their privat persones and in the office of that grait Ministerie of God's honour, and salvatioun of the peiple concredit to thame, etc.

And last, the Moderator spak upon these words, "You are witnesses this day against your selffs," etc., and anent the monument of the stean sett under the ake,[2] and the wreitting of the Covenant in the Buik of the Law, preissing to imprent and ingrave in the harts of the Breithring and his awin, the rememberance of this Covenant, that it sould nocht be forgot, and maid irrit,[3] and of na effect,

[1] Without doubt. [2] Stone set under the oak. [3] Null. Law Lat. *irritus*.

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(quhilk was oftymes cast upe to the peiple of Israell be the Prophetes thairefter,) declaring whow the Lord God haid our awin consciences tô bear witnes against us, out of the quhilk the memoriall of this actioun sould nocht be deleit; he haid his angelles and all his creatours; he haid that sam place, yea the verie pillars of stean standing in that Kirk, lykas be thair awin consent this minut and soum of the haill actioun sould be insert and registrat in the Buik of the Synodall Assemblies, thair to remean for admonitioun, and rememberance during our tyme, and for exemplę to the posteritie.

Therefter the Moderator, remembering of the defectioun mentioned soone efter the deathe of Josua, and the fathers and eldars that haid sein the warks of God in their dayes, for preventing of the lyk defectioun, and fastning of this new Covenant the mair firmlie in the hart, for that effect, of all the breithring of smaller age, requyrit certean fathers, godlie and zealus breithring thair present, to speak as they haid sein, hard and helpit to do in the grait wark of God, in planting and preservatioun of the Gospell and libertie of Chrystes Kingdome, trewlie and sincerlie within this land.

And sa David Fergusone, Pastor of Dunfermling, a reverend father, spak verie pleasandlie and confortablie of the beginning and succes of the Ministerie: Namlie, whow that a few number, viz. onlie sax, wharof he was an, sa mightelie went fordwart in the wark, but feir or cair of the warld, and prevalit, when ther was na name of stipend hard tell of; when the authoritie, bathe Ecclesiastik and Civill, opponit them selves, and skarslie a man of name and estimatioun to tak the cause in hand, etc. But now it was fallen to that, the feir or flatterie of men, cair of getting or lothnes of losing of stipend and moyen of lyff, haid weakned the harts of a multitud of Ministers, etc.: Joyning thairunto exhortatioun meit for the purpose.

Mr Jhone Davidsone, a zealus grave father, directed from the Generall Assemblie to visit our Synodall, followit, and spak verie movinglie and profitablie, saying, That as the fathers of the peiple of the Jewes, efter their retourn from Babylon, luking upon the building of the new repcarit Temple, and comparing it with the

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facioun of the auld that they haid sein, weipit bitterlie; evẽ sa was he movit when he beheld the present estait of our Kirk, in the persones and conversatioun of the Ministerie and professours, and conferrit[1] the sam with the beginning that he haid sein, being sa unlyk in godlines, zeall, gravitie, love, and hartlines, stoutnes, cair, and peanfulnes, mightines and powar of doctrin, etc.; with ernest admonitiounes and grave exhortatiounes moving the breithring to indevour to find the fruicts of that dayes wark, etc. He meinit[2] also mikle the want of lerning in the Ministerie, having sa guid educatioun, and sa grait tyme and occasioun of letters and knawlage, that yit he could skarslie meit with an that could talk or reasone, in an exact and lerned maner, of hard places of Scripture or controversit questionnes; or that could schaw takens[3] of reidding of Antient Doctors of the Kirk, or the Historie thairof, joyning the precept of the Apostle, *Attendite lectioni*, etc.

Mr Patrik Simsone, Minister of Sterling, being present with the said Mr Jhone, and joynit with him in commissioun from the Generall Assemblie, requyrit be the Moderator, spak verie halelie and weill anent a poinct of Reformatioun, viz., of the mouthes of the Ministers quhilk sould be the Oracle of God, whase lippes sould keipe knawlage, and at whase mouthes the Law of the Lord sould be sought as the Messingers of the Lord of Hostes, as sayes the Prophet. And yit to be sa comounlie and openlie defylit and abusit with foolishe, vean gesting, and unsavorie speitches and talk, evin at tables in open audience, schowing an unclein and unsanctifeit hart, cearles of the honour of God, and ædificatioun of his peiple.

Uther breithring also being requyrit in generall, as God gave it, and movit thair harts to continow that maist profitable and confortable exerceise, for leaving of deipe stampe of the actioun in the harts of the breithring. Mr David Blak, an of the pastors of St Androis, spak of the dekey and falling abak of Relligioun, sinceritie, zeall, and uprightnes quhilk he haid espyit, being yit bot a schollar in St Androis, be the default and warldlie and unspirituall behaviour of tham

[1] Compared, contrasted. [2] Bemoaned, lamented. [3] Tokens.

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that succeidit in the Ministerie and rewling of the Universitie, unto these godlie and upright men that preceidit tham: That the greiff thairof haid bein grait in his hart during his abyding out of the countrey, except sa far as he haid hard of Mr Andro Melvin; and returning in the countrey he haid fund the sam falling to almaist a remediles miserie, and yit haid bein thrust in be God and his Kirk in that roum, and sa schawing his indevours wissit the concurrance of the breithring, and helpe of thair prayers; exhorting verie powerfullie everie an till attend upon thair awin charge in a new manner, according to the doctrin delyverit be the last Moderator, repeated againe be him selff that day, and now promisit and advowit solemlie to be observit and pressit unto be all and everie an of the breithring in this present actioun, etc.

Mr Andro Melvill, Rector of the Universitie of St Androis, followit furthe the sam purpose, and insisting on the feir of defectioun, warnit the breithring of a lait experience of a grait waiknes and slyding away, when the holie discipline was persecut and sought to be overthrawin. Whow manie, for feir of the want of thair stipend onlie, war brought to a sort of denying of Jesus Chryst, be subscryving to the wicket Actes of Parliament in the yeir 1584, wharby the libertie of his throne and kingdome was intendit to be utterlie subverted. What sould be luiked for then gif the Spainyards, wha haid leatlie takin Calis, fra quhilk in few houres they might easelie transport tham selves to this Yland, yea, in our awin Firthe, he sould essay our constancie with fyne and exquisit torments of thair Inquisitioun, upon the quhilk piece of service our excommunicat forfaultit Papist Erles war attending. Wherby he mightelie exhorted all the breithring to tak heid to tham selves, and fixt the doctrin quhilk they haid hard that day, and this present actioun and Covenant in thair memories, and till use fructfullie this guid occasioun of rest and libertie that God sa gratiuslie geves, to be inarmit and preparit against the day of tryall, quhilk was nocht far of.

Thir speitches endit, efter treating and finising of uther incident maters, ernest prayer was powred out be the Moderator for getting of grace to remember, practise, and pey the vowes thair maid, and

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efter hartlie thankgiffing for that memorable benefit of God, the Assemblie was dimissed about four efter noone, als full of spirituall joy in the saull as emptie of corporall fuid; everie brother, with exceiding grait gladnes, glorifeing God for that actioun above all uther that ever they haid bein partakers of: To whom onlie be all praise and honour, for ever. AMEN.

THE COVENANT RENEWIT IN THE PRESBYTERIE OF ST ANDROIS.

Upon the penult Furisday[1] of the monethe of July, 1596, the Covenant was renewit in the Presbyterie of St Androis be a verie frequent Assemblie of gentilmen and burgesses, prepared for the purpose befor be thair Ministers in everie paroche; wherin, as the Synod befor, sa the Presbyterie appointed me the comoun mouthe, keiping the form sett down befoir, as neir as might be. The generall heides of the exhortatioun war these:

The Covenant of God is the contract, securitie, and warrand of all our weilfear, maid with Adam efter his fall, renewit with Noe efter the flud, then with Abraham, etc.

This Covenant is broucht to rememberance, and sa in a maner renewit as often as the Word is pretched, the Sacrament usit, or exerceis of fasting and publict repentance keipit.

Bot, in a speciall maner, it hes bein usit amangs the peiple of God efter a grait threatning and appeirance of manie plagges,[2] and grait danger for sinne and unthankfulnes, sic as hes bein espyed be the Seirs and Watchmen in this land, wha, thairfor, hes begoun at tham selves, in thair Generall [Assemblies] and Synods.

The maner thairof is, first: To try the brakes of the Covenant of God maid with us, in the privat persone of everie an, in thair families, in nibourhead, and in discharge of publict offices in Kirk and Comoun-weill: 2. In acknawlaging and confessing the sam with unfeinyit sorow and repentance: 3. In craving mercie for the

[1] The last Thursday but one.

[2] Plagues, judgments.

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Mediator of this Covenant his seak, with trew fathe beleiving in him: And last, in taking ernest purpose, and making promise and vowes of amendiment, with a fathfull endevour of keiping and peying[1] of the sam in all the lyff thairefter.

The Covenants of Ezra and Nehemia, whilk they maid with the peiple efter thair retourn from Babylone, quhilk with fasting and prayer war maid, wryttin, sealled, and sworn, was read distinctlie, and conform to these heads, doctrin, and exhortatioun usit; and efter meditatioun in privat and publict prayer, be haulding upe of hands, thir promises and vowes war maid in speciall, for testefeing of a trew conversioun and change of mynd.

1. The exerceise of reiding the Word with prayer and thanksgeving, and catecheising of childring and servants, to be usit and done be the father of everie familie, ordinarlie, within the sam.

2. The resisting of all enemies of Relligioun, without fear or favour of anie persone.

3. The planting of the Ministerie of God's honour, and salvatioun of the peiple within thair Paroches, bestowing cost thairon to thair abilitie, and seiking the Kirk dewties to be recoverit for that effect.

4. To tak ordour with the pure,[2] that thair be nocht vagabund beggars.

5. To keipe better publict Conventiones, and discharge offices and comoun dewties for the weill of Kirk and Countrey.

And last, to tak cair of comoun warks, namlie of the standing and repearing of brigges.[3]

Sa, efter prayer to God for grace to perform, lest unto all the formar transgressionnes the giltines of horrible perjurie war adjoyned, to hasten the extremitie of judgment, etc. the action endit.

Efter the quhilk, the speciall Barrones and gentilmen conveinit with us in the place whar the Presbyteries sittes, whar, be conference, understanding that ther was grait word and appeirance of Invasioun of Spainyeards, and that the excommunicat forfaulted Pa-

[1] Paying, fulfilling. [2] Poor. [3] Bridges.

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pist Erles war com ham quietlie, the gentilmen offerit tham selves verie fraclie[1] for resistance, and named thair capteanes of horsmen and futmen, and sett down an ordour anent thair armour and provisioun; wharof it was thought guid the King sould be advertised; to whom, for that effect, the Lard of Reiras and I war directed, bot war nocht takin weill withe; and ther was an uther degrie of decay of my Court, for the King haid determined to bring ham the Papist Lords again, and lyked of nan that wald nocht wag as the bus waggit.[2]

A SOUM OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE COVENANT RENEWIT IN THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, AND NAMLIE, WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF FYFF, AND IN THE CONGREGATION OF KILRUNNY, THE FYFT OF SEPT. 1596: SET DOWN IN MANER OF CONFERENCE FOR THE USE OF THE PEIPLE.

"*M.* THOW heires that God hes movit the Watchmen and fathfull Pastours of the Kirk of Scotland and this Province of Fyff, beginning at tham selves, to call and labour to move all to a tryall of the brak of his Covenant, and an exerceise of Renewing of the saming: What does thow think and esteim of the Covenant of God?

"*P.* I think and esteim of the Covenant of God as the onlie evident, right, securitie, and warrand of all my weilfear.

"*M.*[3] Wharfor sa?

"*P.* Because it is the contract, band, and obligatioun wharbe God binds and obleses him selff to be my loving God and Father in Chryst, sa as thairby I am sure to want na guid thing, and to be keipit from all evill.

"*M.* What war thy ceas and esteat if thow wanted this warrand?

"*P.* Even that maist miserable esteat of Nature, without God, without Chryst, a chylde of wrathe, alian from the comoun-weill of his peiple, under the slaverie of the devill and sinne, and, finalie, a faggot of helles-fyre.

[1] Freely, heartily. [2] None that would not wag as the bush wagged.
[3] The remainder of the letters M. and P. are supplied to the Questions by the *Minister*, and the Answers by his *People*.

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"*M.* What is, then, the substance and tennour of this Covenant?

"*P.* God obleses him selff, of his frie grace, to be my God and Father in his Sonne Jesus Chryst; and I with the rest ar bound to be his servants and childring.

"*M.* Wha hes moyenned[1] this Contract and Covenant, and knit it upe betwix God and thie and his peiple?

"*P.* The onlie Mediator and Reconcylar, my Lord Jesus Chryst, and that be his awin pretius blood, and bitter passioun and deathe.

"*M.* And what is the conditioun on thy part, wharby thow may be kend his servand and chyld in Chryst?

"*P.* Gif I embrace this promise of God's grace and benefeit of the blissed Covenant (purchassit be Jesus Chryst) be a trew fathe, and testifie the sam in love, halines, and obedience.

"*M.* I perceave, then, the Contract is mutuall; sa that God is nocht bund to thie, gif conditioun be nocht keipit on thy part. What, then, gif thow hes broken? Is nocht the Contract dissolved, and maid to thie of na stead, force, or effect?

"*P.* Yes, in verie deid, gif God sould enter in judgment with us, and deall streatlie and preceislie according to his justice and right.

"*M.* And what sould then becom of thie?

"*P.* Even to be cast away in the former miserie and condemnatioun with the devilles; and that sa mikle the mair, as we ar becom fathles and mean-sworn,[2] brakers of his halie Mutuall Band and Covenant.

"*M.* Thow, then, tell me, hes thow enterit in this Covenant with God; and hes thow compromitted with him according to the tennour of this Contract and Mutuall Band?

"*P.* Yes, indeid I have, or then I war maist miserable.

"*M.* When enterit thow thairin?

"*P.* Even when I was first baptised, and hes professit the sam ay sen I cam to anie wit or knawlage, be giffing confessioun of my fathe, and using of the Holie Supper.

[1] Who has been the means of procuring.

[2] Perjured, man-sworn.

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"*M.* And hes God keipit his part to thie?

"*P.* Blessed be his holie nam and heavenlie Majestie, for he hes bein alwayes to mie a gratius God and bountifull loving Father.

"*M.* But what hes bein thy part againe to him?

"*P.* Alas! I have broken and transgressed, maist unthankfullie, sinning searlie[1] at all tymes against my guid God, my nibour, and my awin saull. And sa, if he sould deall with me in judgment according to his right, I can have na securitie or warrand of weill-fear to produce, bot man close my mouthe, and confes I ly maist miserablie under danger of God's wrathe, and all his pleagges and judgments, temporall and eternall.

"*M.* Now, what if God might be moved to forget and remit all bygeans,[2] and enter in a new Covenant and Contract with thie, wald thow nocht be glade to embrase sic grace?

"*P.* O! with all my hart; bot whow sall that be?

"*M.* Giff thow ernestlie repent thy sinnes bypast, tak upe a fecfull[3] purpose of amendiment, with a fathful promise and vow of the sam unto the Lord by his grace for the tyme to come, and by assurit fathe cleive to the Lord Jesus, in whom is all holines and perfectioun.

"*P.* That is daylie cravit of us be the Word of God, use of the Holie Sacraments, and oftentymes in the exerceise of fasting and publict repentance.

"*M.* Treuthe, indeid; for the Covenant and purpose is all an and the sam: Bot because daylie we brak, it haid neid daylie to be renewed to us; and namlie, efter a lang sparing and large bountifulnes of God, and manie foull sinnes and grait unthankfulnes, tending to an utter defectioun from God, and procuring of the extremitie of his wrathe and judgments. When God votchaffes,[4] then, as he maist mercifullie does at this tyme, to call us, be his servants the Watchmen, to the Renewing of the Covenant, that he may yit defer his plagges, and continow his mercifull guidnes toward us, sould we nocht be glaid thairof, and indevour our selves with all cair and reverence to meit the Lord, offering mercie and grace?

[1] Sorely. [2] Bygones. [3] Strong, powerful. [4] Vouchsafes.

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"*P.* Now the God of mercie grant we may sa do, and work in my hart in speciall be his Halie Spreit for that effect. Bot, alas! I have sett my selff oftentymes to repent, and promised and advowit amendiment with my selff, bot could never attein to the performance; and, thairfor, I feir I sall do na uther thing at this tyme, bot involve my selff in a new giltines of men-swearing and brak of promise.

"*M.* Giff[1] thy hart be upright and trew toward God, and if thow find anie ernest desyre of amendiment, with a laboring, stryving, and preassing thairunto, whowbeit thow can nocht attein to that thow wald, feir nocht; for God requyres nocht perfectioun of us in this lyff, quhilk he knawes we can never attein unto, because he will nocht giff it. Wha is the God of ordour that hes apointed a tyme of feghting and a tyme of triumphing, a tyme of sojourning and wandring, and a tyme of habitatioun and dwelling, and, finalie, a tyme of warsling[2] and suffering heir, to mak us conform to Chryst, that we may heirefter ring with him in glorie? Therfor, heir we have to strive against our awin imperfectiones, and against his enemies and ours, the devill, the warld, and fleche; and be trew fathe to cleive to that perfectioun of his Sone, the Lord Jesus Chryst, our Saviour, in whom he is weill appleasit, and of whase perfectioun he will accept of as ours; for Chryst is the Cautionar[3] of the Covenant and Contract for us, and sa principall deatter,[4] taking the sam upon him to satisfie in all whar we ar unable. Onlie remember this; whar Chryst dwelles in the hart be fathe, thair is a continuall grouthe and progres in knawlage and halines during this lyff, quhilk hes the awin[5] perfectioun in the lyff to come, fulfilled even in us be the quicning Spreit of Chryst, working then without all contradictioun, impediment, or stay.[6]

"*P.* O! that effrayes[7] me maist of all; for, alas! I find na grouthe or going fordwart, bot rather a decay and bak-turning.[8]

"*M.* Surlie, if thow be the chyld of God, thow mon[9] grow upe

[1] If. [2] Contending, wrestling. [3] Surety, security. [4] Debtor.
[5] Its own proper. [6] Hindrance. [7] Affrights, alarms. [8] Relapsing. [9] Must.

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to the just stature of a perfyt man in Chryst, and be lyk the pleas-and plants in the Lord's ortchyeard. Bot tak heid, I pray thie, whom God sa disposes and moves, (for ther is nocht monie of that sort!) as it is weill done to think na thing of thy selff, sa be war till extenuat the grace of God and working of his Spreit, quhilk sould be alwayes acknawlagit with thankfull hartes to his praise: For it is in that poinct with the godlie in spirituall giftes, as with the warldlings in temporall, that an thinks litle or na thing of that quhilk they have atteined to and gotten, bot ay wald be at fordar and mair; and sa does that uther. Also, ther wilbe a decey, in appeirance, for a farder grouthe; and a grouthe quhilk will nocht be perceavit, unles it be narrowlie luked unto, even as in the tries and plantes in the wintar seasone; quhilk, nochtwithstanding the cauld frost and snaw, having the rutt[1] fast in the ground, is ever growing ather within or without the erde, in hight, graitnes, or sum way; yea, and that quhilk is farder in the Elect of God, comounlie ther is graitter grouthe and going fordwart when they think and feilles leist, and leist when they feill and think maist; for, but[2] question, then ar we best in God's sight and estimatioun when we ar warst in our awin, and contrair: And feilling is na sure rewell of fathe, for we will feill mair a whittell in our fingar nor the helthe of the haill body.[3] Yet, for treuthe, the mair feilling of the soares of sinne, the graitter missoure[4] of grace; for it is by grace that we can feill sinne sair.[5] Assure thy selff, thairfor, of a guid cais if thow find that feilling, yea, or the sorow for want thairof, with desyre to have it, for that is nocht of fleche and bluid, bot of the Spreit of grace, quhilk can work bathe the will and deid in that missour that he knawes meit for thie; with the quhilk be content.

"*P.* Weill, Sir, I thank God with all my hart, of your confortable instructioun, wherby I am brought to be weill resolvit to indevour my selff in this actioun, beseikand[6] yow also to schaw me whow I sall proceid thairinto.

[1] Root. [2] Without. [3] For we will much more feel a whitlow in our finger than the health of the whole body. [4] Measure. [5] Sore, painful. [6] Beseeching.

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"*M.* First, be preparatioun traveling cearfullie to try and find out thy sinnes and transgressiones of God's holie law: Nixt, with an feilling dispositioun in remorse and sorow for the sinnes committed, craving mercie and forgiffnes thairof, and with a fectfull[1] purpose promising be his grace till[2] amend: Thridlie, in traveling for fruict efter the actioun, be marking these sinnes in speciall quhilk maist greives thy conscience, or thow knawes to be offensive to the godlie, and indevoring but[3] delay to mend the sam.

"Anent all the quhilk thow wilbe at lynthe instructed in the doctrine quhilk God of mercie sall witchaff[4] to grant for that effect; and, thairfor, pray ernestlie to God to grant giftes to his servants, of knawlage, feilling, and utterance to delyver; and to thy selff, and the rest of the peiple, grace to receave the sam with light of understanding, and cair to practise.

"Now, the gratius Lord, for Jesus Chryst his Sonnes seak, be thair Holie Spreit of grace, mot[5] work it in us all. AMEN."

Thus was our peiple catechised the haill monethe of August, and upon the first Sabbathe of September, the Covenant, with the Holie Communion, celebrat, to thair grait confort.

And as efter all our fastes, (quhilk I haiff pretermitted in this storie, because I have wraitten a speciall Treatise thairof,) sa efter this exerceise we wanted nocht a remarkable effect. For if God haid nocht extraordinarlie provydit for Scotland victualles,[6] (coming in sic store and aboundance out of all uther countries as never was sein in this land befor, sa that, be the æstimatioun of the customers and men of best judgment, for everie mouthe that was in Scotland ther cam in at least a boll of victuall,) thowsandes haid died for houngar; for nochtwithstanding of the infinit number of bolls of victuall that cam ham from uther partes, all the hervest quarter that yeir, the meall gave aught, nyne, and ten pound the boll, and the malt alleavin and twoll, and in the Southe and Wast partes manie died.

[1] Powerful. [2] To. [3] Without. [4] Vouchsafe. [5] Now, may the gracious Lord, &c. [6] There was a prospect of great famine that winter.

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I dar nocht bot mark it, whowbeit against my will, that the Ministers of Edinbruche and Kirk thairof neglected and omitted this actioun of the Covenant, with the effect of a feirfull desolatioun, gif we dar judge![1]

About the end of August, the King calles a Conventioun of the Esteattes to Falkland, even of sic as be favour and frindschipe war neirest joyned with the excommunicat, forfaultit Papist Erls; whar Alexander Setoun, President of the Sessioun, a Papist, maid a prepared harang, wharby to perswade the King and Esteattes to call hame these Erles, lest, lyk Coriolanus the Roman, or Themistocles the Athenian, they sould joyne with the enemies, and creat an unresistable danger to the esteat of the countrey! Divers of the Ministerie war wraitten for to that Conventioun, bot sic as the King knew he could mak.[2] But Mr Andro, understanding thairof, and being a Commissionar apointed be the Generall Assemblie to sie to the dangers of the Kirk at all occasiones, cam thither, and presented him selff with the rest: Whom, when the King saw, he send to him, asking of his earand, and willing him to go hame; bot he said he haid a commissioun first to discharge, in God's nam and the Kirk's, to the King and Esteattes.

When the King and Esteattes war sett doun, the King causses the Ministers to be callit upon be nam and lettin in, leaving out Mr Andro, who cam in with the formaist. The King finding fault with him that came ther uncallit, he answers, "Sir, I have a calling to com heir be Chryst Jesus the King, and his Kirk, wha hes speciall entres in this tourn,[3] and against quhilks directlie this Conventioun is mett; charging yow and your Esteattes in his nam, and of his Kirk, that yie favour nocht his enemies whom he hattes, nor go nocht about to call hame and mak citiciners, these that has traterouslie sought to betrey thair citie and native countrey to the crewall Spainyard, with the overthrow of Chryst's Kingdome, fra the quhilk they have bein thairfor maist justlie cutt of as rotten members;

[1] If we may dare to judge. [2] Use as tools. [3] Interest in this business.

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certifeing, if they sould do in the contrair, they sould feill the dint of the wrathe of that King and his Esteattes!" And, braking on in particular upon the graittest part of that Conventioun, with plane speitche and mightie force of zeall, he challengit tham of hiche treasone bathe against Chryst and the King, against the Kirk and countrey of Scotland, in that purpose and counsall they war about. Bot the King interrupted him, and commanded him to go out, whase command he obeyit, thanking God that they haid knawin his mynd, and gottin his message dischargit. Mr David Lindsay, Mr James Nicolson, Mr Patrik Galloway, and I, that remeanit and hard all, and spak in the contrar, adhering in effect to that quhilk Mr Andro haid uttered, bot in sic sort, that the King, with fear[1] promises, satisfeit over easelie and removit. In end, the Esteattes concludes, that the King and Kirk being satisfeit, it war best to call tham hame, and that his Majestie sould heir thair offerres for that effect.

In the monethe of September following, the Commissionars of the Generall Assemblie, with divers uther guid breithring, conveinit in Cowper; and, understanding certeanlie of the retourn of the Papist Lords, and of thair plattes,[2] purposes, and bissines, with thair favorars and associattes, thought guid to direct certean of the breithring thair present to the King, being in Falkland, to mein[3] the mater to him, and crave a discharge of his dewtie, namlie, that seing without his licence and knawlage, as was certefeit to the Kirk be his Majestie's Ministers, these rebelles was com ham, and war about to mak insurrectioun in the countrey, ther dangerous indevours sould be maturlie prevented be his Majestie his authoritie and powar. Also, that ther sould be a meitting again of the breithring, in Edinbruche, the monethe of October following.

Sa, Mrs Andro Melvill, Patrik Galloway, James Nicolsone, and I, cam to Falkland, whar we fand the King verie quyet. The rest leyed[4] upon me to be speaker, alleaging I could propone the mater substantiuslie, and in a myld and smothe maner, quhilk the King

[1] Fair. [2] Plots. [3] Make complaint. [4] Laid the burden.

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lyked best of. And, entering in the Cabinet with the King alan, I schew his Majestie, That the Commissionars of the Generall Assemblie, with certean uther breithring ordeanit to watche for the weill of the Kirk in sa dangerous a tym, haid convenit at Cowper. At the quhilk word the King interrupts me, and crabbotlie[1] quarrels our meitting, alleaging it was without warrand and seditius, making our selves and the countrey to conceave feir whar thair was na cause. To the quhilk, I beginning to reply, in my maner, Mr Andro doucht nocht[2] abyd it, bot brak af upon the King in sa zealus, powerfull, and unresistable a maner, that whowbeit the King used his authoritie in maist crabbit and colerik maner, yit Mr Andro bure him down, and outtered the Commission as from the mightie God, calling the King bot "God's sillie vassall;" and, taking him be the sleive, sayes this in effect, throw mikle hat reasoning and manie interruptiones: "Sir, we will humblie reverence your Majestie alwayes, namlie in publict, but sen we have this occasioun to be with your Majestie in privat, and the treuthe is, yie ar brought in extream danger bathe of your lyff and croun, and with yow the countrey and Kirk of Christ is lyk to wrak, for nocht telling yow the treuthe, and giffen of yow a fathfull counsall, we mon[3] discharge our dewtie thairin, or els be trators bathe to Christ and yow! And, thairfor, Sir, as divers tymes befor, sa now again, I mon tell yow, thair is twa Kings and twa Kingdomes in Scotland. Thair is Chryst Jesus the King, and his kingdome the Kirk, whase subject King James the Saxt is, and of whase kingdome nocht a king, nor a lord, nor a heid, bot a member! And they whome Chryst hes callit and commandit to watch over his Kirk, and governe his spirituall kingdome, hes sufficient powar of him, and authoritie sa to do, bathe togidder and severalie; the quhilk na Christian King nor Prince sould controll and discharge, but fortifie and assist, utherwayes nocht fathfull subjects nor members of Chryst. And, Sir, when yie war in your swadling-cloutes, Chryst Jesus rang[4] friely in this land in spyt of all his enemies, and his Officers and Ministers convenit and assemblit for the rewling and weill of his Kirk, quhilk was ever for your weil-

[1] Angrily, testily. [2] Could not. [3] Must. [4] Reigned.

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fear, defence, and preservatioun also, when thir sam enemies was seiking your destructioun and cutting af. And, in sa doing, be thair Assemblies and meittings sen syne continowalie hes bein terrible to these enemies, and maist stedable [1] for yow. And will yie now, when thair is mair nor [2] extream necessitie of the continowance and fathfull discharge of that dewtie, drawin to your awin destructioun be a devillische and maist pernitius counsall, begin to hinder and dishart [3] Chryst's servants, and your best and maist faithfull subjects, quarrelling tham for thair conveining and cair that they haiff of thair dewtie to Chryst and yow, when yie sould rather commend and countinance tham, as the godlie Kings and guid Emperours did? As to the wisdome of your counsall, quhilk I call devilishe and pernitius, it is this, that yie mon be servit with all sort of men to come to your purpose and grandour, Jew and Gentill, Papist and Protestant; and because the Ministers and Protestants in Scotland is over stark, [4] and controlles the King, they mon be waikned and brought law, [5] be steiring upe a partie to tham, and the King being æquall and indifferent, bathe salbe fean to flie to him; sa sall he be weill servit. Bot, Sir, gif God's wesdome be the onlie trew wisdome, this will prove mere and mad folie, for his curse can bot light upon it; sa that, in seiking of bathe, yie sall los bathe, wharas in cleiving uprightlie to God, his trew servants sould be your sure freinds, and he sould compell the rest, counterfitlie and leinglie, [6] to giff over tham selves and serve yow, as he did to David!"

Thir things, and manie uther, was spoken be occasioun in conference with grait libertie and vehemence, till at last the King sattelit and dimitted [7] us pleasandlie, with manie attestationes that he knew nocht of the Papist Lords' ham-coming till they war in the countrey; and whowbeit the Esteates haid licenced tham to mak thair offers, they sould nocht be receaved till they tham selves war furthe of the countrey again; and offer what they wald, they sould gett na grace at his hand till they satisfeid the Kirk.

[1] Serviceable. [2] More than. [3] Dishearten. [4] Strong, powerful.
[5] Must be weakened and brought low. [6] Lyingly. [7] Dismissed.

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The 20 of October the Commissionars of the Generall Assemblie, and from divers Synodalls, convened at Edinbruche, the haill proceidings wharof from that day untill the xvij. day of December, that accursed wrakfull day to the Kirk and Comoun-weill of Scotland, because they ar at lainthe, and particularlie, in forme of Ephemerids, sett doun be me in a buik be tham selff, for contracting of this volum, I mon remit the reidar thairto. Only heir I will insert the Offers quhilk the Erle of Hountlie maid to the Synod of Murray, be his Lady, the 19 day of the forsaid monethe of October, that it may be knawin whow trew the Lord hes ever bein in his promises to his Kirk, in making thair and his enemies leinglie yeild, and to giff ower tham selves unto his David.

THE OFFERS PRESENTED BE THE LADY HENRIET STEWART, COUNTES OF HOUNTLY, HAVING COMMISSION FROM HIR HOUSBAND IN HIS ABSENCE, TO THE SYNODALL ASSEMBLIE OF THE PRESBYTERIES WITHIN THE DIOICESE OF MURRAY, CONVENIT IN ELGEN THE XIX. DAY OF OCTOBER, 1596.

"In the first heiring, and having intelligence that your Wisdomes heir convenit, and remanent of the Kirk of this realm, hes bein in tyme past, and as yit remanes evill informit, be suggestioun of misreportes of my Lord and spouse, that he sould be a trafectar[1] with strangers sen his departing out of this realme, in prejudice of the Relligioun presentlie professit in the sam, and of the esteat of his native countrey, I, as having commissioun in his nam, offers, nocht onlie to mak his purgatioun of the sinister misreportes of him above wrytten, bot also that he sall abyd and submit him selff to all lawfull tryall thairanent; and, if he beis fund culpable and giltie thairof, to suffer and underly the censours of your Wisdomes, King, and Counsall.

"Secondlie, I offer that he sall mak sufficient securitie nather till

[1] That he is reputed to have been a trafficker.

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attempt, assist, nor devyse anie thing in tymes cumming, tending to the alteratioun or inversioun of the Relligioun presentlie professit within this realme.

"Thridlie, Offers that he sall banishe and eject from his companie and societie all Jesuites, Seminarie Preist, excommunicat persones, and notorius knawin Papists.

"Feirdlie, He is and salbe content to intercomoun and confer with quhatsumever of the Ministerie your Wisdomes and haill Kirk sall apoinct; and in cais he may be movit be guid arguments and reasones, and thairby persuadit in his conscience to leave the Relligioun presentlie profest be him, he sall embrace the Relligioun profest within this realme.

"Fyftlie, Offeres that he sall ressave an ordinar Minister in his companie, for his better instructioun, on his awin charges; and in mean tyme sall keipe guid ordour.

"Sextlie, For better assurance of his guid meining, he is content till assist your discipline in punishing of vyce.

"Sevintlie, In consideratioun of the premisses, I will desyre your Wisdomes to giff and concead a reasonable tyme wharin my Lord my spouse may be resolved in his conscience; and that it will pleis your Wisdomes to schaw him that favour to absolve him fra the proces of excommunicatioun; and that he may have, be your mediatioun and interceiding, his Majestie's favour and oversight, to remean within the countrey untroublit during the tyme of the Conference.

"And for your perswasioun to the premisses, I offer, in his name, that he sall mak sufficient securitie for observing of the Articles above wrettin; and in testimonie of his guid intentiounes, sall assist the planting of Ministers in the Kirks desolat within his bounds.
(*Thus subscryvit,*) "HENRETT COUNTESS OF HUNTLYE."

Thir Articles war presentit be the Barones underwryten: Sir Walter Ogilbie of Findlater, Knight, Robert Innes of that Ilk, Sir Jhone Gordown of Pitlurg, Knight, Wilyeam Sutherland of Duffes, Jhone Urquhart of Tullo, Tutor of Crommertie.

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Upon thir offeres, the Papist Erles war suffered to bruik the countrey, yea, ther awin housses and levings, till the monethe of May thairefter; when, at the Generall Assemblie hauldin at Dondie, they war absolved: Quhilk was easie to effectuat, the Ministerie of St Androis and Edinbruche, and sa of the haill Southe, being ather defaced or drawin to the King's devotioun; and the Ministerie of the Northe haillelie, be fear and flatterie, maid for the purpose. And thus our undewtifulnes did lose again that grait victorie quhilk God haid conqueist ower these enemies; the quhilk I pray his mercie they be nocht maid just skurges to the Ministerie in speciall thairfor.

Immediatlie efter that xvij. day of December, the Ministers of Edinbruche, Maisters Robert Bruce, James Balfour, Walter Balcanquall, and Wilyeam Watsone, war nocht onlie counsallit, bot ernestlie urgit be thair flok to flie. Twa of the quhilk, Mr Robert and Walter, past Southe, in England. The uther twa cam Northe ower to Fyff, whar they war attendit upon, and receavit in a hous quhilk the Lord haid preparit for the confort of his servants. Ther, under the winges of God's providence, they reposit, and ther thair host penned the Apologie of thair cause, following:—

A DECLARATIOUN OF THE JUST CAUSSES QUHILK MOVED THE MINISTERS OF EDINBRUCHE TO WITHDRAW THAM SELVES FROM THAIR FLOKES, FOR A SEASONE, IN THE MONETH OF DECEMBER, 1596; GIVEING PLACE TO THE WRATHE OF THE PRINCE, TO RESERVE THAM SELVES FOR A BETTER TYME.

"THERE hes bein in all ages, is, and salbe, (1.) Sum proffessit malitius enemies to the Lord Jesus and his servands: (2.) Sum that wald profes frindschipe to tham, bot the love of this warld sa owerrewles thair affectionnes, that when the frindschipe of the an and the uther comes in comparisone, sa that of necessitie they man forseak an of tham, lyk the ritche man in the Gospell, with heavines of hart they depart from Chryst: (3.) Sum weak and infirm breith-

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ring that haid neid nocht onlie of righteus informatioun in the treuthe, bot also of continuall confort: (4.) And sum wyse and strong favorars, wha leakes na thing bot intelligence of the proceidings of maters that they may meantein the caus, and stand thairunto against whatsoever calumnie or sklander.

"Concerning the first, wharof we mein nocht to tyne tyme in wassing of sic Moores,[1] nor, contrar to the command of our Maister, to cast our halie things to doogges, and sett our peirles befor sic swyne, seiking to find and save sic whom the Lord will have lost and destroyed; and, thairfor, in his righteus judgments, giffes tham over to thair awin fantasies to forge out stumbling-blokes, and cast tham in thair awin way to fall on, and go from evill to warse, deceaving and being deceavit, to thair awin just condemnatioun.

"As for the second sort, it war bot lost labour also to preas to perswad tham of the treuthe; for it fearethe[2] with tham as with an sa affectionat to his frind that he meines never to speir[3] his quarrell, what ever be done, what ever be said, right or wrang, trew or fals, rashlie or advysedlie; sa it tend anie wayes to the hurt or hinderance of his affectionat frind, it is all an; yea, he is sa ather blindit or willfullie addicted to his fond frindschipe, that the least appeirance of the hurt thairof makes right, treuthe, wesdome, advysitnes in his conceat to alter bathe name and nature, and be esteimed and giffen out for contrarie vyces: Sa ar they to the frindschipe of thair gear and this warld.

"Our onlie cear is of the twa rankes that remeanes, rightlie till informe that an of the just and wechtie causses moving us to withdraw our selves from our charges, and leave af the exerceise of our ministerie amangs our flocks of our awin accord for a seasone, (quhilk utherwayes we sould have bein compelled to do against our willes, to the los of our lives and graitter disadvantage of the comoun cause, as evidentlie will appeir in our Apologie efter following,) and togidder heirwithall to subjoyne sum comfort also for the confirmatioun of that uther; beseikand tham bathe to accept of the

[1] Washing of such Blackamoors; labour in vain. [2] Fareth. [3] Ask, inquire into.

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saming rightlie and lovinglie, in the tender bowelles of the Lord Jesus.

" Thair is twa things, as we understand, blawin abrode of us for our discredit, and the hurt of the cause of Jesus Chryst. An, that we have left our flockes, and sa becom, of pastors, hyrlings. The uther, that we ar fled from the lawes, and sa of guid subjects becom rebelles and outlawes. The quhilk crymes ar befor God and man, in all Reformit Kirks and Comoun-weilles, sa hynous and odius, that, giff we haid nocht the testimonie of a guid conscience in the contrare to uphold us befor God, and evident reasones to cleir our selves befor the reasonable and godlie, we wald esteim our selves of all men maist miserable.

" For, as concerning the flight from our flockes, we have the command of our Maister bidding us, being persecut in a citie to flie to an uther; and, conform to the saming his awin exemple, and the exemple of his apostles, namlie St Paull, who, being let down in a basket by night over the walles of Damascus, eschaped, and the manifold flightes of manie reverend fathers of the Antient Kirk, and namlie of the godlie and zealus Athanasius, weill thought of and approvin of all Christianitie. And wha, I pray yow, speaking in conscience, will or can deny our persecutioun? Having sic bludie bodwarts[1] coming to us from Court continuallie, sic schoring[2] to pluk us out of our pulpites, sic bitter and malitius realling[3] against us at tables, and in conference of counsallours, sic blasphemus traducing in publict, be proclamatiounes at mercat crosses with sound of trumpet; whar, befor that ever we war callit or hard, we war convict of seditioun and treasone, and proclamed to be sic personnes, namlie, in that maist malitius and blasphemus proclamatioun, wharin was deducit the proces led against Mr David Blak, in the selff maist informall, impius, and injust, and we involvit in the giltines of the sam alleagit crymes, to be maid part-takers of the sam punisment at the pleasur and will of the Prince; wha, God wattes[4] and

[1] Messages, in fiery haste. Literally, this word denotes the stick or fiery-cross, which of old was sent from place to place to call the people to defend the country, &c.
[2] Threatening, menacing. [3] Railing. [4] Wots, knows.

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man bathe, what guid will he hathe uttered towards us and all our Maister's servands, sen the receaving of our deidlie enemies the Papist Erles in his favour: For the quhilk, we humblie pray the Lord to be mercifull to the King, and giff him repentance in tyme, befor that grait Judge of the warld sett his Justice Court, enter in reductioun of that proces, and pronunce a feirfull sentence in his contrar, to be execut in wrathe without delay. And at last, a maist craftelie devysit tumult and insurrectioun motiouned be our enemies, and moved be the simple populace; the quhilk nochtwithstanding, be our diligence and authoritie, it was asswagit without anie violence or tort[1] done to anie man, praisit be God. Yit, forsuthe, the sam is sa hilie aggreagit,[2] that it is giffen out to the warld for a conspiracie of us and our associattes, of hie treassone against his Majestie's persone and counsallours, and maid to be a sufficient cause, wharfore we sould be apprehendit as seditius trators, committed to warde, and condemnit to schamfull executioun.

"For what better could we have luiked for at the hands of our accursed enemies, the excommunicat Papist Erles, whase speciall frinds and favourars hes nocht onlie alienat the hart of his Majestie from us, bot sa incensit the saming in hatred and wrathe against us, steired upe be our frie rebuiking of sinne, and fathfull admonitiounes giffen from tyme to tyme to his Majestie for eschewing of the feirfull judgments of God, that his awin mouthe hes brathed out bludie sentences and domes against us. The quhilk thing, when our breithring, the Commissionars of the Generall Assemblie, haid espyed and considderit, befor thair departing of the town, forcit to leave us be that streat[3] charge and proclamatioun, they gaiff us thair speciall advys and counsall, that in cais our Magistrates and flock wald nocht preserve us saiff from violent invasioun and craftie dint of deidlie malice, in that ceas we sould withdraw our selffs for a tyme, and reserve our selffs to a better occasioun, when we might serve our God and his peiple be our ministrie in saftie and freidome. And it is of veritie, that sa far was our bailyies and counsall from

[1] Wrong, hurt. Fr. *tort*. [2] Aggravated. [3] Stringent, strict.

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that abilitie or dewtie, that they war fean, for feir of thair awin esteattes, to receave a commissioun to tak and apprehend us, and put us in streat warde and sure firmance, to be producit at the pleasour of our enemies, and maid a prey to the recent anger of an incensit King, whose wrathe is as the roaring of a lyoun, or as a boare rubbit of hir whelpes,[1] as speakes the Scripture. The quhilk they haid nocht fealit to have effectuat indeid, giff God of his guid Providence haid nocht carit for our preservatioun, and movit the haill breithring of our Presbyterie, and uthers out of divers partes of the countrey, being ther for the tyme, togidder with our awin Sessioun and divers of our flock better affected, to counsall us cairfullie and maist urgentlie to move us to eschew the present furie and danger, and keipe our selves to the fore[2] for the wark of God at a better tyme. Giff then it be lawfull, comendable, and honest, for the stouttest to feir whar thair is just cause, and flie to that end they may feght againe, namlie to Pastors wher thair is na danger of infecting of thair flockes with heresie, and evident danger intendit against thair lyves: And if the premisses and mikle mair, cleirlie knawin to the consciences of all men of cair and sight in proceidings of maters, be trew, it is manifest that sic was the stat in deid of us and our flockes. Thair is nan of sound and sanctefied judgment that will blam us as mercenarie desertours of our charges, bot rather praise God, wha hes of his gratius guidnes wotchaffed[3] sa to direct and protect us, to be reserved in hope of farder imployment in the wark of his glorie and grace in Jesus Chryst.

"Now to the uther heid of our accusatioun, twitching our fleing from the lawes, we stand justlie to the flat denying thairof. For we flie nocht from the law, bot from the wrathe and evill dispositioun of the Judge that may easelie pervert the law; or rather from the partie wha intends, be pretence of law, to be revengit upon us, as upon thair noysome enemies, wha, as they alleage, hes nocht cessit, be our just rebuking of thair sinnes, quhilk they term seditius sermontes, to disgrace tham befor the peiple, and thairby at last hes

[1] A bear robbed of her whelps, Prov. xvii. 12. [2] In life. [3] Vouchsafed.

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concitat[1] the saming against tham to bereave tham of thair lyves and honors. Giff it be nocht sa, we appeill thair conscience befor God; and if it be sa, as it is indeid, have we nocht reasone to declyne the judgment of our partie, and flie from a craftie and crewall intendit revenge of a deidlie and malitius enemie?

"For, to be plean, in this our necessar Apologie, we ar forcit unto for defence of the æstimatioun of our office, and creadit of our calling amangs the peiple of God, nocht we onlie, bot all men of guid and æquitable judgment, thinks it all an[2] to be judgit be the present Counsall as be the Erle of Hountlie, in whase favour the advancment of the specialles of tham, speak what they will, hes bein procurit, and for whase effect thair credit is continowed and increassit at Court. And we ar sure nan will esteim us foolishe or fleyed[3] for fleing from the judgment of that crewall trator, as from the Burning of Dunibirsall or Spanishe Inquisitioun.

"And as to the King's Majestie, we flie nocht from his lawfull authoritie, but from his unlawfull wrathe, nocht from his evill naturall, (quhilk of it selff is maist clement,) but from his prejudicat dispositioun and evill opinioun conceavit against us be the maist subtill and importune subjestioun[4] of craftie serpentes, from whase pernitius poisone our continuall prayer to God is, that his Majestie may be saiff, and nocht thairby slean in body and saull. For as to his Majestie's Judicatorie, we mein nocht to declyne it in this cause; nather, whowbeit we have be all law maist just cause of appellatioun thairfra, being sa inormlie greivit and hurt be all his proceidings against us, yit we mein nocht simplie till appeal from his Hienes' throne to anie Cæsars, Kings, or Princes, in the erthe, but *a Rege male consulto et affecto ad melius.* Sa that whow soone soever it pleis God to delyver him from the companie and counsall of wicked Papists and malitius Atheists, and turn his hart and affectioun to the trew professours of the right Christian Relligioun and fathfull Ministers thairof, wha, without all questioun, is, hes bein, and will prove his onlie sure frinds and guid subjects, we sall,

[1] Stirred up. [2] Equal, the same thing. [3] Afraid, terrified. [4] Injection.

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in all readines and humilitie, present our selves befor his Majestie, sitt dow,[1] fauld our feit,[2] and tholl an assyse[3] of anie honest men of whatsumever rank, for all art, part, read,[4] or counsall of that insurrectioun, or anie uther interpryse at anie tyme attempted against his Majestie.

"Wharfor, deir breithring, we ernestlie exhort yow, in the bowelles of our comoun Saviour, to conceave of our cause and doings aright; and nocht onlie to satisfie your selff with the æquitable reasones and motives thairof, wherby all occasioun of offence and mislyking may easilie be removed, bot also of Christian dewtie and love to play the advocat for us at the hands of uthers, namlie, of sic as may have acces to deall with his Majestie for the treuthe, and move his Hienes to a better dispositioun.

"For, as concerning our dewtie to his Majestie, the God of heavin, the cearsar[5] of all hartes, bears us witnes, that we injoy a guid and quyet conscience thairanent, quhilk accuses us nocht of omitting anie thing we oucht[6] of dewtie to his Majestie, nor committing of anie thing against his Majestie's persone or esteat, unles it have bein be the exces of affectioun or zeall, fearing for his danger, and caring for his weill and preservatioun against all sort of trators: That lyk as his Majestie haid guid pruff and experience thairof against Boduall, from whase attempts he could never be frie till we put to our hand; and after redding[7] of his Majestie divers tymes out of his claues,[8] at last maid him fean, being excommunicat, till abandone the countrey; sa he might have the sam against these graitter and mair dangerus trators, the said Bodualles confederattes at Menmure, the excommunicat Papist Erles, wha seikes maist subtillie to betrey his Majesty in body, saull, kingdom, lyff, temporall and everlasting. Gif heirin we have offendit, let the King pardone and forgiff us.

"But, alas! wald to God the wrang war done to us onlie, the pure servants of the Lord Jesus, and nocht directlie to him selff,

[1] Dolefully. [2] Bend our knees. [3] Submit to a jury. [4] Knowledge, *rede*.
[5] Searcher. [6] Owed. [7] Extricating, delivering. [8] Clutches.

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whase croun and kingdome is violentlie invadit; withe whome the King enterit in actioun for redding of merches,[1] and in the mean tym maid irruptioun violentlie within the middes of his undoutted possessioun, and under conference of things alleagit questionable betwix his erthlie kingdome and the Kirk, the spirituall kingdome of Chryst Jesus, satt down in judgment, tuk decreit to him selff, and therby acclamed the speciall privilages of the croun of Chryst, to wit, the judicator of the preatching of the Word, and conceaving of prayer, and annulling of the constitutionnes and commissionnes of his Supream Assemblie within this realme. Giff anie gentilman of the countrey haid bein sa used with his nibour in questioun of his mertches, wald he nocht be thought to have just occasioun of compleant, yea, just cause and quarrell to war[2] his gear,[3] land, him selff, and all that wald tak his part for redres thairof? And yit sall nocht the Lord Jesus be hard[4] to complean? Sall his servants be declarit trators, because they mein[5] his cause? Sall his officers be rebelles, because they warn his frinds to cognos upon the wrang and sie it repeairit?[6] And sall sic oppressioun and tyrannie pas unrepressit? Sall he wha has received the haill lands and costes of the erthe for a just possessioun, yea, all powar in heavin and in erd from the grait Creator thairof, suffer him selff to be thus handlit and usit? Sall the Pagan Turk, the Cam of Tartarie, the Muscovit and Sophie of Pers, defend thair bounds and conqueist kingdomes? Sall bastard Christiannes, sic as Prester Jhone in Afric, beir impyre, and Philipe of Spean mak the warld agast, inlarging his dominiones from the West to Est, and in the mean tyme the Hair[7] of the Warld, the King of Glorie, be oppressed, spulied, and dishonored be a litle erthlie Regulus? Na, alas! wald to God the King knew what he war doing, and tuik upe rightlie, and considderit the fathfull, loving, and cearfull hartes of the Ministrie, wha sies the hat wrathe of Jehova kindlet against him, for helping the wicked, and favoring of tham whom God haittes, and of the Lord Jesus, King

[1] Literally, a process at law for settling and adjusting of *marches* or boundaries.
[2] Expend. [3] Wealth. [4] Heard. [5] Head. [6] Repaired. [7] Heir.

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of kinges, for invadding of his possessiounes, and usurping upon his spirituall croun and kingdome: And, thairfor, mon[1] cry the alarme, and giff the warning in tyme to leave af and repent, befor he be consumit thairby, and maid a feirfull spectacle to the rewlars of the erde!

"Alas! his conscience, and the conscience of all, may weill ken[2] it is nather ritches, honour, land, nor rent, nor na warldlie particular[3] that we crave, as does his courtiours, wha goes about to cla and counsall him, nocht according to his weilfeare, bot efter his affectioun and present dangerus dispositioun; and sa, when they have gotten that quhilk they sought, they cair na mair for him, bot wald have another in his place, of whom they might get mair, to serve thair insatiable appeteit: Bot our cair onlie is lest he offend his God, and sa be left destitut of his grace and protectioun, and fall in the hands of sic as seiks his wrak and distructioun. And yit, forsuthe, they ar the frinds, and we the enemies! they the wyse and discreit, and we the inordinat foolles! they the savears of his honour and privileages of his croun, and we the empearers[4] thairof, and sic as seikes to disgrace him befor the peiple! But, alas! wald to God his Majestie saw thair plattes, and knew thair devysses! He wald flie from tham as from the sword, or consumption of raging fyre; for, as Solomon speakes of the harlot, 'Honnie is in ther mouthe, but the sting of bitter deathe is in thair end.' Let the King persew us as he pleases, we sall nocht ceas to requyt him with ernest prayer to our God to preserve his grace from the miserable experience quhilk sall cleir this cause to the haill warld, gif he brak nocht af his sines be repentance, and turn to God in tyme.

"Now, in end, we turn to yow, our deir afflicted flok, for the saftie of whase saulles we hope, be God's grace, to giff our lyves, giff neid beis; whowbeit we esteim the present los of your gear of lytle aveall, in respect of that service quhilk yit in this lyff we may do to Chryst and his Kirk. What ever be the doings of men in

[1] Must. [2] Know. [3] Interest, advantage. [4] Impairers.

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this your visitatioun, luik yie to the hand of God, justlie working that quhilk sa often be our mouthes he forwarned yow of, for the contempt of his Gospell, and fruictles passing ower the lang simmer and seasonable herveist thairof. He hes moved the folie of a mad and confusit multitude to minister to your troublers the occasioun of your present perplexitie, yea, of this heavie plag upon your hartes, bodies, and geare; to the spilling,[1] be appeirance, of a guid cause, and moving of the wrathe of an erdlie prince against yow. Bot we beseik yow thairin to perceave and tak upe the angrie face and crabbit[2] countenance of the Lord of Hostes, wha hes the coupe of his vengeance, mixit with mercie and justice, in his hand, to propyne[3] to this haill land, and everie member thairof, in what rank and degrie so ever they be. Of the quhilk the servants of his awin hous, and yie in speciall, hes gottin the breird to drink. Drink it patientlie, for whowbeit it be bitter, it is a halsome potioun of repentance propynit to yow in mercie; bot be assurit for your confort, when that hathe wrought weill upon yow and us for our humiliatioun and amendiment, the thik dreg of that read wyne of the Lord's vengeance is preparit in wrathefull justice for the enemies to drink, the quhilk they sall drink, nill they will they,[4] to thair horrible destructioun and confusioun everlasting! AMEN."

At the beginning of Januar, the King, with grait forces of the Homes, Cares,[5] and Southland gentell men, cam to Edinbruche, quhilk pat the town in grait feir, and thair was keipit a frequent[6] Conventioun of Esteates, wharin war maid manie strange and seveir actes, the tytles wharof followes:—

Imprimis, Thrie actes of Counsall[7] confirmed be thair authoritie: an, finding the uproare at Edinbruche the xvij. of December to be hichest treasone, and the authors and partakers, with thair favorars, to be trators in the hichest degrie: An uther, discharging the Ministers' Stipends that wald nocht subscryve a Band, acknawlaging

[1] Spoiling. [2] Incensed. [3] Present as a gift. [4] In spite of them.
[5] Carrs, Karrs. [6] Numerously attended, crowded. [7] Privy Council.

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the King to be onlie Judge in maters of treassone, or uther civill and criminall causses, committed be preatching, prayer, or what way so ever: The thrid, ordeaning all provests and bailyies, shireffes, stewarts, and uthers of authoritie, that sould happen to be present at anie sklanderus speitches of his Majestie, in pulpit or utherwayes, to stay tham from anie farder proceiding, tak and apprehend, keipe and detein tham, till they sould understand his Hienes' pleasure anent thair offence.

Item, Ther past an act with thir, finding his Majestie to have powar to charge and discharge a Minister to teatche at anie tyme or place, as he sould think convenient.

Item, Ane act discharging all Generall Synodall Assemblies and Presbyteries to be keipit at anie tyme heirefter within the brouch of Edinbruche; and the Presbyterie of Edinbruche to sitt in Musselbruche or Dalkethe.

Item, Ane act ordeaning the Ministers' houses in Edinbruche to be appropriat in tyme coming to his Hienes' use, be reasone of the treasonable and seditius complottes, ther devysit at sindrie tymes be the formar inhabitantes; and thairwithall the Nather Counsall-hous, for that it was sum tymes imployed to be a gard-hous, to be a Chacquer-hous in all tymes coming.

Item, Ther was a form of Band to be subscryvit be the provest and bailyies of Edinbruche, and thairefter to be presented to the remanent Magistrates within Brouches, bearing a maist streat aithe of fidelitie to his Majestie, and oblesing tham never to suffer anie Minister blaspheam his Majestie, his Counsall and Esteattes, unapprehendit, under the pean of perjurie against the haill thrie persones of the Godheid; and under a grait pecuniall soum in cais of failyie.

Item, The Town of Edinbruche bund never to admit thair former Ministers to teatche again within the town, without his Majestie's consent; never to chuse anie uther, in thair place, without his Majestie's allowance; siklyk never to chuse a Magistrat without his Majestie's approbatioun; and the present Magistrats to dimit and resing thair offices ower in his Hienes' hands, to the intent he may, with advys of Counsall, elect sic uthers as he pleases. And

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fordar, was injoyned to tham, ather to find out the principall offendars, and mak thair proces cleir, that ther rest na thing but executioun befor the last day of this instant, or els the provest, bailyies, deacones, and counsall, representing the haill bodie of the town, till enter thair persones in warde, within the town of Perthe, upon the first of Februar next, ther till underly the law for the said treasonable uproare, and for thair letting to libertie of Mr James Balfour, efter his apprehensioun.

Item, The Sessioun to be transported to Perthe, ther to sitt the first day of Februar nixt, and his Majestie and the Checquer to remean till then at Lithgow. The Commissars and Shireff Court to sit at Leithe.

At the sam Conventioun was read on a[1] day bot thrie billes: An of the Erle of Hountlie's, an uther of the young Lard of Bonitone's, and the thrid of the Lord Sachar's,[2] thrie excommunicat Papists. In the twa first, Aberdein was chargit to heir thair offers, and, finding tham agriable to the law of God, conscience, and quietnes of the realme; to accept tham, and to releive the compleaners of the sentence of excommunicatioun; utherwayes, to compeir befor the Counsall within fifteen dayes thairefter, and schaw a reasonable cause why; with certificatioun, in cais of failyie, letters sould be direct to charge tham simpliciter thairto.

And last, ther was apointed a number to sitt in everie quarter of the town of Edinbruche, and examine sic as they pleasit, or sould be giffen in row[3] to tham. Of whase dispositionnes ther was wryttin monie quarres[4] of paper, and yit amangs all nocht sa mikle fund as might justlie mak a man, to let be a Minister, suspitius of anie conspiracie or for-devysit uproare, that could publictlie be punishable.

The King, finding this vantage and occasioun, pousses fordwart the sam to the conquering of the libertie, bathe of the Kirk and Borrowes, within this land; and publisses in print a nomber of Questiones, wharby he calles in dout the haill discipline and ordour of

[1] One. [2] Sanquhar. [3] Roll, list. [4] Quires.

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the Kirk, ordeaning the sam to be disputed and concludit in a solem Conventioun of the Kirk and Esteattes of the Realme, to be conveinit be him at St Johnstoun, about the end of Februar.

Wharfor the Synod of Fyff, cairfull of thair dewtie at sa neidfull a tyme, convenit at Cowper the 8 of Februar, ordeanit every Presbyterie to nominat and direct twa of thair maist discreit, wyse, and resolut breithring to meit within the citie of St Androis, upon the Munday efter the xxj. of that instant, thair to confer, reasone, and resolve, with comoun and uniform consent, on maist solid and substantius answers to be sett down in wryt, verie schortlie, for resolutioun of the King's Questionnes.

Also, efter ernest incalling[1] of the nam of God, and grave and weghtie consideratioun of the dangers the haill esteat of the Kirk might fall into, if the government thairof, manie yeirs ago establissed be the Word of God and lawes of the countrey, and peaceable practise, accompanied with a rare blissing of sinceritie and concord, voide of all errour and schisme even unto this day, sould be now callit in controversie, and brought in doutfull and uncertain reasoning amangs men unskilled in the Scriptur and Kirk effeares, without the advys of a Generall Assemblie, or anie inferiour Assemblie of the Kirk, namlie, at sic a tyme when the notour[2] enemies thairof ar, efter sa lang preparatioun, now in full readines to accomplis thair attemptats, to hir utter overthrow; the Synod did nominat and ordean certean of thair maist grave, godlie, and discreit breithring, to wit, David Fergusone, Mr Thomas Buchanan, Mr Robert Wilkie, Mr Robert Durie, Mr Wilyeam Scot, Mr Thomas Dowglas, and Mr Jhone Fearfull, to pas from the present Assemblie in Commissioun to the King's Majestie, and in all humble reverence and dewtifull maner, be all guid arguments and reasones to travell with his Majestie, that this apointed Assemblie, at Perthe, may desert and be left of, or at leist be prorogat and continowit unto the tym the last apointed Generall Assemblie be the haill Kirk, with consent of his

[1] Invocation.

[2] Notorious, well-known.

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Majestie's Commissionars, according to the act of his Majestie's Parliament, convein in St Androis in the monethe of Apryll nixto-come, and giff thair advys anent His Majestie's Intentionnes and Purpose, published in print; declaring to his Majestie in speciall, that na Presbyterie hes powar to giff commissioun to anie of thair breithring to cast in questioun or put in dout the determinationnes and conclusionnes of a Generall Assemblie, na mair nor a particular brouche[1] may call in controversie his Majestie's actes of Parliament: Sa that, whowbeit the Presbyteries sall direct thair Commissionars to his Majestie at Perthe[2] at the day appointed, for testifeing thair dew obedience, they can on na wayes com instructed for the purpose mentionat thairin, to put in questioun or alter anie constitutioun of a Generall Assemblie.

In lyk maner, that it wald pleis his Majestie to relax the Ministers of Edinbruche from the horn, and repon tham again in thair awin roumes; as also, Mr David Blak to his awin charge in St Androis; certefeing his Majestie, that he can do na thing mair to the contentment and winning of the hartes of all the fathfull and godlie of this land at this present tyme.

And fordar, to beseik[3] his Hienes nocht to suffer anie thing to be published in print anent the proceiding of maters betwix his Majestie and the Kirk of leat, having thairin a speciall cear of his Majestie's honour and estimatioun, quhilk can nocht bot be imparit amang the godlie and sincere professours in all realmes, if our controversies com in thair hands.

The said Synod also condisendit upon certean Instructionnes to be giffen to the Commissionars, to be chosin be thair Presbyteries, to keipe the apointed dyet be the King at Perthe, as followes:

[1] Any more than any single or particular burgh. [2] "*Nota.*—The King wrot to all Presbyteries throw the countrey to send thrie of ther number to the Assemblie apointed at Perthe." This has been added by the Author on the margin of the Manuscript. [3] Beseech.

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INSTRUCTIONS GEVIN BE THE SYNOD OF THE PROVINCE OF FYFF TO THE COMMISSIONARS, TO BE CHOSINE BE EVERIE PRESBYTERIE WITHIN THE SAID SYNOD, TO GO TO THE CONVENTIOUN APPOINTED BE HIS MAJESTIE AT PERTH; THE QUHILK THE SAID SYNOD ORDEANIT THAM AND EVERIE AN OF THAM PRECEISLIE TO KEIPE.

"FIRST, yie sall schaw that yie ar com for obedience to his Majestie, and nocht for that yie acknawlage that to be a lawfull Generall Assemblie, be reasone it was nocht apointed be the last Generall, nor convocat be the advys of the Commissionars of the last Generall Assemblie, as hes bein the practise of the Kirk at all tymes befor within this realme, warranted be the Word of God and lawes of the countrey.

"*Item*, yie sall schaw that yie may nocht condisend in anie wayes to the reasoning or putting in questioun the maters of the Polecie of the Kirk; because the Generall Kirk of this realme, to quhilk yie ar subject, hes alreadie determined the saming; quhilk determinatioun yie have also subscryvit unto, and nan may call the sam in dout, and put tham in reasoning, but a Generall Assemblie. Therfor, yie sall desyre his Majestie, in all humilitie, for continuatioun of the reassoning to the ordinar assigned Generall Assemblie, to be hauldin at St Androis the xxvj. of Apryll nixtocome.

"*Item*, gif na continuatioun can be obteined, and yie be urged to proceide, yie sall protest for The Liberties of the Kirk, and planlie disassenting, keipe your selffs frie of everie thing that salbe done thairanent.

"*Item*, because the Conventioun is apointed be his Majestie onlie for the Questionnes, yie sall nocht mell[1] in anie maner of way withe the receaving of Hountlie or uther excommunicats, or anie uther thing remitted from Synodalls, or Presbyteries, or properlie belanging to a Generall Assemblie.

[1] Meddle, interfere with.

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"*Item*, in cais the brethring amangs tham selves, or his Majestie, or anie of his Counsall, enter in reasoning with yow, or anie of yow, in privat, that yie hauld fast be thir generall grounds:—1. That the haill externall Government of the Kirk mon be tean[1] out of the Word of God: 2. That the ordinar Pastors and Doctors of the Kirk mon schaw the will of God out of his Word; and that onlie to be followed: 3. That the Pastors and Doctors of the Kirk of Scotland hes with lang and grave deliberatioun sett down and constitut the haill externall Discipline and Governement of the Kirk; according to the quhilk it hes bein thir manie yeirs sa happelie governit and rewlit, that na heresie, schisme, or dissentioun hes haid place thairin unto this houre; and that ther is nan beiring office in the Kirk wha calles the sam in dout. It wald, thairfor, pleis his Majestie nocht to suffer the rair and maist peaceable and decent constitutioun thairof to be disturbit be exagitating of fruictles Questionnes, namlie at this tyme, quhen Papists preasses, be that mean of disputatioun, namlie, to brangle[2] and pervert all.

"*Item*, yie sall travell with the Ministers, Barronnes, and Noblemen, that sall happin thair to be conveinit, that an uniform Supplicatioun may be maid and giffen in for restoring of the Ministers of Edinbruche and Mr David Blak again to thair flockes; and behave your selves heirin in the feir of God and love of Chryst and his kingdome, fathfullie and providentlie, with all dewtifull reverence to the King's Majestie.

"FINIS."

In this Assemblie also was read the Band quhilk the King and Counsall devysit to be subscryvit be all Ministers, under pean of tinsall[3] of thair stipends, in effect to rescind the declinator subscryvit be all of befor at the calling of Mr David Blak befor the King and Counsall in the monethe of December. The quhilk Band the Assemblie judged to be unlawfull and superfluus, for manie and divers reasones; quhilks, togidder with the poincts of the forsaid

[1] Must be taken. [2] Confound, throw into disorder. Fr. *branler*. [3] Loss.

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Supplicatioun, yie sall find in the volum mentioned befor, of the particulars that fell out in the monethes of November and December.

Upon the 21 of this monethe, Februar, the breithring apointed out of everie Presbyterie conveined at St Androis, and divers dayes towtching the King's Questionnes,[1] the schort soum wharof, togidder with the Questionnes them selves, followes:

THE QUESTIONNES PROPONED BE THE KING, TO BE RESOLVIT AT THE CONVENTIOUN OF THE ESTAITS AND GENERALL ASSEMBLIE, APPOINTED TO BE AT THE BROUCHE OF PERTHE, THE LAST OF FEBR. 1596.

ANSWER.—1 *Tim.* vi. [3, 4, 5.]

"Gif anie man teatche utherwayes, (viz. then the Apostle hes taucht concerning the government of the hous of God, quhilk is his Kirk,) and concentes nocht to the halsome words of the Lord Jesus Chryst, and to the doctrin quhilk is according to godlines, he is puft up and knawes na thing; bot dottathe about questionnes and stryff of words, wharof cumes invy, stryff, reallings, evill surmisings, vean disputation of men of corrupt mynds, and destitut of the treuthe, quhilk think that gean is godlines; from sic seperat thy selff."

"QUEST. 1. May nocht the maters of the externall Gubernation of the Kirk be disputed, *salva fide et religione?*

"*Ans.* They may nocht: 1. The Government of the Kirk being alreadie established and constitut upon guid groundes of the Word of God, be lawes of the countrey, and mair nor[2] threttie years possessioun: 2. Namlie at sic a tyme when the Papists ar readie bent to schak and overthrow the Kirk and Gospell: 3. When that un-

[1] "*Nota.*—Mr Jhone Lindsay was suspected to be the author of thir Questiones. I wat he was cheiflie on the counsall of tham, bathe in devysing and following furthe of tham." This added by Mr James Melvill on margin of MS. [2] More than.

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formall Conformitie is sought be our nibour enemies of the discipline, the Bischopes of Eingland: 4. In sa dissolut estait of a lawles and justiceles peiple: 5. When na edificatioun bot distructioun and breidding of schisme and dissentioun within the bowelles of the Kirk may aryse thairof: 6. When nane of the Pastors or Doctors of the Kirk douttes thairanent: 7. Let the King and Counsall considder whow intolerable they wald think it, to cast in dout the fundamentall lawes of the kingdome, and actes of Parliament; or gif anie man wald put in arbitriment or reasoning his undoutted possessioun, lenning upon a law, and decreit, and right unreducit.

"QUEST. 2. Is it the King severalie, or the Pastor severalie, or bathe conjunctlie, that sould establishe the actes anent the externall Government of the Kirk, or what is the form of thair conjunction to mak lawes?

"*Ans.* All actes of the Kirk sould be established be the Word of God, conteined in Holie Scripture, the ordinar interpretars wharof ar the Pastors and Doctors of the Kirk. The extraordinar, in tyme of corruptioun of the haill esteat of the Kirk, ar Prophettes, and sic as God indowes with extraordinar giftes; and Kings and Princes aucht, be thair civill authoritie, to ratifie and aprove that be thair lawes, and vindicat be thair civill sanctiones, quhilk they declar to be God's will out of his Word.

"QUEST. 3. Is nocht the consent of the maist part of the flock, and also of the Patron, necessar in the electioun of the Pastors?

"*Ans.* The electioun of Pastors sould be maid be tham wha ar Pastors and Doctors lawfullie called, and wha can try the giftes necessarlie belanging to Pastors, be the Word of God; and to sic as ar sa chosine, the flok and Patron sould giff thair consent and protectioun.

"QUEST. 4. Is it laufull for the Pastor to leave his flok against thair willes, albeit he have the consent of the Presbyterie; and for what cause sould the Presbyterie consent therto?

"*Ans.* When the flok will feir and obey men and nocht God, and nocht keipe thair fathfull Pastors from wrang, and dint of

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deadlie malice and violence, in sic ceas the Pastors, be consent of thair Presbyteries, may leave thair flocks.

"QUEST. 5. Is it laufull for a Minister to use farder applicatioun nor[1] that quhilk may edifie his awin flock; or is the haill warld the flock of everie particular Pastor?

"*Ans.* A Minister may declar and apply the Word of God throwout the haill Scripture, and his warks wrought throuchout the haill warld, for the glorie of God, and eydification of his particular flock.

"QUEST. 6. Is he a lawfull Pastor wha wants *impositionem manuum?*

"*Ans.* Impositioun, or laying on of hands, is nocht essentiall and necessar, bot ceremoniall and indifferent, in the admissioun of a Pastor.

"QUEST. 7. Is it lawfull to Pastors to express particular men's names, Counsallis, or Magistrats, in pulpit, or so vivlie[2] to descryve tham, that the peiple may understand whom be they mein, without notorious declarit vices and privat admonitions preceiding?

"*Ans.* The Canon of the Apostle is cleir, 'Them that publiclie sin rebuk publictlie, that the rest may feir.' And sa mikle the mair giff the publict sinne be in a publict persone, bearing publict office and charge; quhilk nocht being corrected, might indanger the publict esteat. Nather can anie sear[3] be healed without the plaster be particularlie applyed to the persone and place of his seare: Utherwayes, he does na thing of the pastorall dewtie aright; and sic as finds fault thairwith, thinks mair ill to be called vitius nor be vitius indeid, and, lyk foolles and bernes, chuse rather to die in thair disease nor abyde the cure.

"QUEST. 8. For quhilk vyces sould admonitiones and reproving of Magistrats pas publictlie from pulpits, in thair absence or presence, *respective?*

"*Ans.* For all publict vyces, against the first and second Table

[1] Than. [2] To describe them to the life. [3] Sore.

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of the Law of God; and that in all congregationes, because all hes interes in thair King and superiour Magistrats, thairfor all sould ken thair danger, and be moved to pray for tham.

"QUEST. 9. Is the application of doctrin in pulpits lauchfull quhilk is foundit upon informatiouns, bruits, and rumors, suspitious conditions gif this be and that be; probabilities, liklines or unliklines in things to come, in civill matters, quhilk all may be fals, and consequentlie the doctrine following therupon? or, sould all applicatioun be upon the veritie of knawin and notorius vyces?

"*Ans.* Ther is na bruted [1] vyce or corruptioun but may fall in the persones and offices of men, and comounlie the sin is mikle war nor the bruit; thairfor thouche this war, thair wer na grait perrell of an [2] speaking treuthe thairin. Albeit thair nather hes bein, or is anie applicatioun used but against over notorius veritie of vyces.

"QUEST. 10. Is the text, quhilk is read in the pulpit, the ground wherupoun all the doctrine sould be buildit? or, may all things be spokin upon all texts, so that the reiding therof is bot a cerimonie?

"*Ans.* The Apostle to Timoth. Epist. ii. chap. 3, answers cleirlie, that 'Ther is na Scripture quhilk is nocht sa ritchlie inspyrit be God, that it is profitable for doctrin, refutatioun, correctioun, admonitioun, yea, even to mak the man of God perfyt for all guid wark;' and to the Rom. xv. 'Whatever is wryttin is for instructioun and consolatioun:' Sa this is bot an ignorant or cerimonius questioun.

"QUEST. 11. May a simple pastor exerceise anie jurisdictioun but [3] consent of the maist part of his particular sessioun?

"*Ans.* He may with consent of the best part, quhilk comounlie is nocht the maist; for he being the messinger of God and interpreter of his Word, hes mair authoritie with a few nor [4] a grait multitud in the contrare.

"QUEST. 12. Is nocht his Sessioun judge to his doctrine?

"*Ans.* The Word of God and exponars thairof, the Pastors and Doctors, are onlie judge of his doctrin. 'The sprit of the prophetes ar subject to the prophetes,' 1 Cor. xiv.

[1] Commonly rumoured. [2] One. [3] Without. [4] Than.

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"QUEST. 13. Sould nocht the Moderator of the Session be chosin yeirlie of anie wha has vot therin?

"*Ans.* The cheiff burding of moderatioun over the haill flock lyes on the Pastor or Pastors. And, because of the message, gift, office, and commissioun by the Word quhilk he beares, the eldars and deacones mon[1] be moderat be him also.

"QUEST. 14. May the Sessioun be lawfullie elected by Ministers onlie, but the consent of the haill Congregatioun?

"*Ans.* Nocht, for the Ministers directs and moderates the electioun be the Word, and the Congregatioun obeyes and giffes consent thairto.

"QUEST. 15. Why sould nocht Eldars and Deacones of ilk particular Sessioun be elected *ad vitam?*

"*Ans.* They are elected *ad vitam*, except just causses of deprivatioun intervein. Bot because the Kirk leiving[2] is sacrilegiuslie spoiled, quhilk sould sustein tham, they may nocht everie yeir leave thair occupationes and attend on that office; and thairfor of a number lawfullie elected successivlie sum releives uther, yit all abyding Kirk-officers; and this is of necessitie till the Kirks get hir awin leving.

"QUEST. 16. How manie Presbyteries is meit to be in the haill countrie, in what places, and whow manie Pastors of Kirks in ilk Presbyterie?

"*Ans.* Plant the countrey weill with Kirks out-throw, and the Kirks with Pastors and Doctors, and this questioun wilbe soone solved; bot if this forme of doing hauld out, thair wilbe fewar or they be ma.[3]

"QUEST. 17. Sould nocht the Eldars and Deacons of ilk particular Sessioun have vot in the Presbyteries, or the Pastors only?

"*Ans.* Eldars also having commissioun from thair Sessioun in maters of maners, lyk as also Deacones in the Pure's effeares, and Patrimonie of the Kirk.

"QUEST. 18. What is the maters of the Jurisdiction of the Presbyterie quhilk may nocht be intreated in particular Sessions?

[1] Must. [2] Living. [3] There will be fewer before there be more.

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"*Ans.* The Buik of the Polecie of the Kirk of Scotland sett down be the Generall Assemblie, and the first Act of the Parl. haldin at Edinbruche *in anno* 1592, answers heirto sufficientlie, and to manie of all thir Questiones; and thairfor wald never have bein proponit gif the auld affectioun haid remeanit towards the Kirk.

"QUEST. 19. What Form of Process in libelling and citation, termes and dyattes, probation and pronuncing of the sentence, sould be usit befor the said particular Sessiouns and Presbyteries *respective?*

"*Ans.* Echo. Form summar, æquitable, grave and spirituall, as best may serve for the end of thair delling to win saulles from Sathan and his snares of sinne to God, be trew repentance; and purging and preserving of the Kirk from sklander, and danger of corrupt and pernitius members *respective.*

"QUEST. 20. What maters sould the Synod intreat upon quhilk may nocht be decydit in the Presbyteries?

"*Ans.* The Answer to the 18 answers to this.

"QUEST. 21. Sould nocht all wha hes vot in the Presbyteries, and als in the particular Sessions, have vot in the Synodall Assemblies?

"*Ans.* The Pastors, Doctors, and sic as hes comissioun from particular Sessionnes of Congregationnes, hes vott, except in maters of doctrin, wherin onlie they that labors in the Word may vott and judge.

"QUEST. 22. Sould ilk Universitie or ilk Collage, or ilk Master or Regent within ilk Collage, have vot in the Presbyteries or Synodals in the towns or countries whar they ar; and sic lyk, what form of vot sould they have in the Generall Assemblie?

"*Ans.* Doctors and Professours of Theologie, and ordinar instructars of the youthe in the groundes of Relligion, sould vott. The first, because they ar ordinar Office-bearers within the Kirk; the second being lawfullie callit to be Sym-presbyters.

"QUEST. 23. Is it lesum to convocat the Generall Assemblie by his Majestie's licence, he being *pius et Christianus Magistratus?*

"*Ans.* Gif he be *pius et Christianus,* he will alwayes allow and

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protect the Assemblies of the Office-bearers of the Kirk for governing of the sam, wha hes thair office and warrand of conveining for discharge thairof, nocht of anie erthlie or mortall King, but of Chryst Jesus, whom the Father hes anointed his King on his holie montan; and thairfor may convein in his nam, and sould whensoever they sie the weill of the Kirk and doing of thair office to requyre the sam.

"QUEST. 24. Is it necessar that the Generall Assemblie be ordinar, or onlie extraordinarlie convened for waightie causses concerning the Kirk?

"*Ans.* The necessitie hes bein, is now, and yit lyk to be, in this land sa grait, that bathe the an and uther is neidfull. The ordinar for the ordinar causses conteined in the Buik of Discipline; the extraordinar for preventing of dangers, *et pro re nata.*

"QUEST. 25. Hes nocht all men of guid lerning and relligion vot in the Generall Assemblie?

"*Ans.* Nan may vott bot sic as hes lawfull calling, viz. Commissionars from Synods and Presbyteries: yit all the godlie and fathfull may assist, heir, or speak, in a grave, ordourlie, and comlie maner, with leave asked and given be the Moderator.

"QUEST. 26. Is ilk particular Pastor oblesit to repear to the Generall Assemblie, or is it sufficient that onlie Commissionars com fra ilk particular Sessioun, Presbyterie, or Synodall?

"*Ans.* Commissionars ar sufficient for votting, but the haill fathfull for assistance, giff they pleise and neid be.

"QUEST. 27. Wha sould schuse the Commissionars to cum fra ilk schyre to vot in the Generall Assemblie?

"*Ans.* The Provinciall Synodes.

"QUEST. 28. Quhat is the number of votters necessar to the lawfulnes of the Generall Assemblie? and whow manie of the haill number sould be Pastors, and whow manie uther men?

"*Ans.* A certean of everie Province, and fewar or ma, as the maters to be intreated of craves.

"QUEST. 29. May anie thing be acted in the Assemblie to the quhilk his Majestie consents nocht?

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"*Ans.* The King sould consent to, and be his lawes approve, all that be the Word of God's Majestie is concludit in his Assemblies. Bot the actes thairof hes sufficient authoritie from Chryst, wha hes promised, that 'whatsoever twa or thrie, conveined in his nam, sall agrie upon in erde, to ratefie in the heavins.' The lyk wharof na King nor Prince hes; and sa the actes and constitutionnes of the Kirk is of graitter authoritie nor anie King erdlie[1] can giff; yea, even sic as sould command and overruell Kings, whase graittest honour is to be members, nuris-fathers, and servants to the King, Chryst Jesus, and his spouse and Quein, the Kirk.

"QUEST. 30. Is it nocht expedient that the twa part of tham, wha hes *jus suffragii*, sould consent to anie things decernit in Ecclesiasticall judgment, that maters pas nocht be a vot ma or les?[2]

"*Ans.* We have to thank God alwayes for that spreit of unitie in judgment quhilk hes accompanied our Assemblies to this houre, in sic sort that na thing of importance ever passit till all war fullie resolvit, and in an voice votted thairunto, namlie in the haill poincts of the discipline. God grant that thir Questiones and Court-delling breid nocht contradictioun!

"QUEST. 31. Hes nocht ilk Judgment inferior to the Generall Assemblie an territor limitat,[3] outwith the quhilk they have no powar of citation or Jurisdiction?

"*Ans.* They haiff; bot in sic sort, that if uther persones commit sklanderus crymes within thair bounds, they may proceid against tham ther, untill they satisfie and remove the sklander from the part they have committed the crymes into. And whar citatioun is requisit, the Assemblie within whase bounds the persone is resident, cites him and causses him to compeir, etc.; bot *contra hostem communem et publicam*, it is lawfull to anie member to deall.

"QUEST. 32. What is the Ordinar Ecclesiasticall Judgment to the discipline of His Majestie's Houshold and Counsall, removable with his Majestie to anie part of the realme?

[1] Earthly. [2] One vote more or less. [3] A limited territory.

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"*Ans.* The Sessioun of His Majestie's Hous, and Presbyterie within the bounds whar his Majestie makes residence for the tyme; or the Presbyterie within the quhilk the sklander is or was committed, *pro ratione delicti.*

"QUEST. 33. Sould thair be libellit precepts conteining the cause of the citation and certificatioun of the censures befor all Ecclesiasticall Judgments, or onlie till answer *super inquirendis?*

"*Ans.* They that ar cited to Ecclesiasticall Judgments ar cited comounlie for a deleated or arrissen comoun sklander, ather be word or wryt, but oftest be word, partlie for schortnes of proces, partlie for want of the Kirk-leiving to sustein a Clark; with certificationnes as effeires, as the cause, and *salus Ecclesiæ aut personæ*, sall requyre.

"QUEST. 34. Hes the Inferior Judgment powar to summond to compeir befor anie Superior Judgment, or sould men be summoned onlie be the authoritie of that Judgment befor quhilk they sould compeir?

"*Ans.* Grait sklanders wharwith Inferiour Judgments can nocht weill tak ordour, wilbe referrit to the Superior or graitter Judgments, and the persones giltie chargit till answer ther, as having a warrand sa to do, in sic causses, fra the Superiour Assemblie.

"QUEST. 35. Is it nocht necessar that privat admonitionnes, with reasonable intervalles of tym, pas befor all maner of citationnes?

"*Ans.* Whare the sklander is becom publict, the place of privat admonitioun is past; and na citatioun befor a publict Judgment befor the sklander brak out: Sa the Questioun is answerit *negative.*

"QUEST. 36. What intervalles of tyme is necessar betwix ilk privat admonitioun, and betwix the last admonition and the first citation, and betwix the citation and the day of compeirance befor ilk an of the saids Judgments?

"*Ans.* The Officers of Chryst's kingdom ar men of wesdome and æquitable discretion, occupeit in maters of chieff importance, concerning the glorie of God and salvatioun of his peiple, and thairfor sould nocht be empeschit[1] with triffling Questionnes.

[1] Hindered, interrupted.

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"QUEST. 37. Whow manie citationnes sould infer contumacie?

"*Ans.* Ane may infer contumacie; bot the Kirk, unles ther be publict danger, usethe pluralitie, bathe of publict and personall, as best may serve for the winning of the offendar. [The law sayes, *Una citatio contumaciam inducere potest, si scientia citationis apprehenderit citatum, atque ita comperiatur maliciose latitare: Hæc una pro omnibus dicitur.*[1]]

"QUEST. 38. Is simple contumacie, but[2] probation of a cryme, or is anie cryme but contumacie, sufficient cause of excommunication?

"*Ans.* Conjunctlie and severalie: for the cryme may be sa hainous, that for purging of the Kirk, and moving of the persone to a graitter humiliatioun, he may be excommunicat, whowbeit obedient in schort tyme's outward appeirance. And being called for befor the Kirk, gif he compeir nocht, nather schaw a just cause why, he bewrayes a pryde and corruptioun of hart, testefeing him nocht to regard the Kirk, or have anie societie thairwith; and sa, wordie[3] to be declarit and publictlie signified sic a ane[4] as he is indeid.

"QUEST. 39. Is ther nocht divers kynds of censures, sic as *prohibitio privati convictus, interdictio à cœnâ*, nocht published to the peiple; and, last of all, *publica traditio Satanæ?*

"*Ans.* We have in comoun use of our Kirk, as was in the Antient, but twa, *abstentos à cœnâ, et excommunicatos.* As for the rest of the sortes, luik our Theologs' Comoun-places, and our Answer to the Bischope of St Androis' Appellatioun.

"QUEST. 40. Sould the Presbyteries be Judges of all things that imports sklander; and gif sa be,[5] wharof ar they nocht Judges?

"*Ans.* The Presbyteries sould prease to purge thair bounds from all sklander, and separat everie saull from thair sklanderus knawin sine, lest it sla him, and his blude be cravit at thair hands. And, as Martyr sayes, *Nihil est ad quod Dei verbum se non extendit, ac proinde censuræ Ecclesiasticæ.* And yit, in the mean tyme, it nather considders nor twitches that quhilk the Civill Magistrat

[1] Margin. [2] Without. [3] Worthy. [4] Such a one. [5] If so be.

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does, nor for that end. *Vide supra* in Mr Androe's Letter, wrytten to the Kirks of Genev and Tigurin.[1]

"QUEST. 41. Can Excommunication be used against theiffis, murderars, usurars, or nocht peyars of thair dettes; and if sa it may be, why ar nocht all the Bordour and Hieland theiffs cursed; as als all the manswering merchants and occurrars[2] amangs the Borrowes?

"*Ans.* It can verie weill; bot gif the Magistrat do his dewtie, it neids nocht. And gif the Hiland and Bordour Kirks war planted, ther wald be less thift. Also, sic merchants ar curst indeid, and brybing Lords of Sessioun to.

"QUEST. 42. Is ther anie Appellation fra the Inferiour to the Superior Judgment? and is nocht the sentence suspendit during the Appellation?

"*Ans.* Ther is Appellatioun from the Inferior Judgment to the Superiour upon just causses, aye and whill[3] it com to the Supream, quhilk is the Generall Assemblie, fra the quhilk ther is nan. And as to the sentence, gif the Appellation be admitted, it is suspendit for just and reasonable causses, giff nocht admitted, bot justlie repellit, not.

"QUEST. 43. Sould nocht all process and actes be extracted to parties havand interest?

"*Ans. In foro poli* this may be or nocht, as the Judge sies best to be for the honour of God, weill of the Kirk, and saiffing of the persone from the danger of his sinne; and seing the Ecclesiasticall Judgments is nocht astricted alwayes to a wryttin proces, for divers reasones, they can nocht be bund to giff ane extract in wryt alwayes.

"QUEST. 44. Is Summar Excommunication lauchfull in anie cace, but[4] admonitionnes and citationnes preceiding?

"*Ans.* In sum ceases[5] it is, sic as of Boduall, Spot, and the Papist Erles; and wantes nocht guid warrand of reasone and Scripture, with exemples of the Primitive Kirk.

[1] Pp. 154–164. [2] *Okerers*, usurers. [3] Until. [4] Without. [5] Cases.

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"QUEST. 45. Hes anie uther nor the Pastors of the Kirk vott in Excommunication?

"*Ans.* Doctors that interprettes the Word, and Eldars that watches over the maners, hes vott also. Whowbeit, cheiflie that censur is deducit, directed, and execut be the Pastors, the ordinar Ministers of the Word of Wesdome, λόγου σοφιας.

"QUEST. 46. Hes ilk Ecclesiasticall Judgment alik power to Excommunicat?

"*Ans.* Everie Ecclesiasticall Judgment, weill constitut, hes powar to Excommunicat within thair bounds; whowbeit, in respect of the weghtines of that censure, it is thought guid that the Sessiones proceid nocht without the advys of thair Presbyterie.

"QUEST. 47. It is lawfull till Excommunicat sik Papists as professit never our Relligion?

"*Ans.* A Papist resident within our bowelles, esteimed of our communioun, and under schaddow thairof, indangering the Kirk, may, by Excommunicatioun, be decovered and maid knawin for sic a an as he is.

"QUEST. 48. A woman being Excommunicat, having a fathfull housband therefter, sould he abstein from hir companie?

"*Ans.* Excommunicatioun cuttes nocht af the dewties of mariage nor nature, sa they be usit but[1] danger of the Kirk, offence of the godlie, and stay of the medicin applyed, quhilk is to move the persone to be eschamit of thair detested esteat, and seik to be releivit thairfra.

"QUEST. 49. Is it nocht reasonable, that befor anie letters of horning be granted be the Session upon the process of Excommunication, that the partie sould be summoned to heir tham granted?

"*Ans.* The ordour prescryvit heiranent in the act of Parliament is guid and reasonable. As to this summonding, it can serve for nan uther end but to mak the Sessioun judge in the proces.

"QUEST. 50. Hes nocht a Christian King powar to annull an notorious injust sentence of Excommunication?

[1] So that they be used without danger to the Kirk.

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"*Ans.* Na mair nor[1] to excommunicat; or the Kirk hes till annull an notorious injust sentence of horning or forfaultrie.

"QUEST. 51. May anie Counsall or Universitie be excommunicat? for what cause, whom be,[2] and maner therof?

"*Ans.* Sum Counsall or Universitie may be, viz. Wherof everie member, or *individuum* and persone, is sklanderus for sic crymes as be the Word of God deserves excommunicatioun. And this sould be done be thair ordinar Judgment Ecclesiastic, in maner sett down, conform to the Word of God.

"QUEST. 52. When the Pastors does nocht thair dewtie, or when a Jurisdiction usurpes above an uther, or anie uther schisme falles out, sould nocht a Christian King mend sic[3] disorders?

"*Ans.* A Christian King sould imploy his authoritie for mending of all disorders, as the Pastors and Doctors of the Kirk declares be God's Word ar to be amendit ordinarlie; and extraordinarlie be an extraordinar warrand. But na King nor Prince sould tak upon hand mending or reformatioun, but with the advys of the Watchmen, and at the sight of the Siers, wha hes the gift and calling to tak upe the just cawses, conform to the Word of God.

"QUEST. 53. May Fastes, for generall causes, be proclamed be a Christian Prince's command?

"*Ans.* Be the advys of the Watchmen, and at the sight of the Siers, wha hes the gift and calling to espy the just causses of humiliation by the Word of God, they may.

"QUEST. 54. May onie Ecclesiasticall Judgment compell a man to swear *in suam turpitudinem?*

"*Ans.* A man sklanderit *in causa turpi*, gif witnesses can nocht be gottin, and weghtie presumtiones and motives being confirming the suspitiones of the sklander, that sklander can nocht be removit, the Kirk satisfeit, nor the persone purgit, bot be the aithe of the Lord interponit; quhilk, be the Word of God, determines all douttes and controversies.

"QUEST. 55. Sould ther onie thing be intreated in the Eccle-

[1] No more than. [2] By whom. [3] Such.

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siasticall Judgment, prejudiciall to the Civill Jurisdiction or privat men's rights; and may nocht the Civill Magistrat lauchfullie stay all sic proceidings?

"*Ans.* Nane of tham sould prejudge another, bot bathe sould judge as breither, for ther mutuall helpe and confort, according to the diversitie of the giftes and calling bestowit upon tham be God, and sett down in his Word, wharby all men's lawfull rightes salbe helped, and nan have occasion to stay, bot bathe to fordar and advance uther mutualie.

"FINIS."

Coming to Perthe the last of Februar, we fand the Ministers of the Northe conveined in sic number as was nocht wount to be sein at our Assemblies, and everie ane graitter courteours nor uther. Sa that my eis saw a new sight, and eares hard new voces; viz., flockes of Ministers going in and out at the King's palace, let at night, and betymes in the morning.[1] For Sir Patrik Murray, the diligent Apostle of the Northe, haid maid all the Northland Ministers' acquentance with the King, wha began then to luik big on the mater, and find fault with the Ministers of the Southe and the Poprie of Edinbruche, quhilk haid nocht handlit maters weill, and almost losit the King, etc. Greivit at the hart with this, we dischargit our commissioun from our Synod, and usit our Instructiones bathe privatlie and publictlie in sic sort, that, do what they could, wee delayit the haulding of anie Assemblie thrie dayes, till my speciall comilito[2] and companioun in Chryst, wha also at that tyme was my bed-fallow, was caried in to the King be Sir Patrik, and keipit from his bed weill twoll houres of the night. At quhilk houre coming in and lying dowing besyde me, he tuk twa or thrie houres sleipe, and thairefter finding me walking,[3] begoud[4] to tell me whow he haid bein send for to the King, and what lang conference haid bein betwix tham, mixed with thretning and flatterie. In end he was alterit in opinioun: "For I perceave," said he, "the

[1] Late at night, and early in the morning. [2] Fellow-soldier. [3] Awake. [4] Began.

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King will nocht feall to wrak him selff and the Kirk bathe, unles that our maters be better luked unto, and he yeildit unto sa far as we may of conscience; yea, suppose we lose sum thing rather nor all!" I answerit, "I could sie na better resolutioun then we haid bein upon in all streattes bygean,[1] quhilk was to seik be prayer and cersing[2] and conference of the Word to ken our dewtie, and be about fathfullie to discharge it better and better; leaving the events and effect to God, whose the cause was. Bot, as for yeilding and granting anie thing against that wherof we haid sufficient warrand in God's Word, and possessioun with sic confortable fruicts sa lang, for nather thretning, feir of danger, nor flatterie, be God's grace I sould never; for, in my judgment, at sic a tyme the passing from anie poinct, and[3] it war never so small, wald be a schaking us louse and sindrie,[4] disarming of us of the trust in the treuthe of our cause and unitie, wharby we haid stronglie stand[5] to that houre, and sa our disgrace and weakning, the adversar's incouragment and fardar hope, to the schamfull wrak of the cause of Chryst and his Kirk!"

Efter lang conference anent thir maters, we rease and past out to our meditationes in the Inche;[6] and meiting againe, we, that war wount wounderfullie to consent and aggrie in all things, began then first to differ in opiniones. "Weill," said he, in end, "yie ar to be send for to, and peradventour, when yie have hard that I hard, yie will think as I think; for the King begoud with me in thir words: 'As I said to Mr James Melvill and yow in Edinbruch, when I tuk yow twa by[7] and spak with yow last in my chamber, that I haid a speciall quarrell against yow twa, wha bathe was discreit and wyse men, and sic as I lipned[8] in,' etc.; thairfor prepear yow for it." Yit we put af that fore noone also with grait reasoning and delling bathe in privat with divers brethring, and with a number togidder in a Yll[9] of the Kirk; till at efter noone Sir Patrik was send with a command, that all sould meit, and resolve be reasoning and votting ather to hauld Assemblie or nocht. The question being pro-

[1] All bypast straits. [2] Searching. [3] If. [4] Separate, asunder.
[5] Stood. [6] Of Perth. [7] Aside. [8] Trusted, depended. [9] Aisle.

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ponit, Mr Piter Blakburn tuk the affirmative, as being indeid of that opinion; and I gat the negative, as being indeid of the contrar. We reasonit the mater at grait lainthe, till the graittest part of the breithring thoucht it aneuche, and inclyned to my part, desyring the mater to be voted; when my said commilito[1] began a lang discourse, wharby he supplied the wants of the formar reasoning, be speitches in appeirance verie wyse and perswasive, quhilk, with the King's authoritie, careid a grait number from our syde, sa that when it cam in votting, the number of the Northland Ministers and Angus prevealed. Quhilk, when I perceavit sa to ga,[2] with grait greiff of mynd, I withdrew my selff, reiding in that entrie a dangerus course of defectioun that followed. And, efter a heavie regrat unto God, and consideratioun of my awin weaknes, in respect specialie of him in whase vertew I confydit maist amang all the breithring present, (for Mr Andro was absent, being Rector of the Universitie, the choise wharof fell just at that tyme,) and yit with a night's conference of the King, I saw him sa stranglie alterit, what could I promise to my selff?

Therfor, efter the breithring of our Commissioun haid maid honest and plane protestatioun of thair disassent from all that form of proceiding from that pretendit Assemblie, and all that sould be done thairin, to keipe tham selves clein and frie thairof, understanding that divers war direct from the King of my frinds and weil-willars to deall with me, and bring me to his Majestie, I quyetlie withdrew my selff from the town. And this mikle, in generall, as I knew concerning that Assemblie. Now for the particulars.

We haid thrie or four meittings and conferences with certean Lords apointed be the King befor that Conventioun was named a Generall Assemblie; wherin thir Articles following war towtced,[3] and answers sett doun unto, quhilk, as I hard, haid the approbatioun of the Assemblie thairefter:—

[1] Fellow-soldier. [2] So to go. [3] Touched.

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CERTEAN ARTICLES PROPONIT BE HIS MAJESTIE, AT PERTH, 2 AND 3 OF MERCH 1596; AND ANSWERIT, IN CONFERENCE, BE CERTEAN BREITHRING CONVENIT THERE.

"ART. 1. That it be nocht thought unlawfull, nather to the Prince nor till anie of the Pastors, at anie tyme heirefter to move douttes, reasone, or crave Reformatioun in anie poinct of the externall Polecie, Discipline, and Government of the Kirk, that ar nocht essentiall concerning salvatioun, or is nocht answerit *affirmative* or *negative* be ane expres part of Scripture, provyding it be done *decenter*, in the right tyme and place, and *animo ædificandi non tentandi*.

"*Ans.* The Breither conveined gives thair advys, in the first Article, That it is nocht expedient to mak a law or act twitching this, least a durre sould be opened to curious and turbulent sprites: Utherwayes they think it lawfull to the King, be him selff or his Commissionars, to propon in a Generall Assemblie whatsumever poinct he desyres to be resolvit of, or to be reformit *in specie externi ordinis*, seing *substantia externæ administrationis Ecclesiasticæ* is *plenissime tradita in sacris literis:* And as the Generall Assemblie may accept of this from the King, sa may the Generall Assemblie do anent anie thing that is done be his Hienes in anie Conventioun, meitting, or Assemblie, convenit be him heirefter.

"ART. 2. Seing that the Civill and Politic Government of the countrie belangs onlie to the King's office and Counsallars, and is in na way pertinent to the Spirituall Ministerie of the Word, That na Minister heirefter sall mell[1] with anie mater of esteat in the pulpit, or with anie of his Majestie's lawes, statutes, and ordinances; bot gif anie of the Ministerie think tham hurtfull to Relligioun or contrar to the Word, they sall privatlie complean thairon to the King and his Counsall.

"*Ans.* The advys to the 2d Article is, That lawes alreadie maid,

[1] Meddle, interfere.

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hurtfull to Relligioun or prejudiciall to the Libertie of the Word, be declarit to be expyrit, as the sam salbe particularlie condisendit upon; and na law be heirefter maid twitching Relligioun without the advys and consent of the Kirk, wha ar declarit to be the Thrid Esteat of the countrey; and that na act whatsumever be maid contrare to the Word, the preatching wharof the Ministers hes concredit[1] to tham. Whilk, giff it sall fall out, as God forbid, they think that everie Pastor, be the advys of his Presbyterie, Synodall, or Generall Assemblie, sould first complean, and seik remeadie of the sam; quhilk remeadie nocht being gottin, they sould direct the force of the Word against the sam, with all libertie. And, as concerning maters of esteat, the Breithring desyres the explaning of this poinct of the article.

"ART. 3. That it sall nocht be lawfull to Pastors to name anie particular mene's names in the pulpit, or sa vivelie to descryve tham as may be æquivalent with thair naming, except upon the notorietie of a cryme; quhilk notorietie may onlie be defynit be the giltie being fugitive for the cryme, or fylit be an assyse,[2] or excommunicat for the sam.

"*Ans.* Na mane's name sould be expressit to his rebuk in pulpit, bot whar the fault is notorius publict; yit they esteim notorietie mon be defynit utherwayes then by being fugitive, fylit be assyse, or excommunicat. For contumacie efter citatioun, publict commissioun of murdour, adulterie, or siclyk, as was Boduall's coming to the Abbay, the murder of Dunibirsall, and manie uther of that sort, makes notorietie; as also, when the fact is sa evident, that the notorietie thairof may be maid out befor the Judge Ordinar. As to the vive descriptioun æquivalent to the naming, it is hard to sett a law thairto, seing a giltie persone will apply to him self, whowbeit the Preatchour never thought on him.

"ART. 4. That everie Minister, in his particular applicatioun, sall have onlie respect to the ædificatioun of his awin flock and present auditour,[3] without expatiating upon uther discourses na wayes pertinent to thair Congregationnes.

[1] Entrusted. [2] Found guilty by a jury or assize. [3] Auditory.

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"*Ans.* Na Pastour sould use applicatioun wharin he hes nocht respect to the ædificatioun of his awin flock and present auditor.

"ART. 5. That everie Presbyterie salbe comandit to tak diligent accoumpt of everie Pastor's doctrin, that he keipe him selff within the bounds of these premisses.

"*Ans.* It is the dewtie of everie Presbyterie to tak accoumpt of everie Pastor's doctrine, that he keipe him selff within the bounds of the Word of God.

"ART. 6. That Summar Excommunicatioun be utterlie dischargit as inept, and that thrie citationnes at least, of aught dayes intervall betwin ilk ane of tham, preceid the sentence.

"*Ans.* In the Generall Assemblie hauldin at Montros, it was ordeanit that everie Presbyterie sould seik out the warrands of Summar Excommunicatioun *pro et contra*, and produce the sam, to be considderit in the nixt Generall Assemblie, that decisioun might be taken thairin according to the Word of God. And seing the Comissionars from Presbyteries at this present hes nocht brought with tham the said Reasones, it is best to leave this mater to the ordinar Generall Assemblie. In the mean tyme, the act of Montrose to be keipit.

"ART. 7. That na Presbyterie or Synodall use thair censures upon nan bot tham that ar resident within the bounds committed to thair charge, utherwayes the decreit and sentence to be null.

"*Ans.* The Generall Assemblie hes apointed everie offendar to be censurit in the place whar he offendes, quhilk they can nocht ga by,[1] *nisi in causa communi.*

"ART. 8. That all summonds contein a speciall cause and cryme, and nan to be *super inquirendis, quod est mere tyrannicum.*

"*Ans.* Fiat.

"ART. 9. That na Meittings and Conventionnes be amang the Pastors but[2] his Majestie's knawlage and consent, excepting alwayes thair ordinarie Sessiones, Presbyteries, and Synodes.

"*Ans.* This Article is against the meitting of Pastors necessar, as

[1] Which they cannot exceed or go beyond. [2] Without.

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Visitatioun of Kirks, Admissioun of Ministers, concurrance of Breithring in maist lawfull earands, as in taking up feaddes,[1] resolving of questionnes, and sic lyk. Therfor, besyde thair Sessiones, Presbyteries, and Synods, Provinciall and Generall, the Breithring thinks all meittings, for discharge of thair office, aught to be allowit.

"ART. 10. That in all Provinciall Townes Ministers be nocht chosin without the consent of thair awin flock and his Majestie; and this ordour to begin presentlie in the planting of Edinbruche.

"*Ans.* This Article is answerit be an act of the Generall Assemblie, quhilk statutes, that the principall Townes salbe planted with Ministers be the advys of the Generall Assemblie, at the quhilk his Hienes' Commissionars ar and suld be present.

"ART. 11. That all maters concerning the haill rest of his Majestie's Articles sall rest on-mellit[2] withe, ather in pulpit or anie of thair Judicators, whill first all his Hienes' uther Questionnes be fullie decydit; and, in speciall, that all maters importing sklander cum nocht in befor tham in the mean tyme, wherin his Majestie's royall authoritie is hilie prejudgit; but onlie in causes that ar mere Ecclesiasticall.

"*Ans.* This Article importes a discharge of manie poincts of our Discipline, sa as it can nocht be presentlie answerit.

"ENDS THE ARTICLES."

Ane uther particular was, the morn efter it was concludit and named an extraordinar Generall Assemblie, the King callit it in to his Palice, and, in the Grait Hall thairof, joynit it with his Conventioun of Estates, and thair began to reasone his Questionnes; whar the Moderator and Breithring, refusing to put anie of the poincts of the Discipline of the Kirk in questioun and dout, the King wald neids have reasoning, and maid grait provocatioun thairfor. Mr Thomas Buchannan, an of our Commissionars, maks answer, saying, "Sir, it is nocht that we distrust our cause, or that we want reasone to

[1] Reconciling deadly feuds. [2] Untouched, not interfered with.

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resolve anie that douttes of our maters, sa that they cam in a loving and weil-willing maner to inquyre; but we perceave the purpose is bot to canves and towt our maters heir a whyll, that thairefter men of lytle skill and les conscience may decern in to tham as they pleis." And sa, efter divers pertinent protestationnes, he enterit, in his maner, verie scharplie, solidlie, and oft tymes sarcasticlie, he gaiff tham reasoning ther filles, and trewlie played a stout, honest, and fathfull part that day.

And last, a grait and large Commissioun was giffen for conversioun and receaving again in the bosome of the Kirk, the Erle of Hountlie with his complices, the diligence thairof to be reported to the nixt Generall Assemblie, apointed to be hauldin at Dondie in the monethe of May following; and all uther maters remitted thairunto.

But in the meantyme this Assemblie, and consequentlie all that flowed thairfra, or followed thairupon, was esteimed, of the best and most godlie, to be null in the selff, and of na force or effect, for manifald reasones.

1. First, because it was convocat unlawfullie, that is, against the lawes of the countrey ordeaning the Generall Assemblies to be apointed be tham selves, with advys of the King or his Commissionares: Bot sa it is that this was convocat be the King against the advys of the Kirk, to prejudge the ordinar apointed Generall Assemblie in St Androis.

2. Because it was nocht till edifie, bot to demolishe the Discipline established, as was evident be the printed Questionnes, casting in dout the haill Discipline, thairby at least to gean sum advantage against the sam.

3. Because it was nocht fensit nor sanctefied be the Word of God and prayer, conceavit and done be the mouthe of the last Moderator, [Mr Robert Pont,] according to the ordour observit in all Generall Assemblies sen the first beginning.

4. Because ther was na Moderator chosine; but an subornde be Court, [Mr David Lindsay,] intrusit him selff, wherof proceidit confusioun and unaccustomed immoderat behaviour.

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5. Because the ordinar Scrybe being sen the last Assemblie departed this lyff,[1] ther was na Scrybe[2] chosine, sworn, or admitted.

6. Because almaist the halff of the Comissionars from Presbyteries according to thair commissionnes disassentit thairfra, and protested against it.

7. Because it was efter four dayes' deley, be flatterie and bost[3] of Court, be a few vottes ma, skarslie at last thrawin out, and named ane Extraordinar Assemblie, as it was indeid.

8. Because, when it was sett down for ane Assemblie, ther was nather hallie,[4] grave, nor ordourlie proceiding thairin.

9. Because ther was na cleir proponing of maters, bot convoyit and dressit for the purpose.

10. Ther was na Article gravelie reasonit thairin, nor na wayes reasonit.

11. Ther was nan votted.

12. Ther was nan concludit.

13. Ther was, indeid, named a certean[5] Breithring of everie Province to heir his Majestie's Articles, and giff thair advys to the Assemblie; the quhilk being hard in opin and full meitting, was weill lyked of and approvin. Bot the sam thairefter was, upon post-hast, altered, eiked, and peared, and maist confusedlie parbruilyied.[6] And nochtwithstanding of the disassenting and protesting of divers Breithring against the saming, yit without reasoning or votting, was be the mouthe and pen of an unchosin Moderator and Clark, concludit and put out in wryt.

And sa it was of the grait mercie of God that na mair ill was done there; and that the ill was done, was done in sic a sort as it may for thir manifald nullities be justlie estimat as undone.

[1] "This was Mr James Riche, a godlie, lerned, fathfull, guid, honest man, with whom the honestie and uprightnes of our Assemblies is lyk to end; whose deathe that yeir, and Mr Andro Moncreiff's, Minister at Carell, a godlie, fathfull, and upright brother, war ominose to the Kirk of Scotland." Note by the Author on margin of MS. [2] Clerk to the Assembly. [3] Threatening. [4] Holy. [5] A certain number. [6] Added to, pared, and most confusedly jumbled. Fr. *brouiller*.

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M.D.XCVII.

The 27 of Apryll, *anno* 1597, Mr Robert Pont, Moderator of the last lawfull Generall Assemblie, cam to St Androis of purpose to keipe the dyat[1] apointed for the Generall Assemblie; bot finding nan convenit ther bot the Province of Fyff, cam to the New Collage Scholl, the place apointed for the said Assemblie, and ther, efter incalling[2] of the nam of God, and humble confessioun of sine, that haid procured that brak and desolatioun, cravit mercie, and fensit the Assemblie ther ordourlie in the name of God, taking notes and documents of protestatioun for the libertie of the Kirk.

But, alas! even then that libertie began to be almost lost! For thairefter, to utter it in a word, whar Chryst gydit befor, the Court began then to govern all; whar pretching befor prevalit, then polecie tuk the place; and, finalie, whar devotioun and halie behaviour honoured the Minister, then began pranking at the chare, and pratling in the ear of the Prince, to mak the Minister to think him selff a man of estimatioun!

DIFFERENCE BETWIX THE KIRK'S GENERALL ASSEMBLIES AND THE KING'S.

And, heir, annes[3] to mark the difference betwix the Assemblies Generall following and these that past befor:

1. Chryst, be His spirituall Office-bearers, convocat and apointed tymes and places befor; now, the King, bearing na spirituall charge in the Kirk, usurpes that allanerlie.

2. Chryst preseidit be his Word and Sprit, directing the Moderator and Breithring: Now, the King, his lawes and polecie of esteat directes, I will nocht say controlles, Moderator and Breithring.

3. Maters war proponit simplie, and the Breithring send[4] to seik light thairin out of the Word of God, be reasoning, conference,

[1] Day, or set time. [2] Invocation. [3] For once. [4] Sent.

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meditatioun, [and] prayer: Now, plattes and courses ar wyslie leyit befor moyenes and meanes ar apointed to bring tham about; all is devysit and advysit in the King's Cabbinet, according thairto is the proceiding. Tent is weill tean[1] in publict, in privat, what may fordar, what may hinder the sam, ther is mater to win creadit at Court. He is the King's man, an honest man, a guid peacable Minister, that goes that way; and they ar seditius, troublesome, cappit,[2] factius against the King, as meines or reasones in the contrar.

4. In reasoning, the Word was alleagit, the text sighted, the reasone weyit at grait lenthe and lasour, and according to the waight thairof, it bure the conclusioun away be a plean force of cleir treuthe; the quhilk being ans[3] fund out, he that helde the contrar, willinglie and pleasandlie yieldit, and all acquiescit: Now, the Word is ather as a thing knawin and comoun, past and posted ower; or gif it com directlie and cleir against the leyed purpose, then the King's man, that is quicest of ingyne, man devyse a glose or distingo;[4] and giff it be insisted upon, the King him selff mon fall on him, and beare him doun, and put him doun, and put him to silence with reasone, langage, and authoritie.

5. The veritie was uprightlie and indifferentlie soucht without respect of this syde or that, this purpose or that; quhilk maid men sattletlie,[5] gravlie, and quietlie to bring out thair reasones, and speak thair opiniones: Now, the purpose mon be respected and delt for with hat and contentioun, or they can nocht be thought frak[6] aneuche in the cause.

6. The feir of God, the love of Chryst, the cair of the Kirk, lerning in Scripture, the powar of pretching, the motioun and force of prayer, and the eis and presence of those in whom these giftes specialie schyned, wrought amangs all, æstimatioun, reverence, and guid ordour: Now, it is the persone, presence, purpose, favour, and regard of the Prince that beares out and controlles all.

7. Giff anie had a gift and missour by uthers[7] of lerning, utter-

[1] Care is well taken. [2] Ill-humoured, peevish. [3] Once. [4] A gloss or distinction. [5] In a settled manner. [6] Hearty. [7] Beyond or above others.

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ance, uprightnes, zeall, ernestnes in prayer, force in exhortatioun, it was spyed out and specialie employed be consent of all at these Assemblies: Now, the plattes ar leyed whow nan sall have place bot sic as serves for the purpose.

8. Giff an offensive word or gesture haid fallen out in a brother it was incontinent censured, and redressit: Now, gif a treuthe be uttered frilie and in zeall, it is met with a squar ly, and he that is for the King's cause may use what countenance, gesture, and langage he pleis.

9. And votting was wount to be usit for na uther purpose bot to testifie an universall consent and aggriment in a cleirit and found out veritie; sa that skarslie yie wald have fund an *non liquet*, because that tyme and all meanes war granted and used for resolutioun: And now, reasoning is used but for the fasone, and na thing is sufferit to com in determining bot that quhilk is sure to be born away be maniest vottes,[1] and, thairfor, the catalog of the Commissionars man be perused, to ken wha is with us, and wha is against us.

10. In end, the end of the Assemblies of auld was, whow Chryst's kingdome might stand in halines and friedome: Now, it is whow Kirk and Relligioun may be framed to the polytic esteat of a frie Monarchie, and to advance and promot the grandour of man, and supream absolut authoritie in all causses, and over all persones, alsweill Ecclesiasticall as Civill.

Sic an Assemblie then as this first cam in, and was haldin at Dondie the . . day of May, 1597. In the quhilk the twa cheiff purposes was, ane to relax from excommunicatioun the Papist Earls, ane uther to gett the Articles, alleagit concludit in ane Generall Assemblie at Perth, declarit and ratified at the present Assemblie, and as far furthe further as might be atteined unto. For preparatioun to the quhilk, the King, perceaving the estats of the Ministers of Edinbruche and of Mr David Blak to be mikle meined,[2] for purchassing ther favour and forderance to his purposses, he

[1] Borne down by a plurality of votes.

[2] Lamented, bemoaned.

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heires sic as travelit in thair cause, and makes his awin men of the Ministerie till[1] obtein sa mikle at his hand as to bring the Ministers of Edinbruche to his conference; efter the quhilk, he grantes tham to be relaxit from the horn, and libertie to do thair effeares abrod as frie subjects, yea, to come to Dondie to the Assemblie to knaw farder of his mynd. In lyk maner, to Mr David Blak licence from his warde to com to Dondie.

Also ther was a grait plat leyed, and mikle ado usit, (plewing alwayes with our hiffers![2]) whow to gett a Moderator meit for the purpose. For this effect, Mr Thomas Buchannan was woun be the grant of a verie weill lyked sutt for the guid Lord Lindsaye's relaxing and restitutioun, wha haid at tutorie, in a maner, Mr Robert Rolloc, Principall of the Collage of Edinbruche, a guid, godlie, lernit man, bot fellon[3] simple and pusillanimie, and sa as he was easilie caried with counsall; sa, efter the Assemblie was lawfullie fenced be the doctrine of the last Moderatour lawfull, viz., Mr Robert Pont, and a Clark chosine, viz., Mr Thomas Nicolsone, it was drifted and weiried be the King's command till the coming of the said Mr Robert Rolloc, nocht being present at the first; and then be the fore-provydit sure course of maniest vottes moyennit[4] be manie and grait persuasiones and motives usit with the breithring, bathe in publict and privat, the said Mr Robert was declarit Moderator; whom, when the King and his men haid dressit for thair purposses, the Assemblie is keipit frequentlie, *Imperatore presidente*, with grait congratulatioun.

With this all men of anie mark or valour was practised be Sir Patrik; and sic as war alreadie woun, and brought to be acquented, and to confer with his Majestie. This was the exerceise, morning and evening, diverse dayes. On a night at evin, I, sitting at my supper, Sir Patrik sends for me to confer with him in the kirkyeard. I, raising from supper, cam to him. The matter was anent my uncle, Mr Andro, whom the King could nocht abyde. I wald do weill to counsall him to return ham, or the King wald

[1] To. [2] Ploughing always with our heifers. [3] Extremely. [4] Influenced.

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discharge him. I answerit, It wald be bot in vean to me sa to do, for he wald nocht tak that counsall; and gif the King wald use his authoritie, he wald suffer patientlie; bot I was certean that deathe wald nocht cause him do against his conscience! "Surlie," sayes he, "I fear he suffer the dint of the King's wrathe!" "And trewlie," said I, "I am nocht fearit bot he will byd all!" Returning to my uncle, whar I left him at supper, I tauld him; whase answer I neid nocht to wrait.

Upon the morn, befor Assemblie tyme, I was commandit to com to the King, and Mr Andro withe me; wha, entering in his Cabbinet, began to dell verie fearlie[1] with my uncle; bot thairefter entering to twitche maters, Mr Andro brak out with his wounted humor of fredome and zeall, and ther they hecled on[2] till all the hous, and clos, bathe hard, mikle of a large houre. In end, the King takes upe and dismisses him favourablie.

The things that war done at that Assemblie I can nocht exactlie recount. Ther was, at the chosing of the Clark, an ordonnance, that at the penning of everie act ther sould be certean Brether with the Clark, wharof I was an, and Mr James Nicolsone an uther; but whill as I cam till attend, they war commandit to com to the King with the Minutes, and sa I gat nocht acces againe. Also, it was ordenit that all sould be read in publict befor the dissolving of the Assemblie, bot [that was] nocht keipit.

The Articles proponit at St Jhonstoun, and answerit, war hard again at this Assemblie. It was schawin and verifiet to the Assemblie, whow they haid past, bot litle mendit ther; whowbeit a guid number of guid honest Breithring did honestlie ther part, as they might.

The Lords excommunicat war be a worschipfull Commissioun ordeanit to be relaxit, and that be a few vottes ma, efter sic reasoning, as when a speciall frind asked me, coming out of the Assemblie the Sessioun befor, to schaw him my judgment in effect, because it dependit on his credit, wither I thought they wald be ordeanit to

[1] Fairly, smoothly. [2] And there they continued in keen disputation, &c.

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be absolvit at that tyme? I tauld him, as I thought, that, in my judgment, they wald gett na absolutioun at that Assemblie nor the nixt, till they kythed[1] better fruicts of repentance. Bot by votting and dealling the King's will was wrought.

The Ministers of Edinbruche's mater and Mr Blak I refer to tham selff.

Mr Jhone Lindsay, Secretar, intendit an accusatioun against Mr Robert Walace, Minister of St Androis, befor his Presbyterie, wha was ther challengit also, bot all these are leiving, and can declar thair awin causses better nor I.

In end was devysit a certean Commissionars, to have powar from the Assemblie to convein with the King at what tyme and place his Majestie sould requyre, to keipe concord betwix the Kirk and King, and to intreat of all maters that might serve or apertein to that effect. The quhilk, as experience hes provin sen syne, hes devolvit and transferit the haill powar of the Generall Assemblie in the hands of the King and his Ecclesiastic Counsall, these Commissionars; for, bathe in Generall Assemblies, and without, they rewill all.

In the monethe of Junie, immediatlie efter his retourn from the Assemblie, the King enters in practise with his Commissionars conveinit at Falkland; and, calling the Presbyterie of St Androis, reducit a sentence of depositioun pronuncit against Mr Jhone Rutherfurd from his ministerie of Kinnouchar be the said Presbyterie, and approvin be the Synod of Fyffe. The quhilk, nochtwithstanding, I am certean was ratefied in the heavines, for he never did guid in the ministerie sen syne! [And, now, hes renunced the ministerie, and takin him to be a mediciner.][2] The said Mr Jhone purchassit his court be calumnies and dilationnes of Mr David Blak and his ministerie.

And within a fourtein dayes thairefter, the King commandit Mr Jhone Lindsay to com to St Androis, (as the said Mr Jhone al-

[1] Showed or manifested.

[2] This is added, at a subsequent period, by the Author on the margin of the MS.

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legit,) and intend the prosecutioun of his actioun against Mr Robert Wallace befor him and his Commissionars, takand it out of the hands of the Presbyterie.

Mr Robert was to teatche upon the morn efter the King's coming, according to the cours of his office in the ministerie of St Androis. The King coming to his doctrin, heires him till he cam to applicatioun, at the quhilk he interrupted him, and spak against him publictlie. For the quhilk, all uthers being sylent, Mr Andro Melvill rebukit the King maist scharplie, thretning him with feirfull judgments, gif he repented nocht; and those Commissioners of the Kirk, and his particular Ministers also, for nocht discharging a fathfull and maist necessar dewtie to him in that respect. Thus, God assisted his servant wounderfullie, nochtwithstanding he knew that the cheiff purpose of thair coming was against him. For his cause they intendit a visitatioun and reformatioun of the Universitie; they sought out all they could gett or find against him. [Ther was a number of strangers, Polonians, Dences,[1] Belgians, and Frenchmen, schollars, wha, at the fame of Mr Androe's lerning, cam to the Universitie of St Androis that yeir, and war resident within the sam; quhilk crabit[2] the King mikle, and restranit his purpose against him. This is remarkable for God's providence.][3] I saw befor the King lying, and thairefter haid in my hand, a quare of peiper[4] of calumnies, in fear wraitt, giffen upe to the King. They called him diverse tymes, they leyed diverse things to his charge, they hard all his mislykers, evill-willars, and sic as haid anie complents against him; bot God was sa withe him, with sic courage, utterance, and powar of his image, that they could do na thing to him in end, but mak a new chose of the Rector of the Universitie. At the quhilk, according to the custome, he willinglie dimitted his office, wherof he wald have gladlie bein quyt for manie causses, namlie, for that it importeth a mixture of the Civill Magistracie, with the Ministerie Ecclesiastic, war nocht from yeir to yeir the haill Universitie haid burdenit him thairwithe. And yit they fearit

[1] Poles, Danes. [2] Vexed, crossed. [3] Margin of MS. [4] Quire of paper.

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sa the publict opinioun, that they gaiff him ane office als honourable, and mair setting and aggreiable to him in all respects, to wit, to be Dean of the Facultie of Theologie, the quhilk indeid they could nocht giff by[1] him to nan uther bearing ever the sam in effect, without compear or matche for his incomparable lerning; and yit of that quhilk they behoved to do of necessitie, they wald moyen thanks bathe at his hands and the comoun æstimatioun.

As they wald have thankes in this, sa wald they in the mater of the Ministerie of Edinbruche, for whom they sufferit tham to be suted and intreated that they sould be enterit againe everie an in thair awin roumes, and that to thair severall flocks, with a new stampe of impositioun of hands. Bot all this was to the wrak of the thrid, viz., the Ministerie of St Androis; that that being done, the rest might be the easiar prey as occasioun served thairefter. And sa Mr Robert Wallace was proceidit against and removit from St Androis, be sum form of kinglie Commissionar proceiding and proces. Bot Mr David Blak was never annes called, and yit of mere kinglie powar it behovit him to be debarrit St Androis, and tak him to an upeland roum, or then want all roum in his native countrey; and with post diligence, summarlie, Mr George Gladsteanes placed in his roum.

To receave Mr Robert Bruce, Minister of Edinbruche, and giff him impositioun of handes, war apointed be his Majestie and Commissionars, Mr Thomas Buchannan and Mr James Nicolsone, wha apprehendit sic a feare of leying on of the handes of the peiple upon tham,[2] that it stak to thair stomak all that yeir efter-hend;[3] and was the occasioun of a verie faschius antipathie and contradictioun betwix the Ministers of Edinbruche and the Commissionars; whom, gif the King haid nocht stoutlie with might and mean assisted, the said Commissionars haid gottin lytle thank, and all thair awin travell at the nixt Generall Assemblie. And, as it was, they spak na thing

[1] Past. [2] "The peiple of Edinbruche was almost in an uproar that day, at least the Commissionars war effrayit of it."—Note by Author on the margin of MS. [3] Afterwards.

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les tham selves, bot that they haid gottin peyment for thair travell of that coyne and streak.

About the sam verie tyme that the King interrupted Mr Robert Wallace, and undid the Ministerie of St Androis, ther was an erthquak quhilk maid all the North parts of Scotland to trimble, from St Johnstoun[1] throw Athall, Bredalban, and all these Hie-lands to Ros, and thairin, and Kinteall; quhilk was schawin me for certean be sum of our merchants wha war in Ros and Crommartie Firthe for the tyme; and as the countrey peiple ther reported it to my selff, being directed that sam yeir, in the monethe of October, be the King and Generall Assemblie, to the Visitatioun of the Northe.

This maid sic as haid red the storie of the King of Juda, Uzzias, to remember, whow that when he, at a solemn feast, usurped the Priestlie office, and went in to the Temple to offer incense on the Golden Altar, the Lord sent a mightie erthquak quhilk reased the halff of the montean Eroge, situat on the southe and west of Jerusalem, and caried it four stades,[2] that is, halff a myll, toward the Est, and lighted on the syde of the Mont of Offence, condamnit the hie-way, and spilt[3] all the King's Gardings. Thairwith also the Temple reave,[4] and, a beam of the sune coming throw, strak the King in the face, wharby he becam leprouse, and sa be the preists was cast out of the Temple, yea of his kingdome, and finalie died of melancholie and greiff; as wryttes Josephus, lib. ix. Antiq. Jud. cap. 11. Wharof also by the storie of the Kings, Amos and Zacharie the prophetes mentionnes. Anent the quhilk this Dix-huitaine was maid:—

Uziah King contented nocht to bruke
The civill sword of Juda's government;
Bot pristlie office proudlie undertuke
Till offer incense at the altar bent.

[1] Perth. [2] *Stadia*, or 500 paces. [3] Spoilt, destroyed. [4] Rent.

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God schuk the erd,[1] and holie Temple rent,
And maid a montan skipe out of his place;
(Of feirfull wrath a 'fect[2] maist evident!)
Whilk kinglie gets[3] and gardings did disgrace.

The King him self with leprosie in face,
Was strucken sa for schamles sacrilage,
That he was forst, with manie loud alace!
To quyt his crown, and die in hermitage.

King James the Saxt, this yeir thow fast aspyrs,
Ou're Chryst his Kirk to compas thy desyrs.
O wey this weill, and heire exemple tak,
Lest Chryst, wha this yeir schuk thy north-wast parts,
And withe eclipsed Sun amasde the harts,
For kings to com thie just exemple mak!

A heavie fact for all the hartes of the godlie and honest, and maist detestable, traterus, and crewall in respect of the devysars and committars, fell furthe upon this alteratioun of the ministerie of St Androis. For the forementioned malitius, craftie misrewlars of the citie, seing now the auband[4] of that ministerie removit, and all sic as lyked of the best ministers to be mislyked at Court, and that they haid gottin a ministerie that wald go throuch with thair factioun, they steir upe and incitats four deboshit young limmers, and wattes[5] that maist notable man amangs all the merchants of St Androis, and for godlines and vertew nocht inferior to manie in the land, James Smithe, as he was coming ham at night from the cost syde, and crewallie demeanes and murdares him. The guid honest man was maist innocent of anie cryme or wrang done to anie, as we schew befor, (whowbeit, persones led with the sprit of that murdarar and liar from the begining, nocht contented to have murderit his body, presses yit to murdar his guid fame, bot in vean,

[1] Earth. [2] An effect. [3] Gates. [4] Restraint. [5] Lies in wait for.

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amangs the childring of godlines and treuthe!) and thinking it was bot gear they sought, was resolvit to have bought pace with large soumes; and for aggriment thairanent, the King him self haid apointed the day following to be keipit be frinds, and a commissioner directed from him expreslie for that effect, and thus under tryst was cut of. Thair was never a cais that befell a man that woundit my hart sa sare, and cast me in sa terrible a tentatioun of doutting of the Providence of God, [seing sa guid a man left in the hands of sa vyll lowns!] I knew the innocencie and gudnes of the man sa weill, the vylnes of his maist wicked enemies, and the veritie of his cause. I was even drounde, a certean dayes, even almaist in a deadlie and sencles dispear,[1] till my deir Father of mercie and God of all consolatioun haid pitie on me, and brought me in the light of his sanctuarie, and maid me better to knaw and beleive thairby, that ther was a hell prepared for the wicked, and a heavine for the godlie heirefter! and all the rest of the poincts of that maist deipe and comfortable doctrine of his Providence.

I haid a grait cear of that man's esteat, for the onlie reasone befor schawin; and seing that alteratioun coming on, I often said to him, that he haid a thing graitlie for his comfort, that the cause of Chryst and his Kirk in Scotland was sa joyned with his, that sa lang as the an went weill, I sould warrand the uther; bot when the an alterit I fearit the uther! And often hes he answerit me, "That was over grait honour for sic a vyll worme; and that maist gladlie wald he tak his part in the hardest sort as in the best." At the tyme of that alteratioun I was meikle and verie instantlie urget be the King to mak the sermont at the receaving of Mr George. Fallon leathe[2] was I, and soar was it against my hart for manie weghtie reasones, bot, seing the guid honest men was at ane extream poinct of wrak, having ane interlocutor of the Sessioun past against tham of ten thowsand mark, quhilk tendit to thair utter hearschipe,[3] I indented with the King for the staying of that decreit, and composing of that mater, (wherin I haid sa lang travelit with

[1] Despair. [2] Extremely unwilling. [3] Wreck and ruin of their property.

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his Majestie,) I wald condiscend to do that quhilk utherwayes my hart could nocht suffer me to do: For I thoucht ther could be na ill don in teatching the Word trewlie; and I thank God thairin I satisfeid my conscience; bot the doing of it, at that tyme, and by sic a compactioun, was a grait huik in my hart,[1] and wrought sear remorse at the newes of his deathe. Bot as the cersar of harts and reanes knawes, the overthraw of that ministerie of St Androis was a heavie overthraw to the joy and pleasure of my saull, sa far was I from art, part, read, counsall, consenting thairto, or allowing thairof. And wheras I tuk grait peanes thairefter in placeing of Mr Blak at Mr George's Kirk, I did it because I kend the fathfull, honest brother's danger; for the King and Commissionars bathe war carles[2] of him, and desyrit nocht better nor to cast him lous on his awin default, (as they wald alleage,) that throw necessitie he might be compelled till abandone the countrey.

James Smithe was my deir frind whill he leivit, and from whom I parted in my awin hous about twa houres befor his slauchter, with als grait sweitnes and joy of hart, arissin of a heavinlie conference, whilk haid stowin[3] twa houres from us or we was awar, as ever I haid in this warld; during the quhilk me thought that he and I bathe was caried from the erthe, and delyting our saulles in that lyff and glorie purchassed be the deathe of the Mediator and Saviour Jesus Chryst; till Mr George Mernse, bailyie of St Androis for the tyme, a guid simple man, and his frind, cam and tuk him out of my maist hartlie embracing, sear against my will, for I was determined to keipe him with me that night, and go with him to St Androis on the morn, for keiping of that tryst of agriment apointed be the King.

Gif the reidar be holelie affectionat in trew and godlie frindschipe, he will nocht lothe of the poeticall passioun quhilk pleasit and easit me for the tyme; and, thairfor, for my frind's sak, I can nocht suffer to pearishe, whowbeit bot a dwabbling countrey ryme,

[1] Hook rankling in my heart. [2] Careless. [3] Stolen, beguiled away.

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meittar to be swipped away with the mouse-wobbes,[1] nor byd[2] as a picture in the palace of Apollo!

A DULFULL LAMENTATION FOR SIN, QUHILK HES PROCURIT THE THRALDOME OF THE KIRK, AND CREWALL MURDER OF JAMES SMITHE, MERCHANT AND CITICINER OF SANCT ANDROSE.

Sept. 1597.

With the toone of "Alas, I die," etc.

Alas! the tyme, that ever I did offend
Against thy hiche and dreidfull magestie;
Alas! the yeirs and seasons I have spend
In erdlie tourns[3] and warldlie vanitie;
Alas! the mounths, alas! the wkes[4] and dayes,
That I consum'd in foolishe sports and playes.
Alas! alas! for verie greiff and paine;
Alas! for sin; alas! for sin againe.

This pretius loss, quhilk I sa seare lament
Withe murnfull mean,[5] is of the tyme of grace,
When God sa lang his Gospell till us lent,
Till offer lyf with everlasting peace
For all repentand, fathfull, halie annes:[6]
This wounds my hart, my flaishe, my blud, and beans.[7]
Alas! alas! etc.

I may lament with manie loud alace!
I may regrat with manie reuthfull reare,[8]
The lichtleing[9] of the favour and the grace
Of thie, my God, alas! withe siches seare;[10]

[1] The slender filmy web of the gossamer spider. [2] Than remain, or be preserved. [3] Earthly concerns. [4] *Oulks*, weeks. [5] Lamentation, complaint. [6] Ones. [7] Bones. [8] Roar, with many a rueful or doleful exclamation. [9] Undervaluing, holding light. [10] Sore sighs.

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Whare grace is gean,[1] what rests[2] bot mortall greiff,
With dulfull deathe, and wa[3] without releiff.
Alas! alas! etc.

And yit, the graittest mater of my greiff
Is nocht this heavie saull with pean[4] repleit,
Bot that my sinnes hes wrought sa grait mischeiff
To crabe[5] my heavinlie Father, deir and sweit;
And move him nocht to speare his erthlie glore,
His deirest Kirk quhilk did this land decore.
Alas! alas! etc.

For whare the scepter of thy Chryst did gyde,
And govern be his Word and Halie Ghaste,
It is contemn'd, alas! and set asyde,
And fantasies of flaishe for it is plaste:
Sa sin gets not his just and frie rebuik,
The godlie grones, the wicked proudlie luik.
Alas! alas! etc.

The standart of thy treuthe is troden down,
And lies and falshod hes the upper hand;
Restored again ar trator, thiff, and loun,
And honest men ar murdrit in the land;
Whar Chryst did gyd, now Court does govern all.
O wratched ceass! O miserie and thrall!
Alas! alas! etc.

But na thing mair effrayes and terrifies,
Then the renewing of that Covenand:
At grait Assemblie, Synods, Presbyteries,
And all our Kirks, bathe up and down this land,

[1] Gone. [2] Remains. [3] Woe. [4] Pain. [5] Vex, offend.

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Whare monie voued, and promis'd till amend;
Bot uthers hiche in rank did vilipend.
Alas! alas! etc.

The purpose therof was to purge the land
From filthie sin, that God therin might dwell:
Bot Sathan's sleaves[1] wald na wayes understand
That gud intent, nor yit the purpose tholl:[2]
And sa this tow hes put upon our rok,[3]
And brought our fredom under boundage yok.
Alas! alas! etc.

And ever, alas! for scham and weill-awa![4]
Even we our selffs, wha promisde all the best,
Be feir and flatterie caried clein awa,
Permits thy Spreit in us to be represt.
Yea, sum in hart, are led a contrair course,
Of all this wa,[5] the fontean and the sourse.
Alas! alas! etc.

Sa, by that heape of hynous sinnes before,
Whilk cry'd a vengeance to the heavinnes hie,
We have incenste the mightie King of glore,
Be brak of promise, and withe perjurie:
Till ather quyt his justice and his right,
Or then to cast us clein out of his sight!
Alas! alas! etc.

And sen the frie rebuk of sin is gean,
And of our censures the severitie:
The Papists, Atheist, mockars everilk an,[6]
And beastlie slaves to sensualitie,

[1] Slaves. [2] Suffer, endure. [3] Distaff for spinning tow. [4] Wallawa! an interjection denoting, woe is me! [5] Woe. [6] Each or every one.

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At fredome now they vant and wark thair will,
Revyling God, his Word, and servants still.
Alas! alas! etc.

FINIS.

J[AMES] S[MITHE.]

A crewall deid that hereupon ensewed,
With woundit hart I woefullie record,
That all the giltie greivuslie may rewed,
Hast for to render recompence, O Lord!
I mean the murder of that meakles man,
Amangs tham all St Androis did belang.
Alas! alas! etc.

Guid James Smithe, thy fathe and feir of God,
Thyn honestie in lyff and conversation,
Thy vertues rare disseminat abrod,
And weill bekend throw manie Christan nation;
Thy gentilnes and trew humilitie,
Thyn upright meining and fidelitie.
Alas! alas! etc.

Thy courtessie, thy fasones fear and fyne,
Thy dealling just and square can naine concell,
Thy kyndnes, frindschipe, and thy spreit devyne,
In lyking polecie and comoun-weill:
Thy love of right, and hatred of all wrang,
Excelling all thy citicines amang.
Alas! alas! etc.

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Bot specialie, thy lyking of God's Word,
And interteining of his servants trew,
Maid Satan's slaves to tak the blodie sword,
And strik tha strakes, quhilk they sall ever rew.
They did pretend a forgett cause of fead,[1]
Bot verelie thy vertew was thy dead.
Alas! alas! etc.

For certeanlie thow was an innocent;
To God and man approved weill be tyme;
Altho malicius greidie men war bent
On thie, maist falslie, for to lay a cryme,
Thair consciens ay the contrar did tham tell,
As they ar yit convicted be tham sell.
Alas! alas! etc.

For why the ground of stryff and deadlie fead?
It is from Sathan sen that first he fell,
Whase sprit the wicked reprobat does lead,
And maks tham first to hat the Lord him sell;[2]
And syn abhore sic as him loves and feirs,
Whase spreit and lyff is contrarie to theirs.
Alas! alas! etc.

Invy and malice, lang inveterat,
Did bowden[3] in the breist of craftie men,
Withe Satan's vennom haill intoxicat,
As God at last will mak the warld to ken;
Wha houndit furthe these ratches[4] under night,
On Lambe alan, haill four to set thair might!
Alas! alas! etc.

[1] Deadly feud. [2] Himself. [3] Swell. It is often written *boldin* or *bolden*, in old MSS. [4] Whether this means *wretches*, or "ratches," a sort of butcher's dog, does not seem obvious; but perhaps the latter is the most probable. From Fr. *brachet*, a kind of little hound.

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And that at unawars behind his bak,
They interprys'd thair limmers crewaltie,
Quhilk souldart-like[1] they durst nocht undertak;
Sic was his manhead and activitie:
When he was passing lyk a seakles lam,[2]
These crewall craftie wolfs upon him cam.
Alas! alas! etc.

Wa to yow, foolishe, filthie, feible fallows!
Yie ar mad faggets to the fyre of hell.
Lyk lowns and limmers, your carkashe[3] for the gallows,
Your cursed saull for Beelzebub him sell.[4]
As vagabounds, lyk Cain, to be kend,
Till that yie mak a maist unhappie end.
Alas! alas! etc.

Fy! on the limmer Lindsay, by the leave,[5]
Thow might have clam'd sum kinred by thy name,
Bot making thie to slaves a filthie slave,
Thou'rt blotted out with everlasting scham!
Ah! slave to Satan, and to slaveishe beasts:
Ah! flashar tyk,[6] whom all the land deteasts.
Alas! alas! etc.

Yie venturars[7] beweall[8] his tragedie,
Yie kend him ever godlie, guid, and wyse.
Yie mariners and tradars be the sie,
Amang your merchants he haid eu'r the pryse,
All honest men, all burgesses of towns,
Will mein his cease,[9] unles they be bot lowns.
Alas! alas! etc.

[1] Soldier-like, *i.e.* bravely face. [2] Guiltless lamb. [3] Carcase. [4] Himself. [5] The scoundrel Lindsay, beyond all the rest. [6] Butcher's dog. [7] Adventurers, merchants. [8] Bewail. [9] Lament his case.

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But maist of all, the honest pure will miss
His merchandise, with mercie ever mixt;
He gat a thowsand's bennesone[1] and bliss;
They wanted nocht wha kept thair tym affixt.
Yea manie an, he quat[2] full liberallie,
That was by hasard[3] put to povertie.
Alas! alas! etc.

O Kirk and King, whow gratlie ar yie wrangde!
Alas! for losing of sa rare a man.
Gif hounders of sic knaves war tean and hangde,
War in compear a wild-gus for a wran.[4]
A better subject, nor a better sone,
Haid nocht the King nor Kirk this land within.
Alas! alas! etc.

Then if yow will eschew the vengeance grait,
Of seakles[5] blud that ower this land does hing,
Tak pean to purge; set heir your harts delait;
Think this beseats a godlie Kirk and King:
For, gif that therin yie be negligent,
I am sure to leat yie sall it seare repent!
Alas! alas! etc.

And thow, O Fyff! sa filthelie defylde
Withe fore-thought fellons' bludie crewaltie!
I rather be a stranger far exylde,
Nor Erle, or Lord, or Baron, into thie:
Unles thow kythe thir murders to deteast,
That in thy Wast, this uther in thyn East.
Alas! alas! etc.

[1] Benediction. [2] Requited, rewarded. [3] The Author has also the word "jeopard" in the text. [4] A wild-goose for a wren. [5] Guiltless.

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I red thie,[1] therfor, dull[2] for Dunnibirsall,
And for St Androse now, to sobbe full sear,
Or thow sall feill thy judgment, scharpe as thirsall,[3]
Upon thy bak, and on thy buttoks bear:
For why whar seakles bluid sa fast cryes out,
The righteus God mon punishe ther, but dout.
Alas! alas! etc.

Bot, O St Androse! searlie sall thow rew
The tym that thow brought out that wicked race;
For thow sall drink of that quhilk thow did brew,
With mikle wa,[4] and manie loud alace!
For sure thyn eis sall verelie behauld,
What ever thy fathfull Pastors to thè tauld.
Alas! alas! etc.

And namlie yie, wha, lauching in your sleive,
Now maks this mater seage unto your drink;
For surlie God sall then his awin releive,
When yie your craft and malice sall forthink.
Lauche on, and sport yow with your guid success,
Our God is in heavin, wha sies, and will redress!
Alas! alas! etc.

Bot weil's thie weidow, supposed miserable,
God give thie grace to knaw thy happines.
The devill hes done mischeif intolerable,
Yit God his graittar guidness sall express.
Whilk thow sall find with wonderfull delyt,
To thair malicius wicked harts dispyt.
O confort! confort! stedfast to remean.
O confort meit to mitigat thy pean.

[1] Counsel thee. [2] *Dool*, mourn. Fr. *deuil*. [3] Thistle. [4] Woe.

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God hes reteird thy housband to his rest,
And him inrolld, for to mak out that number
Of righteus martyrs, whom he loves ay best,
Into this lyff persewd with cross and cumber,[1]
Beneathe that Altar, blessed Saincts amang,
Whilk cryes, "Hast, Lord, revenge our bluid and wrang!"
Thair cled in whait[2] he plesand sall remean:
O confort meit to mitigat thy pean!

Bot certeanlie God sall thy Housband bie,
And Father to thy childring an and all;
He sall yow freethe[3] from all this miserie;
He sall yow heir, and give yow hart to call.
He sall yow daylie grace and blessing send;
He sall yow gyd unto that blessed end.
O confort! confort! stedfast to remean,
O confort meit to mitigat thy pean!

Deir damiselles! leave af your dreirie mean,[4]
And grow in godlines to womanhead;
Yie sall nocht live lyk orphelings alean,[5]
Altho your erthlie father now be dead.
Your Heavinlie Father's guidnes yie sall feill;
He sall yow touchar[6] all, and marie weill.
O confort, etc. etc.

Thow bonie boy, conceaved and brought upe,
Miraculuslie by[7] anie expectation,
Into thy youthe, rejose to tholl the whupe,[8]
Thy God salbe thy scheild and preservation:

[1] *Cummer*, strife, contention. [2] Clothed in white robes. [3] Free or deliver. [4] Moaning, lamentation. [5] Orphans alone. [6] Provide you with tochers or doweries. [7] Beyond. [8] Rejoice to suffer the scourge or correction of the rod.

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He sall thie bliss, and mak thie sic at ease,
A feirfull curse on all thy father's faes.[1]
O confort, etc. etc.

Sa, efter God hes maid yow meit for him,
Be all your suffrings and tentationnes,
He's mak yow on the ledder Chryst to clim,[2]
And end your greifs and tribulationnes,
Surmonting far the skyes and sternes[3] bright,
Yie's enter in the Lord's æternall light.
Ther meit with him, and never part again.
O confort meit to mitigat your pean!

Now Chryst our King, triumphar over the devills,
Ou'r sin, ou'r deathe, ou'r hell, this warld and all,
Behauld from heavin thir maist mischeivus evills,
And heire the plaint of sic as on thie call.
And aither stainche[4] the rage of thair impyre,
Or come and cast them in æternall fyre!
O com! O com! O com! without delay.
O com! and judge, Lord Jesus, we thie pray.

AMEN.

In the monethe of October thairefter, with a heavie hart, grait pean in body, be a distillatioun falling on my teithe, and with grait expences, I entered in jorney with the rest apointed, and visited the Provinces of Aberdein, Murray, and Ros. At ther Synods and Presbyteries we tryed the Ministers, particularlie in doctrine, knawlage, and lyff: Sum we deposit; sum we admonished; sum we incuragit: manie we helped in ther gleibs, manses, and leivings. We delt with all the Noble men and cheiff Barrones, for provyding of thair Kirks, be doctrine and privat delling, and gat Subscriptionnes

[1] Foes. [2] Ladder to climb to Christ. [3] Stars. [4] Staunch.

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to the particular provisionnes sett down in wrait, anent everie Kirk: Wherin the penitents recentlie receavit past befor, be guid exemple, the Erles of Hountlie and Arroll, because they war nocht yit restored in Parliament; but sensyne I heir litle of the performance. But thairin MakinToshie[1] warred[2] all the rest, wha, meitting us at Ennernes,[3] sett down the plat of all his Kirks with sufficient provisioun; and when he haid done, he subscryvit it with his hand befor us, and said, "Now it may be thought I am liberall," sayes he, "because na Minister will venture to com amangs us, therfor get me men and sey[4] me, and I will find sufficient cautioun for saifftie of ther persones, obedience to ther doctrine and discipline, and guid peyment of thair stipend and interteinment in St Johnstoun, Dondie, or Aberdein!" And, indeid, I have ever sensyne regrated the esteat of our Hielands, and am sure gif Chryst war pretched amangs tham, they wald scham monie Lawland professours; and gif peanes war taken bot als willinglie for winning of tha saulles[5] be the Prince and Pastors to plant ther Kirks, as ther is for wrakking and displanting of the best constitut, Chryst might be pretched and beleived, bathe in Hielands and Bordours.

In that jorney, be occasioun of conference be the way with Sir Patrik Murray, Mr James Nicolsone, and Mr Piter Blakburn, I smeld out the purpose of erectioun of Bischopes againe. The quhilk coming to Edinbruche to the parliament in the monethe of December, I fand planlie going to wark, and therfor left my litle Court Commissionarie, and all fordar dealling with tham in anie course or purpose, and reteired my selff ham to my awin calling. From the quhilk, whowbeit I was often absent of befor, occupied ever in comoun causses,[6] to my great peanes and spending of all I haid, yit I haid confort in my conscience and joy in spreit thairefter, remembering sum guid done to the contentment of the godlie. But when I perceavit my peanes and expences to be dowblit, and to reape na thing in end bot greiff of mynd, and evill estimatioun amangs guid

[1] The Chief of the Clan Mackintosh. [2] Excelled, outdid. [3] Inverness. [4] Try. [5] These souls. [6] Public concerns; affairs concerning the welfare of the community.

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folks, I thought it hie tyme to reteire. And yit twa turnes fell out that tyed me, as efter we will heir.

At the parliament, in December, the mater was convoyed and brought in this maner. The Commissionars, in nam of the Kirk, sought be petitioun a vott in parliament, wharof they thought they haid sufficient warrand, because it haid oftentymes, yea almost at everie parliament, compleanit, that men satt and votted in parliament in nam of the Kirk, that nather bure office in the Kirk, nor haid anie commissioun thairfra. The Abbots, Priours, Lords of Sessioun, and sic as they drew of the Nobilitie, war against the Kirk; yit be ernest delling of the King, wha haid promist mikle guid to be done to the Kirk at that parliament, they condiscend and aggreis, that sic of the ministerie heirefter, as his Majestie sould promot to the dignitie, office, place, and title of Prelacie, Bischope, Abbot, or uther, sall have vott in parliament, siklyk and als frilie as any uther Ecclesiasticall Prelat haid at anie tym bygean, etc.

Now this, forsuthe, was a grait benefit for the Kirk, obteined at that parliament, when the Papist Erles war restorit, and for the quhilk the Kirk behoved to receave tham in favour. For the Kirk haid lyen lang in contempt and povertie, quhilk the King and his Commissionars soar pitied, and this was the way to mend that: To gett of the godliest, wysest, and best of the ministerie, upon the Counsall of the realme, Conventionnes of Esteattes and hichest Court of Parliament, ther they sould reasone and vott in ther awin causses, and bring hame the Kirk leiving, and nocht stand at the durre geiffing in peapers of petitiones; and skarslie when they haid iaked[1] on manie dayes, gott sa mikle as a fear[2] answer. And, indeid, gif warldlie honour and ritches haid bein to be sought for to the Kingdome of Chryst, as it was and is of the Antichryst, or gif ther haid bein honour and ritches to be gottin in Scotland, even bot sic as was wount to be to these tytles, dignities, and offices of Prelates, I wald haiff easelie bein moved and caried away with

[1] It is also frequently written *jauk*, to spend time idly. [2] Fair.

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these arguments, wanting the grace and government of God's Spreit; bot Chryst teatching us, and making us to teatche his peiple the contrar, and the peiple in sic a cleir light of the Gospell, seing and spying the wandring away of ther gydes in the mist of Court vanitie, and thairfor the mair esteimed ther, the mair dispysit and contemptible befor tham, and the les able for anie guid ædificatioun to the conscience, maid me altogidder to avoid and abhore it. And heir, again, my forsaid commilito[1] and I war in contradictorie opiniones.

Our Synod of Fyff conveinit in St Androis in Februar following. To it was Sir Patrik direct from the King to moyen for the mater of Bischopes. It was far and fearlie[2] brought about with a Letter thairanent from the King's Majestie to the Presbyteries. *Item*, an uther from the Commissionars with a copie of the act of parliament, schawing whow hardlie it haid obteined by the King's grait peanes and authoritie at the hands of the Lords of Articles, and what commoditie might therby com to the Kirk. Therefter the questioun was proponit, Gif it war expedient and profitable for the Kirk, that the Ministers sould have vot in parliament for and in nam of the Kirk? The quhilk seiming guid, be maniest vottes of the Breithring, to be answerit *affirmative*, I planlie discoverit unto thame the purpose, to the grait offence of the King's Commissionar, schawing tham that it being annes[3] fund profitable and expedient, that Ministers sould vott in parliament, these Ministers behoved to be Bischopes and Prelates, or els they wald nocht be admitted to vott; and sa we sould fall to wark and big upe Bischopes, quhilk we haid bein all our dayes dinging down. Mr Andro Melvill insisted herin, in his vehement maner; wha, taken upe rudlie be Mr Thomas Buchanan, that he sould nocht have place in the Assemblie, (meining because of the misordour quhilk the King and Commissionars haid maid in the Universitie, debarring the Maisters thairof, namlie of Theologie, from the Assemblies,) he answerit, "My professioun

[1] Fellow-soldier. [2] Fairly. [3] Once.

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was to resolve questionnes in the Kirk of God out of his Word, and to reasone, vott, and moderat in Assemblies, when yours was to teatche the grammar rewlles! Quhilk answer contented and moved the Breithring verie mikle.

Efter the quhilk David Fergusone, the auldest Minister that tyme in Scotland, spak gravlie, cleirlie, and at lainthe, whow the corruptiones of that office of Bischopes haid bein espyed be the Kirk of Scotland from the begining; what pean haid bein taken bathe in doctrin from pulpites and in Assemblies, for purging and alluterlie putting away thairof. And now he perceavit a purpose till erect tham of new, conveyed in sic a maner as he could compear to na thing better nor that quhilk the Grecians usit for the overthraw of the antient citie and kingdome of Troy, busking upe a brave horse, and, be a craftie Sinon, persuading tham to pluk down the walles with thair awin hands to receave that in, for thair honour and weilfear, quhilk servit for thair utter wrak and distructioun. Therfor he wald, with the Breithring that haid giffen guid warning, cry, *Equo ne credite Teucri.*

Mr Jhone Davidsone, an of the antient fathers of the Kirk, was present with us at that Assemblie, and mightelie and gravelie warnit, informit, and movit the Breithring. Amangs the rest he said, mirrelie, "Busk, busk, busk him as bonilie as ye can, and fetche him in 'als fearlie as yie will, we sie him weill aneuche, we sie the hornes of his mytre!"

In memoriall wharof this Decatessarad was maid, when the mater wrought fordar on thairefter:

By Pallas' art the Grecians built an horss,
Als hudge as hill, presenting him to Troy,
And craftie Sinon, taken as par forss,
Perswadit them to brak thair walles, with joy,
Be thair awin hands, this horss for to convoy,
And set him upe in thair maist sacrat place:
Bot therout ushing capteans did distroy
With fyre and sword thair citie soone, alace!

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Tho Dardan prophets cry'd and bad tham seace,
Alluring tham to work thair awin releiff:
Yit foolishe madnes spuilyiet tham of grace,
Sa God, for sin, brought on thair last mischeiff.
This hors, this Sinon, and this Troian sak,
Me thinks I sie, whill we our Bischops mak!

In that Februar, betwix the Synods Provinciall and Generall, was that maist conspicuus eclipse of the sunne, quhilk strak all creatours with sic estonishment and feir, as tho the day of Judgment haid bein com. I knew befor it was to com; I was nocht ignorant of the naturall cause thairof; and yit when it cam to the amazfull, uglie, alriche darknes, I was cast on my knies, and my hart almaist fealled. On that I gave this warning:

In Februar, the twentie-fyve exack,
We saw the sunne, the tent hour of the day,
Begin to loss his light and turn to blak,
Whilk piece and piece his whait did weare away.
The cause is this, as lerned men do say,
The darksum bodie of the changing moone
Cam in betwix our sight and Phœbus gay,
And hid from us his halsome light sa soone.
Amid the meittings of our KIRK this done,
Portends the dark and variable warld
Sall com betwix the KIRK and CHRYST abone,
And mak hir Pastors crewked, blind, and thral'd!
Then statlie starrs stik fast, and tak gud tent,
The dragon's taill will reng the firmament!

[Over notable effects of this eclipse kythe the yeir following in the deathe of notable lights of the Kirk of Scotland, Mr Thomas Bowchanan, Mr Robert Rolloc, David Fergusone, and Mr Adam Jhonstoun; also of Mr Jhone Lindsay, for naturall judgment and learning the graittest light of the polecie and Counsall of Scotland.

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In lyk maner of guid James Smithe, the sune amangs the merchants.

A mair feirfull eclipse was of the sun, and fall of starnes from the heavin, when in the Kirk of France the men of graittest lerning and estimatioun (intysit be the flatterie and giftes of the King for establissing of the peace quhilk he haid fantyseit in his brean betwix the Papists and Protestants, for the commoditie and surnes of his esteat) war maid to set and imploy thair thought, pen, and travell to erect, and set furthe ane mid and weill-mixed Relligioun and new Christianitie, the effectuating wharof haid nocht feallit, gif God haid nocht cutted schort thair dayes with exemplar sorts of deathe. The names of the cheiff war Ardianus, Serranus, Rotanus, Egbergius, and Martinius.[1]]

M.D.XCVIII.

In the monethe of Merche following, 1598, the Generall Assemblie held at Dondie. Ther the King and Commissionars met befor togidder, and leyed all the plattes and coursses, being in grait fear that the Commissionars sould be soarlie censurit for thair proceidings, and that ther sould be na forderance, in thair cheiff purpos of erecting of Bischopes. Ther was ther bissines day and night to mak and try all in everie Province. The Moderator was beforhand preparit, and all and everie an that sould teatche and open thair mouthe in pulpit; and, finalie, all things framed for the purpose, sa far as wit or diligence might mak with the Prince's authoritie.

The King professit to stand be the Commissionars, and they be him. The uther partie war the ministers of Edinbruche and St Androis, with all sic as stud uprightlie for the established discipline and fredome of the Kirk. The Commissionars offerit tham to giff a compt of thair proceidings to the Assemblie; bot sa in effect that they war judges thair selff, for they war sure beforhand the graittest number sould be on thair part. Manie greiffes war giffen in be Edinbruche, St Androis, and uther Presbyteries; grait hait and altercatioun was, sa that sic an Assemblie was never sein

[1] These two paragraphs have been added by the Author on margin of MS.

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in Scotland sen Reformatioun of Religioun; and that quhilk was warst, the graittest enemies of the Ministerie [the lat excommunicat forfaultit Papist Erls] war brought in to tak their pastyme of the imperfectionnes of the Breithring, and skrape togidder mater of sklander and calumnie to ventilat and saw athort amangs the enemies bathe within and without the land. My uncle, Mr Andro, was happie in that, at his first presenting to the Assemblie he was dischargit; nather wald the King com in nor suffer anie thing be done till he was away, (yit he past nocht on-uttering his mind to the Breithring in his auld maner.) And, nocht satisfeit that he was out of the Assemblie, he was chargeit aff the town under all heest peanes. And surlie, I say, he was happie that hard nocht the things quhilk woundit our hartes throuche; better to be buried, as they war ordeanit in end, nor ever rememberit!

Efter that a large tyme was evill tint upon the greiffes, and they (Male Malcontent, mother of the Greives![1]) buried, the questioun moyennit at all the Synods befor cam in, Whither Ministers might vot in parliament? It was reasonit at lynthe, wherin I had my large part, as they follow heirefter; but at last, when it cam to the roll, Mr Gilbert Body led the ring, a drunken Orkney ass; and the graittest number followit, all for the bodie,[2] but[3] respect of the spreit. And yit, praisit be God, a guid number of honest breithring glorifiet God, bathe in reasoning and votting directlie against: Another sort war mistakine bathe in reasoning and votting: And the number that caried the conclusioun away war nocht sic that[4] laborit or haid skill in the Word, bot lait Commissionars wha votted with the King and thair Ministers. Efter the quhilk conclusioun, Mr Jhone Davidsone, of whome I have divers tymes spoken befor, maid publict protestatioun against it in his awin nam, and the nam of the Breithring that disassented, first in word, and thairefter gaiff in in wryt, desyring the Clark to insert it.

[1] "This nam was giffen to that dealing, in derision, be the people." Margin of MS. [2] The depreciating way in which the Author here shows his contempt for this individual is accompanied by the above humorous play upon his name, which can only be fully appreciated by a Scotch reader. [3] Without. [4] Were not such as.

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Therefter, going fordwart to the rest of the Questionnes, befor they sould be reasonit, to mak tham the mair plausible and easie to be past, the haill devys and forge of the new Bischoprik was brought furthe fallon weill busket,[1] and fearlie and at lynthe red befor the Assemblie. Ther war they maid clein of all corruptioun of Papistrie, Antichristian and Anglicall Bischopries, fyned of new in the furnace, cast in a new mould, and maid of a freche strak;[2] and finalie embarrit and inclosit with sic caveats, as range and fling thair filles tho they war wyld, they sould never win out! Yit, when the rest of the Questiones war read, they, perceaving that the Breithring's hartes wha haid assented to the first began to stand and swidder,[3] for the best part thought it meittest to tak tyme to mollefie and moyen maters, lest they sould grow fousome[4] at the first; and sa was ordeanit, that efter advysment in Presbyteries, the Synods of everie Province sould assemble in May, and efter reasoning of the Questiones ther, sould direct thrie of thair number quha sould convein with the King at the tyme and place to be apointed be his Majestie.

[It was also concludit at this Assemblie, that this office of votting in parliament was of a mixt qualitie, and thairfor the electioun thairto behoved to be mixt, partlie be the King and partlie be the Kirk; and the nomber of vottars to be fiftie.]

Our Synod of Fyff convenit in Dunfermling in the monethe of Junie. Ther war Commissionars from his Majestie, the Lord of Towngland, and Sir Patrik Murray. Reasoning was, and the judgments of all the Presbyteries and Breithring, giffen in thir Questiones: 1. Efter what maner he sall be chosin wha sall vot in parliament for the Kirk? Wither the Kirk the nominatioun, and the King the chose,[5] or *e contra*? Cuper Presbyterie, quhilk Mr Thomas Buchanan gydit,[6] thought that the Kirk sould nominat fyve or sax, out of the quhilk the King sould chuse an. The uther thrie

[1] Extremely well dressed out. [2] In allusion to a coin fresh struck at the mint. [3] Hesitate. [4] Surfeited, nauseated. [5] Choice. [6] Guided.

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Presbyteries aggreit in an,[1] that the Kirk sould mak chose of thair awin Commissionars, and thairwith the King sould content and accept the sam, as the Barrones and Burrowes does. 2. Whow lang sould they continow? Cuper said, *Tota vita, nisi interveniat culpa.* The uther thrie in an, From a Generall Assemblie to an uther. 3. Whow they sould be callit? Cuper thought it a thing indifferent wither they war callit "Bischopes" or "Commissionars." The uther thrie in an thought the consequens of the nam of graitter importance, because the verie nam of Bischope now importethe corruptioun and tyrannie in the Kirk, thairfor that they sould be called "Commissionars of the Kirk." 4. Concerning the rent? All aggreit in that it sould be but[2] hurt of uther Kirks, and nocht hinder the Dissolution of Benefices.

For my awin part, I protested I wald have na thing ado with the forging or blocking of it in anie sort; for as I saw it working, the best of it wald be bot a corruptioun and tyrannie brought in within the Kirk, to the wrak thairof.

But all the cair and travell of the King's Commissionars was to gett sic thrie men nominat as the King lyked best of; grait devyses and mikle bissines was about that. In end they fand the way to put upon the lyttes[3] a guid number of the thrie Presbyteries that war against tham, that they might be quyt of thair vottes; and sa haiffing moyenned[4] the rest behind, they gatt thair intent, viz., Mr George Gladsteanes, Mr Thomas Buchannan, and Mr Jhone Fearfull. Whilk, when the guid Brethring espyed, they wald giff tham na uther commissioun bot to report fathfullie thair judgment in the Questionnes, and according thairto, to reasone, vot, and conclud, and sie *ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti capiat: Promitten.* to approve and allow na thing bot that quhilk they did lawfullie in that mater.

That Conventioun of the Synodicall Commissionars was keipit

[1] Unanimously. [2] Without. [3] Leets. [4] Influenced.

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with the King at Falkland, in the monethe of August thairefter; wharin what was done I can nocht rightlie sett down, because I was nocht ther. For, efter the Conventioun of Perthe, I was never at Assemblie nor meitting bot against my will, except in Presbyterie; and my opinioun and wis[1] was, ther sould be na generall meittings, *Rege presidente*, unles it pleasit God to turn and sett his hart utherwayes; for I saw and was certean, we sould ay be farder and farder behind in the sinceritie and libertie of Chryst's kingdome; and they sould ever, a way or uther,[2] gett thair intentes brought about.

Allwayes, in generall, they fand nocht sic fordar in the purpose as they luiked for; and thairfor the Generall Assemblie, that was apointed to be the yeir following, was prorogat almost a yeir, for advysment and better dressing of maters.

[This yeir I cawsit print my Catechisme for the profit of my peiple. It cost me fyve hounder marks, quhilk God provydit be the motion of a maist godlie and loving frind's hart. Of the quhilk soum I abyde addettit,[3] bot never could gett a hounder mark of it again to this hour.]

M.D.XCIX.

[In the simmer of the 99 yeir,[4] ther was a meitting of manie Breither with the King and Commissionars in St Androis, for a purpose of aggreiment and concord; and when all professit frindschipe and brotherlie love ane to another, and onlie the difference was in opiniones of proceidings, and anent the conclusionnes past, it was thought meit to refer that to a Conference, quhilk was keipit thairefter in November, in Edinbruche. I trow to mitigat my uncle and mak him amends, it was then that Montrose was maid Chancellar of the Universitie, Mr George Gladsteanes, Vice-Chancellar, and Mr Andro Melvill, Dean of the Facultie of Theologie.]

[1] Desire, wish. [2] One way or another. [3] Indebted. [4] A.D. 1599.

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In the mean tyme, at our Synod in September, 1599, a weill-meining brother, my colleg,[1] gaiff in to the Assemblie a certean Anglo-pisco-papisticall Conclusionnes, wherof he haid over guid a warrand of the King's buik, intitulat Βασιλικον δωρον, but because it haid but of accident cum in his hand, and was nocht published, he could nocht be plane. The Synod judget tham treasonable, seditius, and wicked, thinking that sic things could nocht be, and directed tham to the King. The King, knawing the warrand durst nocht be exhibit, gettes knawlage of the brother that gaiff tham in, and sends to apprehend him; bot God watched over him, and saved him. This maid me fean,[2] when I haid resolvit nocht to keipe the Conventiones of the Commissionars, whowbeit wraitten for, to giff obedience, and tak grait peanes, fascherie,[3] and expences, with greiff of mynd, till attend upon[4] sum guid occasioun to gett my brother and colleag relaxit from the horn, and reponed in his awin roum againe. [Strange and vehement war the exerceises of my mynd during that tyme, quhilk God, wha hes a secret delling with his awin secret annes, knawes.[5]] And this was an of the causses formentioned why I conteinowed in my Commissiomarie, leyed on me be the King and Assemblie. Whilk occasioun I gat never till the fact of St Jhonstoun fell out; and immediatlie thairefter the cause of the Ministers of Edinbruche teatherit[6] me again, sa that I could nocht gett frie till that was disparit; and God leyed his hand upon me be seiknes, wharof heirefter in the awin place.

The conclusiones, wharby we gatt certean knawlage of the King's determinat mynd in our maters of the Kirk, war namlie these, set down in that Buik[7] as in Testament to his Sonne.

1. The office of a King is a mixed office betwix the Civill and Ecclesiastic Esteat.
2. The rewling of the Kirk weill is na small part of the King's office.

[1] Colleague. [2] Fain, glad. [3] Trouble. O. Fr. *fascherie*. [4] To wait for. [5] This added by the Author on the margin of MS. [6] Fettered, entangled. [7] The King's *Basilicon Doron*.

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The righteus Chryst knawes what wrang he and his servands gettes heir.

3. The King sould be judge if a Minister vag[1] from his text in pulpit.
4. The Ministers sould nocht mell[2] with maters of esteat in pulpit.
5. The Minister that appealles from the King's Judicator in his doctrine from pulpit, sould want the head.[3]
6. Na man is mair to be hated of a King nor a proud Puritane.
7. Paritie amangs the Ministers can nocht agrie with a Monarchie.
8. The godlie, lerned, and modest men of the Ministerie sould be preferred to Bischopries and Benefices.

Without Bischops, the Thrie Esteats in Parliament can nocht be re-established; thairfor, Bischops mon[4] be, and paritie[5] banished and put away.

10. They that preatches against Bischops sould be punished with the rigour of the law.
11. Puritans ar pests in the Comoun-weill and Kirk of Scotland.
12. The principals of tham ar nocht to be suffered to bruik the land.
13. For a preservative against thair poisone, ther mon[6] be Bischops.
14. The Ministers sought till establishe a democratie in this land, and to becom *Tribuni plebis* tham selves, and lead the peiple be the nose, to bear the swy[7] of all the Government.
15. The Ministers' quarrell was ever against the King, for na uther cause bot because he was a King.
16. Paritie is the mother of confusion, and enemie to unitie, quhilk is the mother of ordour.
17. The Minister thinks be tyme to draw the Policie and Civill Government, be the exemple of the Ecclesiasticall, to the sam paritie.

[1] Wander. Lat. *vagare*. [2] Interfere with, meddle. [3] Should be decapitated.
[4] Must. [5] Equality. [6] There might. [7] Balance, control.

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18. Na Conventionnes or meittings of Kirkmen to be suffered bot be the King's knawlage and permission.

FINIS.

In the monethe of November thairefter, the King, maid to understand that a Conference amangs the Breithring of all sortes wald mak maters to go fordwart peacablie, and all purposes to pas at the nixt Generall Assemblie, send his Missives athort all Provinces,[1] and convocat the specialles of the Ministerie from all partes to Edinbruche against the 17 of November. The soum of the quhilk Conference, als fathfullie and neir as I could collect and remember it, immediatlie thairefter, I sett down as followes:

THE SOUM OF THE CONFERENCE KEIPIT AT HALIRUDHOUSE, THE 17 OF NOVEMBER, 1599.

The Preface.

"BECAUSE the meittings of the last Generall Assemblies war factius, tumultuus, confuse, haitt, and unordour-lyk,[2] least the lyk sould fall out at the nixt, his Majestie, withe advys of the Commissionars, thought meit till apoinct this present Conference, and call thairunto of all sortes of the ministerie, zealus and fyrie, modest and grave, wys and indifferent, wherin maters might be quyetlie and gravlie reasonit, and a way prepearit to a decent and peaceable Assemblie, wherin they may be decydit and concludit."

The Proposition.

THE propositioun was: "That it was permitted to everie an ther conveined, friely to reasone and schaw thair mynd, bathe upon things concludit in Assemblies and Conferences befor, as also on things to be concludit that war yit in deliberatioun: Provyding alwayes, that na reasone war brought against things concludit in

[1] Sent his Missive Letters through all Provinces. [2] Hot and disorderly.

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Assemblies, but onlie out of Scripture, quhilk may justlie be brought and used against the constitutionnes of anie Assemblie."

The Breithring that stud for the Established Discipline, and dis-assented from whatsoever Constitutiones, Actes, or Ordinances maid in the leat and new form of Assemblies, prejudiciall to the sam, answerit, they nather could nor wald reasone in these maters, nocht being preparit thairfor, nor meining to prejudge the Generall Assemblie following. I the quhilk, efter the instructioun of God's Word, and calling for his wesdome, they purposed, be his grace, being called thairto, to spéak thair mynd cleirlie and fullie, as God sould furnise abilitie and warrand be his Word and Spreit.

It was answered, that ther was na prejudice meinit to the Assemblie, bot onlie a preparatioun for it; and in cais anie having occasioun to speak now, being wryttin for be the King for that effect, and keipe upe his reasones and mynd to stand in the head of a factioun thairwith, thairefter, in the Assemblie, he might be counted a fals knave.

The Breithring, being thus urged, accordit to speak as they could remember presentlie, protesting alwayes the saftie of the cause from hurt, that the Assemblie war nocht prejudgit, and that it might be leisome to tham to helpe thair present speitches and reasones, and bring out fordar as they might attein unto, for the weill of the cause at the nixt Assemblie.

Sa the Conclusiones of the Assemblie of Dondie was read, bearing, "That it was neidfull and expedient that Ministers sould vott in Parliament; and that that office was of a mixed qualitie, partlie Civill, partlie Ecclesiastic," &c. In lyk maner was read the thing done at the Conventioun of Falkland, efter the said Assemblie, with the Caveattes for keiping of the saids votters in Parliament from all Episcopall corruptioun, &c. And sa, returning to the former conclusion, the cheiff poinct of all, it was proponit to be reasonit upon first, and the said Breithring requyrit what they haid to say against the saming?

The Breithring answerit, They knew na warrant of the Word of God for sic a conclusioun; desyrit, thairfor, they might be instruct-

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ed of the [same] be Scripture, quhilk, giff they could find, they wald willinglie aggrie and stand content; giff nocht, that conclusioun could nocht be maid in fathe, and thairfor wrang, and to be reformed in thair judgment.

Na scripture was producit, onlie a reasone buildet upon this principall, "*Evangelium non destruit polytiam: Atqui hæc est pars politiæ: Ergo,*" [&c.] To the quhilk it was answerit, be distinction of *polytia* in lawfull and unlawfull; and the lawfulnes thairof behovethe to be schawin be the Word of God, els Ethnik, Turkishe, and Jewishe polecie might stand withe the Gospell. It was answerit, it was aneuche that the Polecie was nocht repugnant to the Word of God, whowbeit the warrand of everie part of Polecie, and Act of Parliament, or Civill law, war nocht producit: "Therfor," (said they,) "schaw yie the affirmative, that it was repugnant to the Word, the probatioun wherof now comes upon yow."

[Ther was an uther argument rather meinit nor[1] proponit: Ministers war *cives* and *libera capita;* and, thairfor, according to Polecie, behovethe to giff ther consent to the making of lawes in Parliament.—*Ans.* Gif a consent be necessar, it is douted: But (put) ceas it be,[2] they consent to the law in Parliament, ather be the Lords or Barones of the schyre whar they war born and remeanes, or be the Commissionar of the Brouche wherin they war born or dwelles; for, as to his ministerie, it is na part nor poinct of Polecie nor civill burgeschipe; or, if the mouthe of the Lord is to be consulted, the Commissionar directed from the Generall Assemblie sould be heard.[3]]

It was therfor provin repugnant to the Word of God, and concludit be this syllogisme:—

That Ministers sould be involvit and intanglit with effears of this lyff, namlie, of Polecie, Civill Judicators, and effeares of Comoun-weill, is against the express Word of God:

"But this conclusion and office thairby imposit, will intanggle and involve tham: *Ergo,*" &c.

[1] Than. [2] Put the case that it is so. [3] What is contained within brackets has been taken from a note by the Author on the margin of the MS.

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The propositioun is proven be the expres Word, 2 Tim. ii. μηδεὶς στρατευομένος ἐμπλέκεται ταῖς τοῦ βίου πραγματείαις, whar the word πραγματεια meines properlie, effeares of law, jurisdictioun, and rewling of the comoun-weill; as 1 Cor. vi. πραγμα, for a civill actioun or cause.

It was answerit, That that place tuk nocht away naturall, œconomic, and polytic dewties, quhilk necessarlie this lyff requyres; and the quhilk man be done, and may be done of ever ilk an,[1] sa that they involve nocht tham selves, and intangle thairin to the hinder of thair calling.

To that it was aggreit, That ther was certean dewties and simple actionnes to be dischargit now and then for nature, œconomie, and polecie, be everie an, and sa be Ministers also, for the helpe and nocht hinder of thair cheiff and proper callings. Bot ther was a grait difference betwix sic actiones and dewties to be done, at certean tymes and occasionnes, of urgent necessities, and the discharging of a sett and ordinare office in a comoun-weill, namlie, in the twa graittest poincts of the majestie and princelie stat νομοθετικη and δικαστικη, that is, the making of lawes in a comoun-weill, and judging of the subjects according to the sam in the Parliaments, Counsalls, and Conventionnes of Esteattes of the realme, quhilk could nocht be done without intangling and involving in effeares, and sa distractioun fra the cheiff charge; as the place it selff cleirlie declarit what intangling was, viz., whatsoever might hinder the warriour from doing the dewtie of a souldart,[2] and pleasing his captean.

For the quhilk purpose also, the weghtines of the charge of the ministerie, and graitnes of the cure of saulles,[3] was insisted into; and plainlie affirmed they knew never nor felt the weght thairof, that thought a civill office of government in the comoun-weill might be undertakin and joyned thairwith. Whar mirrelie was cast in the speitche of the Quein of Eingland, when sche makes a Bischope: "Alas! for pitie, (sayes sche,) for we have marred a guid Pretchour to day!" And the King exhorted nocht to mar his Pretchours sa.

[1] Every one. [2] Soldier. [3] Souls.

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For corroborating and strynthning of the reply, this syllogisme was subjoynit:—

"That Ministers sould be distracted from preatching the Word, is against the Word of God:

"But this will distract tham. *Ergo*," &c.

The expres word, Luc. ix. ver. 59, 60, 61, 62, Chryst sayes to an, "Follow me;" wha answerit, "Let me first go burie my father." Chryst answers, "Let the dead go burie the dead, and go thow and preatche the Gospell of the kingdome of God." Another sayes, "I will follow thie, but let me first go and tak ordour with my hous." Chryst answers, "Na man putting hand to the pleuche and luikes bak, is meit for the kingdome of God." Heir ar maist neidfull naturall dewties and œconomic, quhilk Chryst expresslie forbiddes, for steying of the pretching of the Gospell, and attending upon his ministerie. Whow mikle mair, then, incompetent offices, *quæ sunt Cæsaris et Reipublicæ!* as we will schaw heirefter.

The expres word is in the saxt of the Actes. The twoll Apostles sayes to the rest of the disciples, "It is nocht æquitable, or to be approved, that we sould leave the Word of God, and serve the tables: therfor, let deacones be chosine and apointed." Giff the Apostles wald nocht leave the preatching of the Word for an Ecclesiastic office, because of distractioun, mikle les wald they that Ministers sould leave thair ministerie of the Word for civill and impertinent.

Thridlie, The Scripture calles the Ministers ἀφορισμενους, Rom. 1. —separat and sett apart: And wharfra? Questionles fra the occupationes of this lyff, to save the peiple and tham selves, and draw tham be the Gospell to the lyff everlasting, to fishe tham out of the sie of this warld to God and his kingdome of heavin. Sa the haill nature of ther calling is separat and sett apart from the warld, to the quhilk they sould nocht be callit bak again, mikle les thairin involved and drownit.

Fourtlie, The Lord's ministerie, under the law, is callit "a warfear," Num. iv., and his Ministers "wariours;" and sa, in the place alleagit in the New Testament, the sacrament and aithe wharof is

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maist streat,[1] and na wayes suffers distractioun. For tham was allotted na inheritance, but haid the Lord for thair inheritance, Deut. xviii. 1; Josu. xiii. 14. They say to thair father, I respect him nocht; they ken nocht thair breithring, they acknawlage nocht thair sonnes, bot keipes the Lord's words, and observes his Covenant; teatches Jacob his judgments and his law to Israell, settes incense befor his face, and brunt offerings on his altar, Deut. xxxiii. Then, mikle mair the Ministers of the New Testament, because of a graitter and cleirar grace, spirituall and frie from beggerlie cerimonies and elements of this warld.

And, last, to conclud this poinct with that maist wechtie and grave attestatioun of the Apostle to Timothe, ii. 4: "I attest the befor God, and the Lord Jesus Chryst, wha sall judge the quick and the dead at his appeirance and kingdome: Pretche the Word; be instant in tyme, and out of tyme; convict, reprove, exhort, with all lang-suffring and doctrine." And, in the fourt of the first, "Tak cear of thir things, be about thir things." And ar thir things spoken to Timothe onlie, and nocht to all Ministers and Pastors? And gif they be spoken to all, what tyme, I pray yow, is left to be imployed at Parliament, and in the effeares of the comoun-weill? The devill is a bissie Bischope, and goes about lyk a roaring lyon; and wha sall giff a compt of the torn scheipe, or stollen, in the Pastor's absence? And, finalie, that thrifauld[2] demand to Piter, *Amas me?* and charge, *Pasce Agnos*, &c. perteines it nocht to all?

It was objected, that we fell in the sam absurditie with the Papists, that gatherit thair *Celibatum* out of the words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. vii. *Conjugatus curat quæ sunt mundi, quomodo placeat uxori.* And gif ane with a Ecclesiastic or pastorall charge may have the charge of wyff and familie, wharfor nocht of the comoun-weill? And the Apostle sayes, that "He that ceares nocht for his familie, is wars nor[3] an infidell."

It was answerit, That the Papists' argument was frivolus from the abbus of mariage to the taking away of the benefit thairof, being

[1] Stringent, strict. [2] Threefold. [3] Worse than.

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apointed be God, and rightlie serving for the helpe of man in his calling; and na thing lyk unto this, wherin an evident intangling and distractioun may be sein. And to answer for the caring for the hous and tham that ar thairin, that is meined[1] for instructioun and rewling thairof be Christian discipline, as is evident out of the 3 Chap. ver. 4, be the word προϊσῆναι, he that can nocht rewall and govern his awin hous, whow sall he have cair ἐπιμελητῆ of the Kirk of God? For the Apostle is cleir in that poinct, 1 Cor. ix. That the flocks sould provyde for thair pastors, tham and thair families, the things that ar neidfull for this lyff, as the Captan or Prince for his souldarts, and they maid frie till attend on thair service.

It was insisted, that ther was als mikle distractioun and tyme spendit in our Commissions and Visitationnes, in awatting on Plattes and pleying[2] of Stipends, attending on Parliaments and Conventionnes, &c.

Answerit: That these war the wantes, imperfectiones, and corruptiones of our Kirk, as yit nocht weill constitut, wharof the fault is in the Magistrat and flockes, schawin, compleanit upon, and rebuked at all occasionnes be the Word of God, quhilk hes na place to prove anie thing in this mater, *ubi quæritur, quid fieri debeat, non quid fiat?* And as for Commissionars for Visitatioun, we ar occupied thairin in our awin subject, in pretching the Word, exerceising discipline, and using of censures; and that nocht ordinarlie or be sett office, bot *ex necessitate Ecclesiæ, et pro re nata.*

It was fordar insisted, that we granted till obey and com to the King's Majestie when soever he called for us, quhilk was all an[3] with that in question.

Answerit: His Majestie now or then calling for us, we might repear to his Hienes, and giff our advys in all things *de Jure Divino*, or utherwayes as *cives*, sa that the benefit redounding to the Kirk or Comoun-weill thairby preponderat and weyed down the hurt of our particular charges. But it was *longe aliud* to have an ordinar office to discharge in the King's Counsall and Parliament; for, as

[1] Meant. [2] *Pleaing*, litigating. [3] All one, all the same.

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was twitched befor, ther is a grait difference betwix a certean actioun to be done now and then, as necessitie and occasioun craveth, and a sett office to be ordinarlie discharged.

It was objected, That the Generall Assemblie haid alwayes from tyme to tyme cravit this votting in Parliament; and now, when the King offers it, it was evill thought of and refusit.

Answerit: The Assemblies haid oftentymes cravit that nan sould vott in Parliament in nam of the Kirk, bot sic as buir office within the sam, and haid commissioun thairfra. Bot that anie Generall Assemblie, befor the last in Dondie, haid determined that Ministers sould vott in Parliament, it was flatlie denyed: And it was schawin that often tymes that question haid bein agitat in Assemblies and amangs breithering, bot could never be fund whow it could stand with the office of a Minister to be a Lord in Parliament, nor was able to be schawin be the Word of God.

It was then demandit, wha could vott for the Kirk, giff nocht Ministers?

Answerit: It might stand better with the office of an Eldar and Deacon, nor of a Minister's, they having commissioun fra the Kirk, and subject to rander a compt of thair doing at the Generall Assemblies. And that, indeid, we wald als fean have the Kirk injoying hir awin privileages as anie uther, and have his Majestie satisfeit, and the effeares of the Comoun-weill helped, bot nocht with the hinder, wrak, and corruptioun of the spirituall ministerie of God's worschiping, and salvatioun of his peiple.

It was replyit, That it war better for the Ministers to be thair awin carvers, and sie to the weill of the Kirk, bathe in the ordering and provision thairof tham selves, rather nor commit it to uthers, wha wald cear bot sklenderlie for it.

Answerit: That the King and his Nobles gave the ministerie credit and onlie place in spirituall maters, sa that they wald nocht tak the sacraments, nor uther benefites of the Kirk, at thair awin hands, nor of the hands of na uther. They wald nocht think thair bernes weill bapteised, nor the Supper weill ministrat, nor thair mariages blessed, bot be sum Minister. And gif his Majestie gave

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us sic credit, authoritie, and place, in things perteining to the saull, as proper to our office, why sould we nocht giff him and his Lord's the lyk in things perteining to the body and this lyff, as proper to tham and thair office; and think it als grait absurditie to mell[1] thairwith our selves, &c.?

It was objected, That the Kirk was in possessioun of voting in Parliament be Bischopes, viz. Mrs Jhone Dowglas, Patrik Adamsone, David Cuningham, and uthers.

Answer: Sen the Generall Assemblie hauldin at Dondie, *anno* 1580, whar that office of a Bischope was declarit unlawfull be the Word of God, the Kirk cryed out continualie against tham, and excepted against all ther doings in Parliament or els whar, as having na lawfull office in the Kirk, nor na commissioun fra the saming.

Therefter, place being given, ther was producit ane uther argument to schaw the conclusioun repugnant to the Word of God:—

"That Ministers sould bear supremacie, dominioun, and be called 'Lords,' is against the Word of God:

"But the conclusion imports that: *Ergo*," &c.

The propositioun is cleir out of the thrie Evangelists, Math. xx., Marc. x., Luc. xxii., and 1 Piter v. iii.; and, *Nolite vocari Rabbi*, etc. This reasone was nocht insisted into, nor answerit for want of tyme. Lykas also ane uther, in the sam maner:—

"The confounding and mingling of Jurisdictions, distinguist in the Word of God, is repugnant thairunto:

"But the conclusioun imports that: *Ergo*," &c.

The propositioun is evident of the 2 Chron. xix., and, *Quis constituit me Judicem?* and, *Date quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ Dei Deo*, etc. Chryst refused to devyd the inheritance amangs breithring, to judge the adulteres, Jhon viii. He refused to be maid King, and professed that his kingdome was nocht of this warld.

Heir was declarit at lainthe, and verie weghtelie, be Mr Andro, be what meanes and degries the Pape was hoised upe[2] into that chaire of pestilence, wherout of he tyrannises over all Kirks and

[1] Meddle, interfere with.

[2] Elevated, *hoisted* up.

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Comoun-weills, tramping Kings under his feit, and transferring thair crownes and dominiones at his pleasur; and all from this usurping of bathe the powars and swords, the Civill and Ecclesiastic. In end, a siccer[1] Caveat was given to the King, to be war he sett nocht upe sic as sould cast him or his down. And this mikle anent the conclusioun of the last Generall Assemblie, as memorie might serve.

Therefter was proponit the twa poincts left be the said Assemblie to the meitting at Falkland, and ther also left undecydit or determined upon. 1. Gif these votters in Parliament, being annes[2] chosin be his Majestie and the Kirk, sould bear that office *ad vitam* or *culpam*, and sa be perpetuall; or, gif they sould be alterable fra tyme to tyme at the Assemblie's pleasour? 2. Gif they sould bear the nam of "Bischopes," or nocht?

Against the perpetuitie, the distractioun fra thair spirituall office of the ministerie was mikle urgit againe; schawing, cleirlie, that sic a continuall charge and burding lying on a few, could nocht bot debaush and distract tham alluterlie[3] from the pastorall attending and feidding of thair flockes; the quhilks they behoved to commit to sum Vicares and sum Suffraganes.

For the perpetuitie thir arguments war usit:

First, That thair wald na man tak the peanes and mak the expences upon the tytle of the benefice, to giff it over the nixt yeir to an uther.

It was answerit, That we war nocht upon men's particular commoditie, bot seing what might be for the helpe and guid of the Kirk and Comoun-weill, to the quhilk sic wald never do guid wha war seiking thair awin honour and welthe.

Nixt it was reasonit, That the hinder of all comoun turnes was be twa inleakes[4] cheifflie; ane of skill and understanding of maters, and right way of proceiding thairin; ane uther of continuance and attendance constantlie on tham being annes begoun, till they war

[1] A sure, strong. [2] Once. [3] Entirely, altogether. [4] Defects.

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brought to sum guid poinct and effect: Bot sa it was, that gif these comoun men sould be changable, they could nather lern skill,[1] nor prosecut things: *Ergo.*

Answer: They might gett mair skill of the wit and lawes of men, and les of the wesdome and buik of God; mak mair attendance on Court and the warld, bot les on Chryst and his Kingdome. And it was hard to perswad us that a few wald sie sa mikle for the weill of the Kirk as a haill Generall Assemblie conveinit for that effect, or follow out a guid comoun cause better and mair constantlie, seing experience alwayes teatched, that they wha wilbe ritche and honourable, are mikle about the saming, and verie litle for Chryst.

At last thir reasones and inconvenients war brought out dilated, and insisted into against perpetuitie:

First: It wald brak the barres of all thair Caveattes, and, but dout,[2] establishe lordschipe over the breithering, tyme strynthning opinioun, and custome confirming conceat. And gif the best devyce hes be tyme turned to corruptioun, mikle mair this of the lawfulnes wharof we justlie dout.

To this was answerit, That paritie[3] amangs Ministers was nocht to be lyk, and sould nocht be. And put the cais, it behoved to stand, because of our constitutiones and ordour: They sould be *pares* and alyk as Ministers, whowbeit, in respect of thair civill office and lordschipe, they war abon the rest.

Nixt, perpetuitie wald bereave and defraud the Kirk of the benefit and libertie of electioun and choise of the meittest for the turn, *pro rei natæ commodo;* for it is sure that all men ar nocht meittest for all turnes, etc. Answerit: The meittest sould be chosin at the beginning, wha wald grow ay meittar and meittar; also that it was frie to the Kirk till adjoyne sic as they pleasit to tham for counsall and assistance. It was replyit, That sic as war adjoyned wald nocht be hard to reasone nor vott in Parliaments, Conventiones, and Counsall.

Thridlie: Manie alterationnes befalls to mortall men: They may

[1] Experience, knowledge. [2] Without doubt. [3] Equality.

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be seik in body, fall in offences, quhilks, albeit nocht mak tham worthie to be deposit, (*nam difficilius ejicitur quam non admittitur hospes,*) yit may disgrace them sa that they becom unable and unmeit to do anie guid in comoun turnes; they may tyne the gifts of mynd and utterance, etc. In sic ceasses, this perpetuitie will defraude the Kirk of an in that roum; for sic a man, an or ma, can nocht nor will nocht be deposit, and a Commissionar in his place will nocht be admitted.

It was answerit, The number of Ministers admitted, and ordeined to vott, viz., fiftie, was sa grait, that whowbeit an, twa, thrie, four, or ten or twoll, war away, ther might be anew behind. Replyed: It wald be lang or sic a number war weill sett down and provydit with guid Lords' leivings in Scotland; and when they war, ther might be anew, and mair nor anew, behind of the guidnes they wald be of; bot an guid man might be mair stedable to the Kirk nor an and fiftie of that sort.

Fourtlie: Gif these men serve for the Prince and Steat, whowbeit against the weill of the Kirk, the Prince will meantein tham ather be his authoritie and moyen amangs the breithring in Assemblies, having ther lyff and gear in his powar, sa that they will nocht fear depositioun; or whowbeit the Assemblie wald depose tham of the ministerie, yit wald the King cause him keipe his lordschipe and leiving. And sa sould they sett tham selves to be advengit on the Kirk, to hir wrak.

Answerit: Ther was na thing sa guid bot might be bathe ill suspected and abbusit; and sa we sould content with na thing. Replyed: That we doutted of the guidnes, and had over just cause to suspect the evill of it. Duplyit: That ther was na fault bot we war all trew aneuche to the craft. Bot God mak us all trew aneuche to Chryst, say we.

Fyftlie and last: This perpetuitie will overthraw the powar and libertie of the Assemblies of the Kirk, and altar the Christian Government of the Kirk to Antichristian Hierarchie, placing perpetuall Commissionars or Bischopes above Ministers and ther Assemblies, and syne sum ministeriall head mon be abon tham, the hie way to Paprie! At least the haill powar of the Kirk and Generall Assem-

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blie salbe in the hands of these twoll or threttein, wha, I warrand yow, will tak na limitat Commissioun from the Generall Kirk, bot to reasone and vott as they think best for the weill of the Kirk, forsuthe; sa this epitome will abolishe the grait wark, and the Generall Assemblie will becom to be bot a Chaptour of these Bischopes, and skarslie that.

Answer: The Caveattes hes provydit for all these inconvenients weill aneuche. Reply: These comentares wilbe tedius to reid, and ill to remember, and the text taken to be schort and cleir aneuche in the selff.

In end, ther was alleadgit a number of inconvenients that sould fall out giff these vottars war nocht perpetuall:—1. That his Majestie and Esteattes wald nocht admit tham in Parliament utherwayes, and sa we sould lose the grait benefit. Answer, *Facilis jactura.* 2. That the Ministers sould ly in contempt and povertie. Answer: It was thair Maister's cais befor tham; it may serve tham weill aneuche to be as he was; and better povertie with sinceritie, nor promotioun withe corruptioun. 3. That uthers wald be promovit to that roum in Parliament, (for his Majestie could nocht want his thrie Esteattes,) wha wald opres and wrak the Kirk. Answer: Let Chryst, the King and advengar of the wrangs done to his Kirk, and tham dell togidder, as he hes done befor; let sie wha gettes the warst! 4. That it could nather stand for the weill-fear of King, nor Kirk, nor Comoun-weill. Answer: It was best that God thought best. 5. That it wald be fashius and confuse ilka yeir to chuse Commissionars. Answer: Na profit nor pleasure without pean-taken, and experience haid proven it maist easie and ordourlie. 6. That it wald breid variance and contentioun, whill a end wald preas to have sic, and another sic, and sa forthe. Answer: Tak away profit and honour, and contentioun will ceas. 7. Men wald be that way disgraced, now sett upe, and now sett by and cast down, and sa discuragit from doing guid. Answer: He that thinks it disgrace to be employed as God's Kirk thinks guid, hes lytle grace in him; for grace is given to the lawlie.

Thus, efter a thrie or four houres dealling in the former heades, it

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was thought insisted lang aneuche thairon; and thairfor the poinct remeaning concerning the nam of these Vottars in Parliament sould bear, was proponit to be reasonit upon.

It was reasoned for the Affirmative: That aggreing upon the mater and substance, it maid nocht what nam war giffen it.[1] And seing the Parliament last haid granted to the mater, under conditioun the Ministers votting in Parliament sould bear the nam and office of "Bischopes," quhilk was also a name of Scripture, we sould nocht stand till aggrie thairto, lest the refusing of the name sould mak the benefit to be refused, quhilk his Majestie haid gottin past in favours of the Kirk with grait peanes and difficultie.

It was answerit: That the nam ἐπίσκοπος being a Scripture nam, might be giffen tham, provyding, that because ther was sum thing mair put to the mater of a Bischope's office then the Word of God could permit, it sould have a lytle eik put to the nam quhilk the Word of God joyned to it, and sa it war best to baptize tham with the nam that Piter, 1 Cap. iv. giffes to sic lyk officers, calling tham ἀλλότριοεπίσκοπους war nocht they wald think scham to be merschallit[2] with sic as Piter speakes of ther, viz., murderers, theiffs, and malefactors? And verelie that gossope[3] at the baptisme (gif sa I dar play with that word) was na litle vokie[4] for getting of the bern's name.

But, in ernest, it was reasonit on the contrar, That the nam of "Bischope" could nocht be giffen tham for these reasones, the quhilk war nocht fullie handlit, nor replyed unto, partlie for want of tyme, and partlie for want of patience, because of litle speid in the purpose.

1. Giff they sould gett the nam of "Bischope," they behoved to have it ather as it was taken properlie in the Word, or as it was comounlie conceavit be the peiple. Bot nather of the twa could thay: Nocht as in the Word, because it sould be applyed to signifie

[1] It signified not what name was given it. [2] If it were not that they would think shame to be marshalled. [3] "This was Andro."—Margin of MS. *Gossip* properly signifies sponsor or god-father at a christening or baptism. [4] Another and older form for *vogie*, vain, elated, proud of the honour. Fr. *vogue*.

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that quhilk could nocht stand with the Word, as hes bein declarit, except it war, *Judas Episcopatus:* And nocht as it is comounlie taken, because then it sould import the corruptioun of Antichristian and Anglican Bischopes, contrar to the Caveats.

2. That quhilk offendes the Kirk of God sould be eschewit, altho a thing indifferent, for sa it becomes evill: Bot this nam of Bischope offendes the Kirk of God in this land: *Ergo*, &c.

3. That quhilk justlie may sklander the Ministers and bring tham in disgrace sould be avoidit, bot giffing to them of that name will justlie sklander them; because, these twentie yeirs, thair doctrin from the pulpit hes soundit against Bischopes, till they war utterlie overthrawin: And now sa soone to turn our toung, for hope of ritches and promotioun, and change our not,[1] with the clok[2] on the uther shoulder, will it nocht offer just occasioun of sklander?

4. That quhilk may and will bring in tyranie and corruptioun in the Kirk, is nocht to be admitted within the sam. Bot this will do it: For bearing that nam that caries with it the significatioun of Bischopes, corruptiones amangs the peiple, all the Caveattes will nocht keip it thairfra, namlie from inæqualitie, pre-eminence, and lordschipe over the breithring. For they wilbe sa esteimed and saluted amangs the rest of the Lords in Parliament and Court, and I warrand yow thair maners and faciones will easelie fram thairunto, bringing from Court to Kirk sic behaviour as they drink in ther; for being callit "Lord" at ilka word,[3] and bruking[4] principall roumes[5] in Court and Parliament, they will luik verie soure gif they want the sam in Kirk and amangs the breithring and peiple; yea, and be siccar[6] in thir, even at Plat, Court, and utherwayes, whom they think to contemne tham, and nocht giff tham thair stylles and honors.

And sa for that night, leat, we war dimissit.

Upon the xix. of November, the breithring wryttin for being as-

[1] Note. [2] Cloak. [3] At each word. [4] Enjoying. [5] Places. [6] Sure, secure.

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semblet again with his Majestie, the Moderator reported schortlie the things conferrit upon the last day, requyring yit, that gif ther was anie man wha was nocht satisfeit anent the heads conferrit upon, that they wald yit insist; and gif all war satisfeit, they sould proceid to the poinct remeaning anent the nam.

It was answerit plainlie be the Breithring that stud against this new forging of Bischopries, that they haid hard to and fra reasoning upon the poincts proponit; they war throuche[1] and satisfeit in their awin judgments for the treuthe, and rather confirmed fordar thairinto nor[2] anie wayes moved to the contrar, for ought that haid bein spokan; wherin they haid hard na thing out of the Word of God, quhilk might warrand that conclusion of the last Assemblie, to thair conscience, or anie thing yit buildit, or to be buildet thairupon. And in speciall, Mr Andro appealit the Moderator, Mr David Lindsay, maist weghtelie and vehementlie on his conscience, That seing he was an of the antient fathers of the Kirk, wha was present at sa manie godlie and grave Assemblies, hauldin sa manie yeirs anent these maters, and wharin they war cleirlie decydit be the Word of God, whow could he now mak sic a propositioun, or think that anie sattlit man in the treuthe could, be a light Conference, wherin the Word of God haid bein rather profaned then holelie, reverentlie, and gravlie usit, be moved to alter his judgment, and be satisfeit in the contrar?

This word of the profaning of the Scripture was takin in verie evill part by the King, and answerit courteously with a lie; whowbeit, the speaker condemnit him selff for undewtifull handling of the Word, als weill as anie uther. Sa the King, in end, brak af the Conference thus, in effect:—That he haid bein movit be the Commissionars to appoinct this Conference, for satisfaction of sic as war nocht resolvit, that maters might proceid mair peaceablie and uniformalie; bot seing he perceavit men to be sa full of thair awin conceattes, and pre-occupied in judgment, that they plased tham selves mair and mair, and war rather obfirmed[3] in thair opi-

[1] Resolved. [2] Than. [3] Confirmed.

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niones nor[1] moved to giff place to reasone, he wald leave the mater to the Assemblie. Giff[2] the Assemblie wald receave the benefit quhilk he offered, and conclud in the mater accordinglie, he wald ratefie thair conclusioun with a sanctioun civill of his law, that nan, following thair particular and privat conceatt and opinioun, sould be permitted to speak against the publict ordinance of the Assemblie. Giff the Assemblie wald nocht embrace the benefit, let them wait[3] them selves giff graitter povertie and contempt cam upon the Kirk. As for him, he could nocht want an of his esteattes; he wald put in that roum, and these offices, sic as he thought guid, wha wald accept thairof, and do thair dewtie to him and his countrey.

FINIS.

M.DC.

The last night of Februar thairefter, my father-in-law, Jhone Durie, departed this lyff; wha, as he leived happelie, walking with God in prayer day and night, sa he died, glorifeing God with grait joy and assurance of everlasting lyff and weillfear. For, efter he haid called for the Magistrats and Counsall of the brouche, and exhorted tham, and admonished of certean things for thair weill, bathe togidder and severalie,[4] and siclyk the Eldars of his Sessioun, and divers of the Breithring of the ministerie; and at last, efter he haid put his hous in ordour, and directed, instructed, and conforted his wyff and childring present, he takes him to privat meditatioun and prayer; and thairefter inquyres what day of the monethe it was; and being answerit to him, that it was the last of Februar, [and the morn the first of Merche,[5]] "O! then," sayes he, "the last day of my wretched pilgrimage, and the morn the first of my rest and glorie!" Nocht lang thairefter, delyvering his saull in the hands of God, throw Jesus Chryst, leaning his head to his eldest sonnes breist, wha held him in his armes, maist quyetlie and sweitlie giffes upe the ghast. He was upright, zealus, and falon[6] familiar with

[1] Than. [2] If. [3] Blame, *wyte*. [4] Separately. [5] Margin. [6] Extremely.

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God. Sa that, gif anie thing haid bein heavie and doutsome,[1] he haid na resolutioun, rest, nor releiff, till he haid fund it in meditatioun apart with God. And surlie, bathe in his particular turnes and publict effeares, when things seimed falon hard, and dangerus, whowbeit of nature melancolius and feirfull,[2] he wald gett grait assurances; as, namlie, of our retourn out of Eingland, and of our saiftie fra the Spainyars, he schew[3] me oft tymes that his God assured him night and day thairof. Whatever haid com confortable to him, incontinent apart to prayer and thanksgiffing; his haill conference and speaking upon the warks of God to the glorie of his name; all uther things was (as he usit that word oft, "tyn-tyme") bot vanitie and tinsall of tyme[4] to him. Sa that I may say, the haill course of his lyff that I knew was an unweireing and constant occupatioun in doctrine, prayer, and praise. The mair I think on him, the mair I thank God that ever I knew him; praying God, that, as I have sein the outgeat[5] of his conversatioun, (as the Apostle sayes, Heb. xiii. 7,) sa I may follow the sam in fathe. He oft regrated and inveyit upon the warldle fasones and bissines of the ministerie, saying, he fearit they sould becom als vyll in the peiple's eis as ever the preists war. And as concerning this mater of Bischopes, my uncle, Mr Andro, expressit his mynd thairin in his Epitaphes, quhilk being maist pertinent for that quhilk was, even at his deathe, in hand, I have heir insert. He desyrit, indeid, ernestlie to have levit[6] till the Assemblie, quhilk was hard at hand, that he might have dischargit his mynd to the King and Breithring; bot that quhilk alyve he could nocht, Mr Andro supplied fathfullie efter his deathe.[7]

[1] Doubtful. [2] Timid, predisposed to fear. [3] Shewed. [4] Loss of time. [5] Utterance. [6] Lived, survived. [7] *Nota.*—"It is guid to be honest and upright in a guid cause; for the guid cause will honour sic a persone, bathe in lyff and deathe."—Note by the Author on margin of MS.

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EPITAPHIUM DE JOAN. DURÆI,
PASTORIS INTEGERRIMI ET FIDISSIMI CELURCANI; QUI DIEM EXTREMUM CLAUSIT, CAL: MART: 1600.

I.

Durius ore tonans, Edena pastor in urbe:
Arcuit a stabulis, quos dabat aula lupos.
Celurcâ in cœlum migravit nunc, quia non quit
Arcere a stabulis, quos dabat aula lupos.

II.

Ipse de se, sive J. D. pastoris fidelis.
Testamentum et extrema voluntas.

Intonui ipse tuba grandi, cum jus fuit et fas;
Arcere a stabulis quos dabat aula lupos.
Nunc cedo statione lubens, cum non datur ultrâ
Arcere a stabulis, quos dabit aula lupos.

III.

ALIUD DE SYNODIS.

Res grata ac jucunda fuit, mihi cœtibus interesse sacris, quando sancta corona fuit.
Nunc patribus sanctis, quia succressere profani;
Quæ mihi cum diris spes ululare lupis?

IV.

ALIUD.

Cum fuit Archi-unus mihi Christus Episcopus; uni
Vivere et in vita hac, vita, placere fuit.
Nunc postquam Archi-unus non Christus Episcopus; uni
Ut Christo moriar stat mihi vita mori.

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V.

ALIUD.

Celurcæ expectabam, ultro Regemque patresque,
  Et sanctum in Lethi limine Concilium.
Quo multum obtestarer ego Regemque patresque
  Est qui ovium custos, ne siet inde lupus.
Nunc quia me e terris sublimem ad sydera cœli,
  Dux meus imperio de statione vocat;
E cœlis obtestor ego Regemque patresque,
  Est qui ovium custos, ne siet inde lupus.

VI.

AD SYMMISTAS.

Ardua res, totumque hominem, hæc res una requirit,
  Cœleste in terris pascere ovile Dei.
Huc vocat ille ovium Pastor bonus, ille vocatos
  Et regni atque aliis avocat a studiis,
Hanc unam imponit cum sollicitudine curam,
  Quam feret impensam, præmia magna ferens.
Cætera de manibus vestris non ille requiret:
  Neglecti at pœnas exiget officii.

VII.

EXTREMA VOLUNTAS, ET VERBA, AD REGEM.

Compellat Regem Divino carmine vates
  Durius, in fati limine dulcis olor.
Inclyte Rex, qui tam mihi Regum a Rege secundus;
  Quam spe reque omni Rege priore prior.
Pro te vitam ultro objeci vel mille periclis;
  Pro te vota Polo millia multa tuli;

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Pro te quo pugnavi animo, qua mente precatus;
Hac mente, hoc animo, hoc te precor unum abiens.
Ne regnum cœleste geras mortalibus ausis;
Neu sacer Antistes Rex tua sceptra gerat.
Mystica pertractent mystæ, regalia Reges,
Publica jure suo, publicus ordo gerat:
Da divina Deo: cape Rex tua, sint sua plebi:
Distinctum imperium sub Jove Cæsar habet.

FINIS.

[TRANSLATIONS OF THE PRECEDING.]

THE EPITAPHES OF A MAIST UPRIGHT AND FAITHFULL PASTOR, JHONE DURIE, MINISTER OF MONTROSE, WHA DIED THE FIRST OF MERCHE, 1600.

In Edinbrouche, the thoundring of Jhone Durie weill was harde,
When courtlie wolffes from Chrystes flok be flegged and debarde.
Now, in Montrose, to heavin he flites, for greiff that he can nought
The courtly wolffes debar from Kirk, quhilk Chryst hes deirlie [bought.

II.

HIS TESTAMENT OR LETTER-WILL, HE UTTERING IT OF HIM SELF.

I blew a trumpet terrible, when right and fredom serv'd,
To mak Chryst's flock from courtlie wolffes be keiped and preserv'd;
Bot now I willinglie mon yield, sen that we may na mair
Keipe Chryst his flock from courtlie wolffes, wherof we stand in fair.

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III.

ANE UTHER OF THE ASSEMBLIES.

A gratfull and a pleasand thing to me it was to bie
Ay present in Assemblies, whare God's servands I might sie.
But now, for holie fathers, when profane usurpes the place,
To byd and yeaule with wicked wolffes, I can nocht have a face!

IV.

ANE UTHER.

When Chryst was onlie Arche-bischope, I pleasure haid to byde,
To him to live, and him to pleise, I lyked tyme and tyde.
Bot now, sen onlie Chryst is nocht Arche-bischope, I do chuse
To die to him, and ay to live, and all the warld refuse.

V.

ANE UTHER.

I luiked gladlie for the King and Breithring at Montrose,
And at the dur of Deathe to sie Assemblie maid of those;
That I might ernestlie obtest the King and Breithring all,
That keippars of the scheipe sould nocht to wolffishe fasones fall.

Bot sen that now from erd till heavin my Captan does me clam,
According to his right, I do beseik tham all for schame,
Furthe of the heavines obtesting bathe the Breithring and the King;
That keipars of the flok of Chryst do nocht as wolffes owering.

VI.

TO HIS FELLOW MINISTERS.

A thing maist hard, and quhilk requyres the man all haill indeid,
Is heire on erthe the heavinlie flock of Chryst to gyd and feid.

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That Pastor guid to this does call, the sam does seperat
The called from all warldlie cares, as to him dedicat;
And this, as onlie cear, he does withe grait sollicitude
Impone, and of rewards for it does promise multitude;
And as for uther things, he will nan of your hands requyre,
Bot fathles negligens of this, he plagges with burning fyre.

VII.

HIS LETTER-WILL, AND WORDS, TO THE KING.

Jhone Durie, with a vers devyne, does call upon the King,
As sweithie singing swan, when deathe his dayes till end did bring.
O noble King, whom I esteim to bruik the second place
Nixt under him wha is abon, and first in everie cace.
For thie I jeoperd have my lyff in dangers manie an;
For thie my praer hes aydant[1] bein, bathe public and allan,
And withe what mynd I praed for thie, and with what hart I faught,
Withe that sam mynd and hart at deathe, this on thing I have saught.
Let nocht the heavinlie Kirk of Chryst be rewlde on erthlie wayes;
Let nocht the Pastors for to twitche thy scepter interpryse.
Let Ministers, all mystic things, and kinglie Kings intreat;
Set Counsallars for civill things, and Lords into thy seat.
Giff things devyne to God, tak thyne, let peiple have ther awin;
For under Chryst, the King impyre, distinguist hes and knawin.

FINIS.

The Generall Assemblie conveinit at Montrose in Merche 1600. Ther was the King, in maner wounted, occupied with his Commissionars. The Moderator last [Mr Peter Blakburn, now Bischope

[1] Constant, anxious.

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of Aberdein[1]] delyverit verie guid doctrine befor noone, bot he was brought in effect to recant it at the efter noone befor the haill Assemblie, to the grait greiff of guid Breithring, a grait stepe from a preceise honest Minister to a Bischope of this new strak,[2] quhilk he becam the yeir efter.

The sam polecie was usit to gett a Moderator for thair purpose, quhilk wes in the Synod of Fyff formentioned: For they put a nomber of the best and maist estimed Breithren upon the leittes, wharby the ring-leaders in votting was removed, and the vottes of the best Breithring distracted; sum giffen till a man, an sum to an other; and, in the meantyme, sic as the King was sure of ged all a gett.[3]

Nixt, it was thought best to put the choise of the haill Assemblie upon the Conference, and ther to reasone all maters, wharby they might knaw what to bring in publict, and whow.

In the Conference,[4] first was intendit a treatie for uniform consent and aggreiment in opiniones; and, thairfor, it was thought guid that four of the an opinioun, and four of the uther, sould go asyde to a chalmer tham alean,[5] and confer togidder; the quhilks aggrieng wald giff guid hope of an universall [agreement.] Thir aught[6] spendit an efter noone verie fructfullie; for we war verie plean, squar, and compendius, efter protestatioun befor God to be secret; and, indeid, I luiked for sum guid effect of our travelles. But on the morn, when we on our part were to continow and go fordwart, the King wald have na mair of that form, but wald have the reasoning in the Publict Conference befor him selff and certean of his Counsall, with the haill number of tham that war nominat be the Assemblie upon the Conference. And sa we entered in reasoning, as followes:

[1] Written on the margin of MS. [2] Strike, stamp. In allusion to a newly coined piece of money just *struck* at the mint. [3] Went all one road. [4] This was termed "The Privie Conference." [5] Alone, apart by themselves. [6] These eight.

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CERTEAN ARGUMENTS USED AND PROPONED IN THE CONFERENCE AT THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE HAULDEN AT MONTROSE IN THE MONETHE OF MERCHE 1600, WITH THE ANSWERS GIFFEN AT THAT TYME, SHORTLIE MINUTED.

"First, the act of Parliament 1597, the title wharof is, 'That all Ministers provydit to Prælacies sould have vot in Parliament,' was requyrit to be redde; the tenor wharof followes:

"Our Soveraine Lord and his Esteattes in Parliament, haveand speciall consideratioun and regard of the grait privileges and immunities granted be his Hienes' predecessours, of maist worthie memorie, to the Halie Kirk within this realme, and to the speciall persones exerceising the offices, titles, and dignities of Prælacies within the sam; quhilks persones hes ever represented an of the Esteattes of this realme in all Conventiones of the saids Esteattes: And that the saids privileges and fridomes hes bein from tyme to tyme renewed and confermed in the sam integritie and conditioun wharin they war at anie tyme of befor; sa that his Majestie acknawlages the saming now to be fallin and becoming under his Majestie's maist favorable protectioun. Therfor his Majestie, of his great zeall, and singular affectioun quhilk he alwayes hes to the advancement of the trew Relligioun presentlie professit within this realme, with advys and consent of his Hienes' Esteattes, statutes, decernes, and declares, That the Kirk within this realme, wherin the sam Relligioun is professed, is the trew and Halie Kirk; and that sic Pastors and Ministers within the saming, as at anie tyme his Majestie sall pleise to provyde to the office, place, tytle, and dignitie of a Bischope, Abbot, or uther Prelat, sall at all tyme heirefter have vott in Parliament, siklyk and als frielie as anie uther Ecclesiasticall Prelat haid at anie tyme bygean: And als declares that all and whatsumever Bischopries presentlie vacand in his Hienes' handes, quhilks as yit ar undisponit to anie persone, or quhilks sall happin at anie tyme heirefter to veak, salbe onlie disponit be his Majestie to actuall Preatchars and Ministers in the Kirk, or to sic uther persones as salbe fundin

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apt and qualified to use and exerceise the office and functioun of a Minister and Preatcher; and wha in thair provisionnes to the said bischopries sall accept in and upon tham, to be actuall Pastors and Ministers; and, according thairto, sall practise and exerces the saming thairefter: *Item*, as concerning the office of the saids persones to be provydit to the saids Bischopries, in thair Spirituall Polecie and Governement in the Kirk, the Estates of Parliament hes remitted and remites the saming to the King's Majestie, to be advysit, consulted, and agreit upon be his Hienes, with the Generall Assemblie of the Ministers, at sic tymes as his Majestie sall think expedient to treat with tham thairupon; but prejudice alwayes, in the mean tyme, of the Jurisdictioun and Discipline of the Kirk, established be actes of Parliament, maid in anie tyme preceiding, and permitted be the saids actes to all Generall and Provinciall Assemblies, and uther whatsumever Presbyteries and Sessionnes of the Kirk."

"That the Constitutioun of the Generall Assemblie hauldin at Dondie, 1598, takin as it is meined efter the mynd of the fore sett down actes of Parliament, is flat repugnant to the Word of God."

Argument 1.

"Antichristian and Anglican Episcopall dignities, offices, places, and tytles, and all Ecclesiasticall Prelacies, ar flat repugnant to the Word of God; Luc. xxii.; 1 Tim. iii.; Tit. i.; 1 Pit. v.; Math. xxiii. etc.: Bot sic is that quhilk is sett down in the act of Parliament fore-placed, and meined in effect be the constitution of the said Assemblie: *Ergo*," &c.

Answerit: That all corruptionnes of those Bischopries ar damned and rejected; and as to the act of Parliament, it was alleagit to be formed and sett down be the invyours of the Kirk's weill, of purpose that the benefit might be refused, and the Kirk to ly over in the auld miserie and contempt.

Argument 2.

"That the Ministers of God separat from the comoun effeares of

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the warld, sanctefied and consecrat to the ministerie of God's worschipping and salvatioun of his peiple, sould turn agane to the warld, and bear a comoun office and charge thairin and effeares thairof, is flat repugnant to the Word of God: But sa it is, that this Constitutioun will impon that on the Ministers of God: *Ergo*," &c.

The propositioun is proven be thir Places following:

"Num. iii. 44, 45. 'And the Lord spak unto Moses, saying, Tak the Levites for all the first born of the childring of Israell, and the Levites salbe myn: I am the Lord.'

"Num. xviii. 6. 'For lo, I have taken the Levites from the childring of Israel, quhilk as a gift ar given to the Lord, to do the service of the Tabernacle of the Congregatioun.'

"Deut. x. 8. 'The sam tym the Lord separat the tryb of Levi, to bear the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, to stand befor the Lord to minister unto him, and to bless in his nam, unto this day.'

"Deut. xviii. 2. 'The preists and the Levites sall have na part nor inheritance with Israell, for the Lord is thair inheritance, as he said unto tham.'

"Acts xiii. 2. 'Now, as they ministred unto the Lord, and fasted, the Holie Ghost said, Seperat me Barnabas and Saull for the wark wherunto I have called tham.'

"Rom. i. 1. 'Paull, a servant of Jesus Chryst, put apart to pretche the Evangell of God.'"

The assumptioun is proven be the act of Parliament, whar, unto the Ministerie is adjoyned an office to be giffen be the King, called the office and dignitie of a Bischope or Ecclesiasticall Prelat; and in the constitutioun of the Assemblie, it is determined to be of a mixt qualitie partlie, or halff Civill, halff Ecclesiastic.

This argument was answered be denying the assumptioun, and sa the act of Parliament and conclusioun of the Assemblie; and planlie declarit that they sould bear na comoun office nor charge in things civill.

Argument 3.

"That the Ministers of Chryst sould be distracted from preatching of the Word and doctrin, is flat repugnant to the Word of God.

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Bot this office and dignitie of a Bischope, votting in parliament, &c. will distract: *Ergo*," &c.

"Luc. ix. 59. 'Chryst sayes to an, Follow me; wha answerit, Let me first go burie my father. Chryst answerit, Let the dead burie the dead; and go thow and preatche the gospell of the kingdom of God. Another sayes, Maister, I will follow the, bot lat me first go and tak ordour with my house. Chryst answerit, Na man putting hand to the pleuche, and luking bak, is meit for the kingdom of God.'

"Deut. xxxiii. 8. 'And of Levi he said, Let thy Thummim and thy Urim be withe the holie on; saying to his father, and to his mother, I have nocht fein him, nather knawes he his breithring, nor his awin childring, bot observes thy word, and keipes thy covenant. They teache Jacob thy judgments, and Israell thy law; they put incense before thy face, and brunt offrings upon thyn altar.'

"Acts vi. 2. 'Then the twoll called the multitud of the disciples togidder, and said, It is nocht meit that we sould leave the Word of God to serve the Tables.'"

The argument takin from thir places concludes stronglie. For giff these maist necessar, naturall, œconomic, yea, and ecclesiasticall offices, sould nocht distract from the preatching of the Word, mikle les sould civill effeares and offices have place to distract.

To the quhilks it was answerit, that they sould nocht be distracted, bot necessarlie imployed in pretching of the Word, and in doctrine at these solem and comoun tymes, for the weill of the haill Kirk and Comoun-weill.

Argument 4.

"Whosoever ar in tyme and out of tyme, day and night, to be occupied in the bissines of thair calling, sould be freed and have immunitie from all uther turnes: Bot sa aught and ar the Pastors of the Kirk to be occupied: *Ergo*," &c.

"1 Chron. ix. 33. 'These ar the cheiff fathers of the Levites, abyding in the chalmers, (of the temple,) exemed, (from warldlie

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turnes,) because day and night the wark (of the temple) lay on tham.'

"2 Timoth. iv. 'I attest the befor God, and the Lord Jesus Chryst, wha sall judge the quik and the dead at his appeirance and kingdome: Preatche the Word; be instant in tyme, and out of tyme; convict, reprove, exhort, with all lang-suffring and doctrine: Watche in all, suffer adversitie, fulfill thy ministerie.'

"1 Tim. iv. 15, 16. 'Tak cear of thir things; be occupied in thir, that thy forderance may be manifest to all men. Tak heid to thy self, and to the doctrin; abyd or remean therupon; for in doing sa, thow sall save bathe thy self and them that heirs the.'

"Johan. xxi. 15, 16, 17. 'So, when they had dyned, Jesus said to Simon Piter, Simon, sone of Jonas, loves thow me mair nor these? He said unto him, Yea, Lord; thow knawes that I love the. He said unto him, Feid my Lambes.' And so thryse.

"Acts. xx. 20. 'I pretched publiclie and throw everie house; I warned everie an, night and day, with teares.'"

Answer to this was: They salbe occupied in na thing by ther calling.

Argument 5.

"To make the charge of saulles sa light, that thairwithall another may be joyned and born, is direct against the Word of God. Bot—*Ergo*," &c.

"Ezech. xxxiv. 1, etc. 'And the Word of the Lord cam unto me, saying, Sone of Man, prophesie against the Pastors of Israell, and say unto tham, Thus sayeth the Lord God, Wo be to the Pastors that feid tham selves! sould nocht the scheiphird feid the flocks? Yie eat the fatt, and cleithe yow with the woll, bot yie feid nocht the flock. The weak have yie nocht strainthned; the seik have ye nocht healed, nather have yie bund upe the broken, nor brought again that whilk was driven away, nather have yie sought that quhilk was lost, etc. They war skattered without a schiphird, and the scheipe wandrit,' etc.

"Zachar. xi. 17. 'O idoll scheiphird that leives the flok, the

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sword salbe upon his arm, and upon his right ei. His arme salbe cleim dried upe, and his right ei salbe utterlie darkned.'

"Acts xx. 20. 'I keip bak from yow na thing that was profitable, but have schawed yow, and have taught yow opinlie, and throw everie house. 26. I tak yow to record this day, that I am pure fra the blood of all men. 28. Tak heid unto your selves, and to all the flock, wharof the Halie Ghast hes maid yow oversiars, to feid the Kirk of God, quhilk he hes purchassed with his awin blod. 31. Therfor watche, and remember, that be the space of thrie yeirs I ceased nocht to warn everie an, bathe night and day, with teares.'

"[1] Pit. v. 2. 'Feid the flock of God, caring for it with a readie mynd. 8. Be sober, and watche; for your adversar the devill goes about lyk a roaring lyon seiking whom he may devore.'

"2 Cor. ii. 15. 'For we ar unto God the sweit savour of Chryst, in tham that ar saiffed, and in tham that pearishe. 16. To the an we are the savour of death unto deathe, and to the uther the savour of lyff unto lyff: and wha is sufficient for these things? 17. For we are nocht as manie, quhilk mak merchandis of the Word of God, but as of sinceritie, but as of God, in the sight of God we speak in Chryst.'

"Heb. xiii. 17. 'Obey your gydes, and be subject to tham, for they watche over your saulles, as sic as sall giff a compt for tham.'"

The Answer was be denying the assumptioun, and sa, as in all thair answers, in effect denying the thing they war doing.

Argument 6.

"The jumgling and confounding of Jurisdictiones and callings, quhilk God hes distinguisit in persones and maner of handling, is against the Word: Bot sa it is that this Constitution imports that expreslie, terming thair office to be of a mixt qualitie: *Ergo*," &c.

"Num. xviii. 4, 7. 'Yie sall keip the charge of the Tabernacle of the Congregatioun, for all the service of the Tabernacle, and na stranger sall com neir to yow. The stranger that cometh neir salbe slaine.'

"The Ministers then [ar] of God's service, and the civill admini-

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strators ar strangers ane to an uther, and sould nocht be confoundit, under pean of deathe.

"2 Chron. xix. 11. 'Behauld, Amaria the preist salbe cheif over yow in all maters of the Lord; and Zebadia, the sone of Ismaell, a rewlar of the house of Juda, salbe for all the King's effeares.'

"Math. xxii. 21. 'Give unto Cæsar that quhilk is Cæsar's, and to God quhilk is God's.'

"Deut. xxii. 21. 'Thou sall nocht saw thy vynyeard with dyverse kynd of seids, least thow defyl the increass of the seid quhilk thow hes sawin, and the fruict of the vynyeard. Thou sall nocht plow with an ox and an ass togidder. Thou sall nocht wear a garment of divers sortes, as of woollen and linning togidder.'"

This was answerit be a denyall of jumling and confusioun, bot with a granting of conjoyning and conjunctioun, and sa all ane, and bewraying of the purpose quhilk they seimed befor to deny, viz. to conjoyne a Civill office with an Ecclesiastic.

Argument 7.

"That the Officiars of Chryst's Kingdome sould meddle with things nocht perteining thairto, is αλλοτριοεπισκοπη against the Scripture; 1 Pit. iv. 15: Bot polytic and civill effeares ar sic: *Ergo*," &c.

"Johan. vi. 15. 'Jesus then knew that they war to com and tak him and mak him thair king, he withdrew him selff unto the montan alan.'

"Johan. xviii. 36. 'Jesus answerit and said unto Pilat, My kingdom is nocht of this warld.'

"Luc. xii. 13, 14. 'An of the multitud said unto him, Maister, speak to my breithring, that he may devyd the heritage with mie. He said unto him, O man, wha maid me judge or parter over yow?'

"Johan. viii. 11. 'Jesus said to the adulteres, Nather do I judge thie; go, and sin na mair.'"

It was answerit, That the spirituall and civill functionnes differs nocht in subject, bot in maner and form of handling and treatting of ane and the sam subject to divers endes; and that Chryst's of-

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ficers salbe urgit to handle things civill na uther wayes bot spiritualie.

Argument 8.

"That Chryst's Ministers sould bear warldlie pre-eminence, bruik ambitius stylles, and be callit εὐεργέται, gratius Lords, is against the Word of God: But this constitutioun will permit, yea, and mak tham sa to do: *Ergo*," &c.

"Math. xxiii. 6. 'The Scribes and Pharisies love πρωτοκλισίαν at Soupers, and πρωτοκαθεδρίαν in the Synagoge, salutatioun in the mercats, and to be called Rabbi. Bot be yie nocht callit Rabbi, for yie have a Maister, καθηγήτης, Chryst; and yie ar all breithring, &c. Let him that is grait amang yow be servant; for whasoever will lift him selff upe salbe cast doun, and he that will demit him selff salbe lift upe.'

"Luc. xxii. 26. 'Ther enterit a contention amang them wha sould be the maist or graittest. But he said unto tham, The Kings of the nations bears rewll over tham, and ar called εὐεργέται, gratius Lords. Bot be yie nocht sa; bot he that is maist amang yow, let him be as least, and he that is the gyd as the servant.'

"Math. xx. 26. 'Bot it sall nocht be sa amangs yow; bot whosoever wilbe grait amangs yow, let him be your servant.'"

To this was answerit, That this quhilk they war about to do, sould nather permit nor mak warldlie pre-eminence nor ambitius stylles.

Argument 9.

"That the souldiour of God sould be involved in the effeares of this lyff, is flat repugnant to the Word of God: But this will involve him: *Ergo*," &c.

"Num. iv. 3. 'From threttie yeir auld, and above unto fiftie yeir, all that is meit to tak on this warfear, to do the wark in the Tabernacle of the Congregation.'

"2 Tim. ii. 3, 4. 'Thow therfor suffer affliction, as a guid souldiour of Jesus Chryst. Na man that warreth intanglit him selff

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with the effears of this lyff: that he may please him wha hes schosin him to be a souldier,'" &c.

Answerit: They sall nocht be involvit, nor sould nocht, be the nature of ther calling.

Argument 10.

"The Magistrat and Civill rewlars pretched nocht the Word, nor ministers Sacraments, nor exerceises spirituall discipline, acknawlaging these things impertinent to thair functioun: *Ergo*, Nather sould the Ministers mak civill lawes, nor judge and rewell conform thairto."

Answer: It was nocht meinit be that voting in Parliament, that the Ministers sould use judicator civill or criminall, or anie part of the Magistrat's office: For that the King was onlie Judge in the Parliament, and the Esteattes gave but thair advys.

Argument 11.

"That quhilk wantes bathe precept and exemple in the Evangels, Actes and Epistles of the Apostles, and in the haill storie and wreittings of the Christian Kirks, till almost aught hounder yeirs efter Chryst, and at what tyme the Papes cam to that schamles usurpatioun of bathe the swords, and sett him selff in that chair of pestilence and pryde, treadding on the neks of emperours and kings, &c., is na wayes to be admitted or sufferit in our Reformed Kirk: Bot sic is this new office of a mixed qualitie: *Ergo*," &c.

For answer to this was broucht furthe exemples of the Auld Testament; Melchizedek, King and Preist; the government of the Kirk in the families of the Patriarches. *Item*, Moses and the Levittes wha war apointed Judges and Interpreters of the law athort the land.

To this replyed: Melchizedik, Moses, nor the Hie Preist, can nocht be exemples for the Evangelicall ministerie, being types of the heid and soveran hiche King and Preist, the Lord Jesus Chryst. Also Moses and Aron war breithring indeid; bot efter Arone's consecratioun buir distinct offices, schawing us that the Ecclesiastic

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and Civill rewlars sould live as breithring, bot everie an to be about thair awin office and calling for uther's mutuall weilfear. As for the government of the families, ther was an uther reasone thairof; then of cities and comoun-weilles, in sa far as he that rewles his familie, rewles bot him selff; bot wha rewles a citie or comoun-welthe, governs manie families; thairfor Arist. 1. Pol. makes an essentiall difference betwix the administration of a republic and familie.

And, finalie, as for the Levittes, they represent na Ecclesiastic Evangelicall office, and concerning those that war apointed שפתים שפים שפרים, called in the Gospell γραμματεις, giff they represented anie office under the Evangell, it was the office of *Doctores*, sa that thairby the Doctors sould be apointed votters in Parliament.

Argument 12.

"The subject of the office of a Minister, and of a civill warldlie office, ar divers and contrar; thairfor an can nocht be occupied in bathe.

"Rom. viii. 5, 6, 7. 'They that ar efter the fleshe savour the things of the fleshe; but they that ar efter the Spreit, the things of the Sprit. The wesdome of the fleche is deathe; but the wisdom of the Sprit is lyff and peace. The wesdome of the fleshe is enemie against God; it is nocht subject to the law of God, nather indeid can be.'

"1 Cor. ii. 12. 'We have nocht receaved the sprit of the warld, but the spreit quhilk is of God, that we may knaw the things that ar giffen to us of God; but the naturall man perceaves nocht the things of the Sprit of God; for they ar folishnes to him. Nather can he knaw tham, for they ar spiritualie decernit.'

"1 Jhon ii. 15, 16. 'Love nocht the warld, nor the things that ar in the warld: Give (if) anie man love the warld, the love of the Father is nocht in him; for all that is in the warld (as the lust of the fleche, the lust of the eis, and the pryd of lyff) is nocht of the Father, but of the warld. And the warld passethe away, and the lust therof, but he that fulfilles the will of God abyds for ever.'"

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It was answerit: That this argument was against warldlie, unchristian, and unsanctified civill offices and actionnes. Replyed: That manie alleagit Christian war mair impius and injust nor the Persian, Grecian, and Roman.

Argument 13.

"The maner of doing of the an is in lyk maner advers to the uther, as is evident of the sam places, and manie uther: *Ergo*," &c.

And heir was pertinentlie used the Apollog of Æsope anent the Colziar and the Wakar;[1] wharof the Colziar desyrit to dwell besyde and with the Waker, alleaging manie commodities that might com to bathe. Bot the Wakar, weill advysit, refused altogidder; "For it is nocht possible," sayes he, "but thy occupatioun will mar myne, for thow makes blak, and I mak whait."[2]

Argument 14.

"Thair end ar also contrar: The Minister's office being to fishe men out of the sie of this warld unto God; quhilk they can nocht giff they ly plunging in the warld tham selves."

Thus said Chryst to his disciples, Piter, Jhone, &c.—"Follow me, and I will mak yow fischars of men."

Argument 15.

"The experience of the Kirk in all ages sen that corruptioun enterit in, and namlie, in our awin age, nocht onlie amangs the Papists, bot in our nibour land of Eingland, and amangs our selves, cleirlie proves, and loudlie cryes, That it is nocht possible that they can stand togidder. Therfor the Quein of Eingland's *dictum* is, when sche makes a Bischope, 'Alas for pitie! for we have marred a guid Preatchour to-day.' And what geppes of gear our Bischopes hes bein in Scotland, and is, the haill cowntrie kennes.

"The experience also of the godlie Pastors teatches tham this, when they have bein bot never sa lytle, and of necessitie occupied

[1] The fable or apologue of the Collier and the *Waulker*, or fuller. [2] White.

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in the warld, whow hard it is to gather tham selves again, and gett the hart sett towards God and thair spirituall dewties and actionnes: Qui ambulat in sole, coloratur; qui tangit picem inquinatur; qui frœquentat aulam et curiam, profanatur. Forum Pontificis Petrum ad Christi abnegationem adegit. Quæ est corporum constitutio, ea est et morum. Circumposito aere calido calescimus, et rursus frigido frigescimus. Sic cum sanctis sanctus eris, cum perversis perverteris.

"Math. vi. 24. 'No man can serve twa maisters; ather sall he hait the an, and love the uther, or cleive to that an, and despyse the uther: Yie can nocht serve God and Mammon.'"

Argument 16.

"Nature and the sam experience hes dyted this axiom and proverbe, 'A office for a man is aneuche;' and, 'Manie yrons in the fyre, sum will cull.' Thairfor, the wyse men in nature, Plato and Aristotle, in thair Republicts, setts down the sam εἰς προς, ἴν, and banisses thairfra δϚελισκολυχνιον and δορυδρηπανον, instruments serving for ma usses at annes, as unprofitable, and that spilles things," &c.

Now, gif in a civill comoun-weill, by the light of nature, *in subjecto homogenio*, a turn and office is aneuche for a man, surlie it is na wayes convenient nor possible, that, *in subjecto heterogenio*, viz., bathe in Kirk and Comoun-weill, a man can bear twa offices.

Argument 17.

"That quhilk hes bein as a pest eschewit, streatlie forbidded be Actes, and stoutlie stand against in publict doctrine, and at all Assemblies, sen the first planting of the sinceritie of the Gospell within this realm, sould nocht now, be perswasioun and moyen of Court, be brought in within the Kirk: Bot sic is this: *Ergo*," &c.

The Actes of our Generall Assemblies forbids a Minister to joyne with his Ministerie the office of a notar, housbandrie, or laboring of land, hostelarrie, &c., under pean of depositioun.

Theod. Beza ad Knoxium, Epist. 79: "Sed et istud (mi Knoxe) te ceterosque fratres velim meminisse, quod jam oculis pene ipsis

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obversatur: sicut Episcopi Papatum pepererunt, ita Pseudo-Episcopos Papatus reliquias, Epicureismum terris invecturos. Hanc pestem caveant qui salvam Ecclesiam cupiunt, et cum illam e Scotia in tempore profligaris, ne quæso illam unquam admittas, quantum vis unitatis retinendæ specie, quæ veteres etiam optimos multos fefellit, blandiatur."

Argument 18.

And Last: The judgment of the Fathers and Doctors of the Kirk, antient and modern, auld and new: Tertullian, Cyrillus, Primasius, Ambros, etc.

Tertull. de Idolat. cap. 18:—"Si potestatem nullam ne in fuos quidem exercuit Christus, quibus sordido ministerio functus est, si Regem se fieri, conscius sui regni refugit, plenissime dedit formam suis dirigendo omni fastigio et suggestu, tam dignitatis quam potestatis. Quis enim magis his usus fuisset quam Dei filius? Quales enim fasces producerent? quale aurum de capite radiaret nisi gloriam sæculi alienam, et sibi et suis judicasset?

"Ideo, quæ noluit rejecit, quæ rejecit damnavit, quæ damnavit in pompa diaboli deputavit."

Cyrillus in Joan. lib. 3, cap. 20:—"Honor et gloria mundi fugienda sunt iis, qui volunt gloriam Dei consequi."

Primasius in 2 Tim. 2:—"Comparatione militum utitur, ut ostendat multo magis, nos a negociis secularibus liberos esse debere ut Christo placeamus, si etiam seculi milites, a reliquis seculi actibus vacant, ut possint Regi suo placere."

Ambros. in Epist. 2 Tim. 2:—"Ecclesiasticus autem idcirco Deo se probat ut huic devotus officium impleat quod spopondit, in Dei rebus sollicitus, a seculari negocio alienus. Non enim convenit unum duplicem habere professionem."

Bernard. de Consider. lib. 2, cap. 4:—"Apostolicis interdicitur dominatus, ergo tu usurpare aude, aut Dominus apostolatum, aut Apostolus dominatum, plane ab utraque prohiberis; si utrumque simul habere voles, perdes utrumque."

Idem.—"Non monstrabunt ubi quisquam Apostolorum aliquando

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judex sederit hominum, aut divisor terminorum, aut distributor terrarum, stetisse denique lego Apostolos judicandos, sedisse judicantes non lego."

Can. Apost. Can. 80:—"Dicimus quod non oportet Episcopum aut Presbyterum, publicis se administrationibus immittere sed vacare, et commodum se exhibere usibus Ecclesiasticis. Animum igitur inducito hoc non facere aut deponitor. Nemo enim potest duobus dominis servire."

Vide *Gregor. lib.* 1, *Epistolarum*, Epist. 5, ad Theotistam, Imperatoris sororem.

Synod. Nicen. Can. Syla. et Constant.—"Nemo clericus vel diaconus vel presbyter propter causam suam quamlibet intret in curiam, quoniam omnis curia a cruore dicta est: Et si quis clericus in curiam introeat, anathema suscipiat, nunquam rediens ad matrem Ecclesiam."

Damasus et Conc. Neocæs. et Antioch. Anno 371:—"Episcopi qui secularibus intenti curis greges chorepiscopis vel curiis commendant videntur mihi meretricibus similes, quæ statim ut pariunt, infantes suos aliis nutricibus tradunt educandos, quo suam citius libidinem explere valeant. Sic et isti infantes suos, in populos sibi commissos aliis educandos tradunt, ut suas libidines expleant, i. pro suo libitu secularibus curis inhibent, et quod unicuique visum fuerit liberius agant. Pro talibus enim animæ negliguntur, oves pereunt, morbi crescunt, hæreses et schismata prodeunt, destruuntur Ecclesiæ, sacerdotes vitiantur, et reliqua mala proveniunt. Non taliter Dominus docuit nec Apostoli instituerunt. Sed ipsi qui curam suscipiunt ipsi peragant, et ipsi proprios manipulos Domino representent. Nam ipse ovem perditam diligenter quæsivit, ipse invenit, ipse propriis humeris reportavit, nosque id ipsum facere perdocuit. Si ipse pro ovibus tantam curam habuit, quid nos miseri ducturi sumus? Qui etiam pro ovibus nobis commissis curam impendere negligimus, et aliis eas educandas tradidimus? Audiant quæso quid Beatus Jacob dixerit socero suo:—'Viginti annos fui tecum; oves tuæ et capre steriles non fuerunt; arietes gregis tui non comedi, nec captum a bestia ostendi tibi, ego damnum omne reddebam, et quidquid furto perierat a me exigebas: die noctuque æstu urgebar et gelu; fugiebat

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somnus ab oculis meis.' Si ergo sic laborat et vigilat qui pascit oves Laban, quanto labori, quantisque vigiliis debet intendere qui pascit oves Dei? Sed in his omnibus nos instruat qui pro ovibus suis dedit animam."

Calvinus in Epist. ad 2 Tim. 2 :—"Semper Pastorem meminisse oportet veteris proverbii, HOC AGE, quod significat ita serio incumbendum esse peragendis sacris, ut studium ejus et intentionem nihil aliud impediat."

P. Martyr, in loc. Com. Clas. 4, cap. 13 :—"Distingui oportet has functiones Civilis et Ecclesiastica, quia utraque earum seorsim totum hominem requirit: imo vix ullus unquam repertus est qui alterutram recte obire posset, adeo est difficilis utraque provincia."

Synodus 4 Carthaginensis :—"Ut Episcopus nullam rei familiaris curam ad se revocet, sed ut lectioni et orationi et verbo prædicationis tantummodo vacat."

Synod. Calcedon. Œcumenica. consessu 15 :—"Ne Episcopi, clerici et monachi rebus se polyticis implicent, aut prædia aliena conducant."

Sexti Uniuers. Synodus Constantinopolita. Can. 80 :—"Episcopis non competere ecclesiasticam et politicam eminentiam. Episcopus aut presbyter aut diaconus, militiæ vacans, et volens utrumque, principatum Romanum et sacerdotalem dignitatem deponitor: Nam quæ Cæsaris sunt Cæsari, et quæ Dei, Deo."

Ex Epistola Concilii Africani ad Papam Celestinum :—"Executores etiam clericos vestros quibusque potentibus nolite mittere, nolite concedere ne fumosum typhum seculi in Ecclesiam Christi quæ lucem simplicitatis et humilitatis diem Deum videre cupientibus præfert videamur inducere."

Synod. Macrensi :—"Nec Rex, pontificis dignitatem, nec Pontifex regiam potestatem sibi usurpare præsumat. Sic actionibus propriis dignitatibusque a Deo distinguntur; ut et Christiani reges pro æterna vita pontificibus indigerent, et pontifices pro temporalium rerum cursu regum dispositionibus uterentur, quatenus spiritualis actio a carnalibus distaret in cursibus, et ideo militans domino minime, se negotiis secularibus implicaret, ac vicissim non ille rebus Divinis presidere vidiretur."

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Synodus Romana, an. 1215:—"Universis clericis interdicimus, ne quis prætextu Ecclesiasticæ libertatis suam de cætero jurisdictionem extendat in præjudicium justiciæ secularis: ut quæ sunt Cæsaris reddantur Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei, Deo."

Bohemi quatuor Articulos Basilienst Synodo proponunt, quorum secundus est:—"De civili domino, quod interdictum clericis Divina lege dicebant."—Gesnerus de Synodis.

Of thir and the lyk places, the Ancients and Neotoriks are full and cleir, when ever they treat of this mater.

Thir Arguments, being sa strang and cleir, could nocht be denyit, thairfor in effect they war all granted; and yit they sought, be all the labor and meanes they could, to gett it past in Assemblie be maniest vottes, "That these Vottars in Parliament sould stand in the persones chosen, *ad vitam*." Bot it was be manie honest and guid Breithring mightelie withstud in open Assemblie, sa that in votting it past against tham, and was concludit *annuatim*.

My uncle, Mr Andro, cam to that Assemblie, but the King called for him and quarrelit him for his coming; wha, efter the auld maner, dischargit his conscience to him with all fredome and zeall; and, going from the King in grait fervencie, said, putting his hand to his crag:[1]—"Sir, tak yow this head, and gar cut it af, gif yie will; yie sall sooner get it, or I betray the cause of Chryst!" And sa he remeanit in the town all the whyll, and furnisit arguments to the Breithring, and mightelie strynthned and incuragit tham.

This yier, in the monethe of August, the fyft day thairof, the Erle of Gowrie, and his brother Mr Alexander, war slean be the King's folks at St Jhonstoun, for a maist hid and horroble conspiracie, intendit be tham to have cut af the King; and, in the monethe of November thairefter, forfaultit in Parliament, &c. [A litle befor, or hard about the day of this accident, the sie[2] at an instant,

[1] Neck, or throat. [2] Sea.

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about a law water, debordet and ran upe abon the sie-mark, hier nor at anie stream-tyd, athort all the cost syde of Fyff; and at an instant reteired again to almaist a law water, to the grait admiratioun of all, and skathe don to sum. About that sam tym, lying in Kinkell, I dreamed my wyff was dead; and, wakning, apprehendit the sam, sa that with grait heavines of hairt, I murned for hir all that day, even after I knew the contrar. And, indeid, thairefter sche was strucken with sic infirmitie, that sche could nocht be a wyff to mie.[1]]

The King immediatlie thairefter send ower the word to the Counsall that was at Edinbruche, commanding the Ministers of Edinbruche to publis the maner in pulpit, and move the peiple to giff thankes with tham to God for the King's preservatioun. The Ministers gladlie aggreit to thank God for the King's delyverance, but to declar and preache the maner, in particular, as a treuthe of God out of pulpit, because the informationes war divers and uncertean, they refusit. This occasioun was gripped at till undo[2] that ministerie, quhilk oftenest and maist crosit[3] the Court in all evill proceidings, and was the graitest auband[4] and terrour to Sessioun, Nobilitie, and all the land, to keipe tham from impietie, injustice, and all wickednes.

The King cam to Edinbruche, whar he was receavit with grait concourse, and past in persone to the mercat cors[5] of Edinbruche, and thair causit his awin Minister, Mr Patrik Galloway, mak a declaratioun of the mater to the peiple, the quhilk the King him selff secoundit and confirmit, to move the peiple to dewtie and thankfulnes. Thairefter satt in Counsall with his ordinarie counsallours, and gave out a sacrilegius sentence against the Ministers of Edinbruche, usurping Chryst and his Kirk's place and authoritie, depositt tham from pretching the Gospell within his countrey for ever; quhilk was a houndreth tymes war nor[6] if be form of civill proces he haid hangit tham; because of the usurpatioun of Chryst's juris-

[1] Note written by the Author on the margin of MS. [2] Was laid hold of to undo. [3] Crossed, thwarted. [4] Restraint. [5] Market-Cross. [6] Worse than.

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dictioun and his Kirk's, wha hes onlie powar to call and depose his servants.

The Dron, the Doungeoun, and the Draught,
Did mak thair cannon of the King,
Syn feirfullie withe us they faught,
And doun to dirt they did us ding.

Thairefter the Commissionars war wrettin for to Falkland, whar the mater was schawin us at lainthe, and ordeanit that the Synodalls sould convein and aggrie anent a form of publict Thanksgiffing, and apoint a certean to convein at Edinbruche in the monethe of October following, to tak ordour with the ministerie of Edinbruche.

[At that tyme, being in Falkland, I saw a funambulus,[1] a Frenchman, play strang and incredible prattiks upon stented takell[2] in the Palace-clos befor the King, Quein, and haill court. This was politiklie done to mitigat the Quein and peiple for Gowrie's slauchter.

[1] A rope-dancer. In the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, (preserved in the General Register House,) in August 1600, the name of the French *funambulist* is thus quaintly given, with a most extravagant reward assigned to him for playing his *pavies* and *sowpill trickis*. The original entry is as follows :—

"*Item*, be command of his Majestie's Precept, to Peter Bramhill, Frenche pavier ; as the said Precept, with his acquittance, producet upoun compt, proportis, iij^{c}xxxiij. ℔i., vj. ℈., viij. ₰." (L.333, 6s. 8d. !) an enormous sum, considering the value of money at that period.

Another still more remarkable instance has been preserved in *Birrel's Diary*, MS., Advocates' Library, where an English mountebank is recorded to have performed wonderful feats of agility and daring in Edinburgh, on 10th July 1598.—"Ane man, sume callit him a juglar, playit sick sowpill trickis upone ane tow, (*rope,*) quhilk wes fesnit betwix the tope of St Geillis' Kirk stipill and ane stair benethe the Croce, callit Josias' Cloise head ; the lyk wes neuir sene in this contrie, as he raid doune the tow and playit sa many pavies on it!" Besides the gratuities which he doubtlessly received from the nobility, gentry, and citizens, the King ordered him a handsome donation, viz. :—"*Item*, be his Hienes' speciall command, to an Inglis sportour that come doun upon ane tow fra the cok of the stepill of Edinburgh, xx. ℔i." (L.20.) And, in the same month, (September 1598,) another payment is made, perhaps, to the same person :—"*Item*, lykwayis to David Weir, (Vere ?) sportour, be command, vj. ℔i., xiij. ℈., iiij. ₰." (L.6, 13s. 4d.)

[2] Stretched rope-tackle.

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Even then was Hendersone[1] tryed befor us, and Gowrie's pedagog, wha haid bein buted.[2]]

At that Synod hauldin at Dumfermling, I, being Moderator, cam from it to the King at Falkland, and schew[3] his Majestie the forme of thanksgiffing concludit. And, using that occasioun, maid humble sutt for my colleg Mr Jhone Dykes; and, God moving the King's hart, obteined libertie to him to glorifie God again, in the exerceis of his ministerie at our awin Kirk.

Bot, being freed from that quhilk was na small exerceis to my mynd, being then resolved to have left Commissionarie, Court, and all that course, I was compelled of conscience to continow with a mair heavie and greivus fascherie, labour, and pean, bathe of mynd and body, for that Ministerie of Edinbruche; for twa of the Breithring being all commandit af the town, cam to my hous, and urgit me to continow in my Commissionarie for thair cause. The King wald have bein at the planting of Edinbruche with uthers. I schew him that could nocht be till the present Ministers war deposit be the Kirk, or be his Civill Judicator justlie cut af, giff sa they haid deservit, for na honest man wald tak thair roumes ower thair heid; and certean I was that nan of the twa could be justlie done: Sa that, of necessitie, they behoved to be reposit in thair awin roumes,[4] or the places to veak;[5] also the peiple of Edinbruche tham selves was a grait helpe, for they stud honestlie affected to thair awin, and wald agrie to nan uther.

The meitting of the Commissionars from all Provinces was at Halyrudhous in October. Ther was lang reasoning and devysing anent the Ministerie of Edinbruche; bot do what the King could, they could nocht gett by that quhilk I haid spoken. Therfor, the King declaring his determinatioun that they sould never come in Edinbruche againe, and the Kirk thinking it hard that that ministerie sould veak, it was thought meit that the cais sould be schawin to the Ministers of Edinbruche tham selves, and sie giff they wald

[1] Andrew Henderson. [2] Put to torture in the boots. See *Pitcairn's* Criminal Trials, ii. 146-237. This paragraph is noted by the Author on the margin of MS.
[3] Shewed. [4] Reponed, or restored to their own situations. [5] Become vacant.

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content of thair awin accord to yeild to transportatioun. For the quhilk purpose, the King and Breithring convenit directed Mr Wilyeam Scot, Jhone Carmichaell, and me, to shaw this mater to the Breithring of Edinbruche, and report thair answer. And when we war absent, the King with his Commissionars, and the Breithring ther conveined, in what form I can nocht tell, nominats and chuses thrie Bischopes, Mr David Lindsay, Bischope of Ros; Mr Piter Blakburn, Bischope of Aberdein; and Mr George Gladsteanes, Bischope of Catnes, apointing tham to vott for the Kirk in the nixt Parliament at the forfaulterie of the Erl of Gowrey, without anie regard had to the Caveates or Conclusioun of the last Generall Assemblie. Wharof we knew na thing till that Convention was dimissit.

M.DC.I.

Sa that mater of the ministerie of Edinbruche keipit me catching heir and ther all that wintar, with grait heavines of hart for the wrak of the libertie of Chryst's Kirk, overthraw of the Sion of his Jerusalem, the Kirk of Edinbruche, and banissing from his native countrey of that maist notable, upright, and halie servant of Chryst, Mr Robert Bruce; till in the spring tyme, at the begining of Apryll, it pleasit my God, in fatherlie cear and affectioun, to delyver me from these publict vexationnes, be leying his hand on my awin persone, and visiting me with peanes and perplexities, of heavie seiknes of body, and grait conflictes of mynd, quhilk his Majestie's guid Sprit and myne only knawes, and sall keipe in secret till it please him to inspyre; sa that these exerceises of my spreit may be publisched to his glorie, and confort of sic consciences as militattes under the standart of Chryst, in the feghting-feilds of this erd and lyff. My seiknes, with the manifald schowres of the vexationnes of mynd, continowed yeir and day; bot he wha uphalds and confortes the contreit and humble, did uphald and confort me, to whom, thairfor, be everlasting praise.—Amen.[1]

[1] "*Memor.*—The Conference of Brintyland, in the monethe of Merche. *Item*, the Synod of St Androis against the Papists, whar Mr Jhone Hamilton was excommuniest: Thairat I taucht upon the Testament of Moses concerning Levi, and pennit Articles and Petitiones, presented tham to the King at Halirudhous, with lytle thanks or effect." Margin of MS.

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In the tyme of my seiknes, the Generall Assemblie, apointed to be hauldin at St Androis, was, be the King's proclamation at Mercat-crosses, commandit to be keipit with him at Brinteyland in the monethe of May. To the quhilk, whowbeit seik and unable, it behoved me to wryt. The quhilk Letter the King tuk out of the Moderator's hand, and sufferit it nocht to be read, but keipit it in his awin poutche,[1] and hes it leyed upe, as I am informed, amangs his privie wryttes as yit; for what purpose tyme will declar. The copie wharof, word be word, I thought thairfor guid to sett down heir:

"TO THE GODLIE FATHERS AND BREITHRING CONVENIT IN THIS PRESENT GENERALL ASSEMBLIE AT BRINTYLAND, MAY 1601, J[AMES] M[ELVILL] WISSETHE GRACE, MERCIE, AND PEACE FROM GOD THROW JESUS CHRYST, WITH THE SPREIT OF FREDOME, UPRIGHTNES, AND FATHFULNES.

"HAVINGE manie wayes a calling to be present with yow at this Assemblie, (godlie Fathers and deir Breithring,) and steyit onlie be infirmitie of body, efter a lang and soar seiknes, I could nocht at least bot communicat my mynd with yow schortlie in wryt. And first, as concerning his Majestie: Sen it hes pleasit God to indew him with sic a rare and singular grace, as to resolve to bestow him selff, his stat, and all that God hes giffen him in possessioun, or tytle, for glorefeing of Chryst, King of Kings, in the meantenance of his Gospell and trew Religioun; and now to put hand to justice against impietie, wrang, and all oppressioun, to kythe[2] in effect the trew and ernest dispositioun of his hart.[3] I think it all our partes to praise God uncessantlie thairfor, and to concur and joyne with his Majestie in our calling to our uttermaist, namlie in steiring upe and moving the harts of his peiple to his reverence and obedience,

[1] Pocket. [2] Manifest. [3] "*Nota*—The King haid maid grait profession and promises anent Relligioun, understanding that the Jesuittes in England war his conjurit enemies; and haid latlie execut justice upon grait personages for oppressioun notablie." The above added by the Author on the margin of MS.

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yea, to bestow thair lives and all that they have with his Hines in that cause, and in all his Majestie's effeares that may serve for the weill thairof. And trewlie they are worthie to be accursed, and nocht bruik the nam of Christian nor Scottes men, bot esteimed enemies to God, Relligioun, and his Hines, that will nocht willinglie yield heirunto, as Deborah cryes, 'Curse Meros! sayeth the angell of the Lord, Curse! because they cam nocht to assist the Lord against the mightie.' I wald wis, thairfor, for this effect, as in the dayes of Asa and Joas, kings of Juda, namlie according to the derectioun of guid Jehoiada the priest, that solemne Covenants and Bands, the Word of God and prayer going befor, war maid betwix God and the King, God and the peiple, and betwix the King and the peiple, beginning in this present Assemblie, and sa going to Provincialles, Presbyteries, and throw everie Congregatioun of this land.

"Nixt, as concerning the Ministerie of Edinbruche, I hald fast that aggreiment of the Breithring conveinet in Brintyland in the monethe of Merche last; and wald beseik[1] the Breithring of the Assemblie till[2] insist with his Majestie, with the reasonnes set down at that Conference, and sic uther as God will furneise, joyning prayer to God, wha hes the King's hart in his hand, wherby his Hines might be brought to yeild thairunto, as a speciall weill, nocht onlie of the Kirk, but of his Majestie's esteat and effeares, (gif God hes giffen me anie eis to sie anie thing in tham.) For by that, that the cheiff blokhous[3] of the Lord's Jerusalem in this land can nocht, in my judgment, be weill fortefied without tham. In my conscience, I knaw nocht braver trompettes to incurage, move, and sett fordwart the peiple to his Majestie's obedience and assistance, when occasioun of his Majestie's wechtiest effears may crave the sam. And trewlie, when I pas throw the formes of proceidings with my selff to spy out what may befall in end, I can nocht sie giff it be weill, bot it wilbe repossessioun; for processes wilbe fund hard; transportatioun full of faschcrie and inconvenients, and in end fect-

[1] Beseech. [2] To. [3] Bulwark, fortification, defence.

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les,[1] wanting contentment; thairfor the best mon be repossessioun, wherunto I pray God his Majestie's hart may be inclyned, as the haill Breitheringes ar, I am sure.

"Bot ther is heir an incident (deir Breither) of graitter importance nor all the rest, wheranent I mon nocht onlie exhort you, bot, in the nam of Chryst, charge and adjure yow, as yie will answer to Him upon your fidelitie in his service, that yie endevour to redres it: This is, that interest quhilk Chryst sustenit be that act and decreit of Counsall, wherby the Ministers of Edinbruche ar deposit from pretching in anie tyme heirefter, because they refusit to pretche and giff thankes as was enjoyned to tham be the said Counsall; the graittest interest that ever Chryst sustenit in this land, for gif he hes nocht soll powar to chuse, call, and depose his awin messingers and ambassadours, he hes na powar at all. His Majestie hes schawin him selff, in my heiring divers tymes, willing that this sould be amendit; bot I feir the decreit stands in the buiks without anie not thairupon. Forgett nocht this, bot remember it as the graittest poinct yie have to do. And let nocht, I humblie beseik, his Majestie and Counsall be miscontent with the bringing of this in heid, for the honour of Chryst, and feir of his just wrathe against sic as say, *Nolumus hunc regnare supra nos*, (Luc. xix. 14, 27,) constranes me; the quhilk I wis to be als far from his Hienes and honourable Counsall, as from my awin hart and saull; bot contrarie wayes, that in the favour, and be the blessing of Chryst, his throne, as the throne of David, may be established and florishe as the palme.

"Now, as to the rest, revise your Caveattes, for corruptioun creipes fast on, and is corroborat be custom; sight[2] the conclusioun of your last Assemblie, and sie giff maters hes proceidit conform thairunto or nocht, giff it may pleise his Majestie to permit thir thinges to be done at this tyme, (quhilk indeid ar maist necessar to be done, utherwayes it is nocht possible to keipe fra corruptioun.) Fordar, the restraining of the fridome of our Generall Assemblies

[1] *Feckless*, wanting might or strength. [2] Examine, narrowly inspect.

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in the ordinar Conventionnes thairof, wald be heavelie compleanit upon and regratit to his Majestie; for, seing we have full powar and expres charge of Chryst, the onlie King of his Kirk, to meit and convein togidder for the government thairof, and hes our ordinarie Conventiones annes[1] in the yeir at least, and ofter *pro re nata*, approven be his Majestie in his lawes and actes of Parliament, (Parl. 1592, Act 1,) wharfor sould our meittings depend on licences, letters, and proclamationes, namlie whill uther esteattes, as of Barrones and Brouches, ar permitted to use ther privilage frelie? Sall the Kirk of Jesus Chryst be les regardit, and restranit in hir fredome and privilage, in a setlit and constitut esteat, under the protectioun of a rare Christian Magistrat? God forbid!

"Finalie, my deir Breithring, charitie and the love of Chryst comands me to mak yow warning be my experience, that in all your speitches yie respect the trew profit of the Kirk, and of his Majestie's esteat joynit thairwith, and nocht present pleasuring. Now, the trew profit is that quhilk hes the warrand in the Law and the Prophetes, whowsoever the reasone of men think of it. We sould be the mouthe of God to all. His law sould be in our lippes, and trew wisdome in our mouthes. Our speitches sould be the speitches and oracles of God. And, as the lawers sayes, It is scham to speak without a law; mikle mair, say we, It is scham befor God and his angeles, and befor the Kirk of God, to the dispensator of the heavinlie mysteries, to speak without Scriptoure and warrand of the Word of God. Tak head to this, utherwayes, when God beginnes to tak yow asyde and racken with yow, and ley on his hand, as I thank his fatherlie affectioun he hes done with me, yie will detest from your hart the facionnes of this warld; the wisdome of fleche and bluid, the exemple and maner of doing of this tyme in speciall; yea, yie will repent and rew[2] that ever yie knew or followed tham.

"In conclusioun, I ley down at your feit my Commissioun, as the pynnour[3] does his burding when he is owerleyed.[4] It hes spendit that wharon my numerous familie sould have bein susteined; it hes

[1] Once. [2] Rue, regret. [3] Carrier, porter. [4] Over-loaded.

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greivit my mynd continualie, and now, in end, it hes brought me in extream danger of my lyff; wharfor I beseik you burding me na mair with it, unles yie wald have my skine. Now, the Lord Jesus, of the sam love that moved him to giff his lyff for his Kirk, govern and keipe the sam fra the pollutionnes of this last age; and mak us, and all the laborars within the sam, ever myndfull of that grait day when he sall com and call us to a compt of our dispensatioun. AMEN. From the bed of my infirmitie, the 12 of May, 1601."

Whowbeit, the King conceallit this Letter, and wald nocht suffer it to be red, yit he followit the advys of the first part thairof, and renewit the Covenant, to the grait confort of all the Kirk at that Assemblie, and ordeanit the sam to be done throwout the land. The King ther, as I hard, maid a confortable confessioun of his sinnes and his fathe; and promesit, maist weghtelie and solemnlie, to abhor all Papistrie, Idolatrie, and Superstitioun, and to live and die in the trew Relligioun wherin he was brought upe, and whilk was pretched and professit within his realme of Scotland presentlie; also to execut justice, and do all dewties of a godlie and Christian King, better then ever befor.

A MEMORIALL EUCHARISTIC AND EUCTIC, EFTER MY SEIKNES, IN THE YEIR 1601.

AMANGS the milliones of Thy mercies, LORD,
Whilks Thow hes heaped on me all my dayes,
This benefit of freche[1] I mon[2] recorde,
To steire me up to thankfulnes alwayes.
For even as Nature dytts,[3] and all men sayes,
He is a wratche unworthie of the light,
Wha is ingrat, and namlie in Thy sight.

[1] Of new. [2] Must. [3] Dictates.

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And first, for to recompt my cearfull case:
I was about the tryall of my lyf,
The quhilk, as I may justlie say, alase!
I fand of everie sin exceiding ryf.[1]
I thank Thy grace, with battell, greiff, and stryf,
But oftentyms ouerwhelm'd, ouercom, and win,
Be Sathan's slight, the wicked warld, and sin.

For whilk I fasted, pray'd, and meditat
Upon the Word full oft and ernestlie:
I did indure the chastisments I gat,
And used my self in godlie companie.
For all this, fra my self I could nocht flie,
But fand a woundrouse force that did withstand,
And oftest sin to have the upperhand.

Then said I, LORD, I sie ther's na remead[2]
For to put end to this offending Thie,
All meanes I use in vean! It's onlie dead[3]
That will releive me of this miserie.
Therfor, O! LORD, gif Thow may pleased bie,
Cut af[4] thir sinfull dayes and tak me hame;
Na graitter gift nor[5] this I can acclame.

Thus, efter praer, I panset[6] a whyle on deathe,
And thoucht it passing sweit to think upone,
Till I perceaved an altering in my breathe,
With schuddring cauld and ganting;[7] then anone
I hasted hame, because I was alone,
And cal'd for chamber, fyre, and bead fra hand,[8]
And skarslie now upon my feit might stand.

[1] Very plentiful. [2] Remedy. [3] Death. [4] Off. [5] Than. [6] Thought, pondered on. Fr. *penser*. [7] With cold shivering and yawning. [8] Bed, immediately.

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I went to bead, and on my bouk atteans,[1]
A crewall fiver[2] ther upon me seas'd,
Wilk brunt upon my fleche, my bluid and beans;[3]
That I supposed now it haid Thie pleas'd
Of all my troubles me for till have eas'd,
Be sending deathe, the messinger of grace,
To tak mie hame unto my resting place!

This message, whill I gladlie did abyde,
Concluding with my self assuredlie,
Be grait incressing searnes[4] in my syde,
In my conceat it was a pleurasie;[5]
And sa indeid it kythe[6] at last to bie,
And past sum critik dayes withoutin cure;
Whilk maid me think my deathe wes fellon sure.[7]

I thank Thy grace a houndreth thowsand syse,[8]
I was resolv'd and hartlie weill content;
Yit, lest the meanes of lyff I sould dispyse,
They for the Doctor and Chirurgian sent;
Thow lukked sa,[9] they cam incontinent,
And cairfullie on mie they did thair cure,
Bot O! that whyll what pean did I indure!

O pean! the ghen,[10] the torment, and the rak,
Whow sear[11] art thow to sillie fleche and blude!
Whow vexes thow the head, the hart and bak!
But pruff thy preass can nocht be understude.[12]
Whils on thow raisches with thy schowrs sa rude,
Ther is na reste in bodie nor in mynd,
Nor nought can please the pitifullie pynd.[13]

[1] On my whole frame at once. [2] Fever. [3] Bones. [4] Soreness, feeling of pain. [5] Fever of the pleura. [6] Proved, turned out. [7] Very certain. [8] Times fold. [9] Caused it so to befall. [10] The rack or torture; from O. Fr. *Gehenne*, Lat. *Gehenna*. [11] Sore, painful. [12] Without experience, thy pressure cannot be understood. [13] Subjected to lingering pain.

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I thought it sweit with deirest deathe to ludge,
Yit felt the passage peanfull, soure, and hard,
I wald have fean bein at my last refuge,
Bot pean and searnes stirring me debar'd.
I lyked nocht for to reteire sa nar'd,[1]
Bot all men's love to live did me allure,
And murning flock, wherof I had the cure.

For frinds and flock for me did fast and pray,
The pyn'de, the weidow, and the fatherles
Did cry on Thie, and sobbing sear did say,
"Delyver, Lord, our helper from distres!"
(Bot I, alas! my God, unworthie was,
For I am nought, and Thow art all in mie,
To whom perteines all praise æternalie.)

Thus Thow did move thair hart, and hard thair praer,
And blest the meanes was used to mak mie heall;[2]
My seiknes ceased daylie mair and mair,
Till now all force of fiver clein did feall.[3]
Bot efter in my hand began to beall[4]
A crewall catarh, working mikle wa,
Bathe mynd and bodie was tormentit sa.

My mynd was vex't with strange imaginations,
My bodie haill tormented was with pean,
Whilk did aryse of sympathetic passions,
And na remead in man did now remean.
Then I on Thie, my God, to call was fean,
And maid my prayer in sa ern'st a ways
As I hope to remember all my days.

To memorie I cal'd quhilk I had taught,
And meditat into my mynd full oft;

[1] Narrowed, straitened. [2] Whole. [3] All symptoms of fever abated
[4] Suppurate. This appears to have been an inveterate kind of boil in the hand.

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"(God's Word beleive, when ever it's teatch'd we aught,
Bot then it's best, when it is deirest coft![1]
We all in ease ar lothsome, weak, and soft;
Bot when the cross maks fleche to feill the neid,
Then is the Word right stedable indeid!")

The speciall poinct was, whow the Lord susteins
His awin in tym of thair maist sharpe tentations?
Withe pitie grait, and mercie he tham meins,
Induring thair extremitie and passions.
Syn, efter pruff and tryall of vexations,
He tham releives, and gives tham rest in end,
With graitter pleasure nor ever they war pen'd.

The praer was ithe,[2] the practise verie hard,
For to beleive and weat[3] withe patience,
Sic greivous pean tormented me, and mard
That I could skarslie keip me but[4] offence,
Till neir dispearing, void of confidence,
Thow turn'd Thy face, and gave a pleasand blink,[5]
Quhilk pers't my hart, and deiplie ther did sink.

Me thoucht I saw Thyne eis with mortall sight;
But weill I wat I felt th' effect indeid,
For wha had said, "to pass an uther night
Thow sall have strainthe," I wald have thought they leid.[6]
And yit that luik began atteans[7] to breid
Sic courage, confort, strynthe, and patience,
As I have ever to praise Thyne excellence.

As Sydrak, Misak,[8] and Abednego,
Ley in the flaming furnace frie of harme,

[1] Bought. [2] Constant, steady. This is the same word with *eident, ithind,* and *ythan.* [3] Wait. [4] Without. [5] Look, glance. [6] Lied. [7] At once. [8] Shadrach, Meshech.

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Sa fullie was I fenc'd against my fo;
That thouche as fyre, sa birning was myn arme,
I lut it ly,[1] as it had bein bot warme;
And full sax dayes indurit patientlie,
Till Thow at last with joy releived mie.

Let anie judge whow grait my pean could bie:
When fourtie dayes ar fullie past and spent,
And yit the mater rinnes aboundantlie
Out of my hand, and litle does relent;
All praise to God wha mad me patient,
Wha weill will cure this, and all uther wonde,
That I for ever his benefits may sounde!

And, to confes the treuthe unto his glore,
I find ten fauld of joy and pleasure sweit;
Mair then my seiknes and my pean before,
Bathe in my bodie, and in to my spreit.
LORD, put in mie thouchts, words and warks that's meit,
To be a lasting sacrifice to Thie,
Of thankfulnes, even to the day I die!

LORD, mak this lyff, be seiknes sa perseu'd,
And keep by Thie, still serve unto Thy glore;
LORD, mak this lyff, that's sa be Thie reneue'd
A new lyff, for to praise Thie more and more;
LORD, let the ritches of Thy mercies store,
Thus in sic plentie powred upon mie,
Be to Thy praise and glore æternalie!

And sen from hopped herbrie[2] I mon[3] now
Lainche furthe again into the stormie sies;

[1] I suffered it to lie. [2] From the wished-for haven. [3] Must.

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I humblie pray Thie, LORD, Thyne eare to bow,
And grant to me as Thow kens best agries,
  Me to preserve in all difficulties:
And cause mie syne aryve in to that port,
Whar Thy redeimed maks ther best resort

Thy frie and constant Spreit, O LORD, therefore,
Foir Jesus' seak, whom Thou'rt weill content,
Set in my saull: that dewlie till adore
Thie God, in Chryst, by Him I may be bent,
  To surlie trust, and rightlie to repent
To rin my course, and ply my voyage out,
Till I be saved and past all kynd of dout.

And, namlie, sen the quarrell of Thy CHRYST,
Within this Land, requyrs a dewtie
Of doing, suffring, manie turn and tryst,
Myn instant saull beseiks uncessantlie,
  First, what Thow will, that I may planlie sie,
Syn to be stout, withe readie upright hart,
Amangs the rest to play an honest part!

FINIS.

Merch, 1602.

I.

QUATORZAIN.

SKARSE fra my right syd past the pitius pean
  Of pungent Pleuresie, when Catarha
Maist curstlie kyth hir force to have me slean,
  Syn soone cam on this crewall Colica.

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In this respect amangs tham warst of a',
Because she setles sa in my left syd,
That moneths ten can nocht hir weare awa,
Bot stikand still she stubbornlie does byd.
And namlie when I think I may confyd
Sa in my helthe, that I may do my turns,
Sic greivus gripps she maks me till abyd,
Of seiknes seare, that all wha sies me murns.
But, Lord, sen they ar pledges of Thy Love,
Draw me be tham to CHRYST in heaven above!

I.

DIXAIN.

LYKAS the raging tempests in the sie
Does crose the course of merchants, in sic sort
That they ar fean to yeild, and let it bie,
And cast about, and seik the neirast port;
Sa when I'm set my peiple to confort,
And for my saulles ease to serve my God,
This crewall Colic gives me battell mort,
And dings me dead when I wald be abrod.
But sen sic stormes ar send from God alone,
LORD, grant contentment, "Let thy will be done!"

AMEN.

END OF THE DIARY.

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A

TRUE NARRATIOUNE

OF

THE DECLYNEING AIGE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

FROM M.D.XCVI. TO M.DC.X.

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF

MR JAMES MELVILL'S DIARY.

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A TRUE NARRATIOUNE

OF THE

DECLYNEING AIGE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

THE CHURCH UNIVERSALL is likened unto a birthfull mother, and the Particular Churche unto the daughter of the samyne; of the quhilk the birth, growth, and declyneing is the matter of Ecclesiasticall Histories. Our Kirke of Scotland being one of thaise, and I about to wrytt the Historie thairof, I doe most humbly besiche God hir Father, and Jesus Chryst hir spouse, the onlie wisdome and verity, that I may doe the same wysely and truely; suppressing nothing of the truth that is materiall, and expressing nothing that sall nocht be neidfull for His glory, and the good and true informatioun of the posteritie: Protesting befoir His dreidfull Majestie, in all submissioun, humilitie, and sinceritie, that what I doe is from the uprycht intention of my heart, without wavereing to the rycht or left hand, for feir or favour of oney, saife Jesus Christ above all; quhose caus to furder or advance with any leies quhatsumevir, I doe account it a detestable and sacriligious boldness!

The aige of THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, since scho wes brought out of the darkness of Paperie to the Reformation begun in Scotland, the

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clear light of the Gospell, has been now sa perfect jubilee of sevin sevine[1] yeares, from the yeir of hir Lord's incarnation 1560, unto this present year 1610.[2] The infancie quhairof wes admirable, the growth to hir full perfectioun was incomparabill in any kingdome; and so this doolfull decay, in this almaist dying aige, most pitifull and most lamentabill. Her infancie, most happie in almost blessed tyme, hath been most excellentlie, boith for truth and stylle, committed to wrytt. Her perfectioun, just according to the paterne schawin by God to the Prophettis and Apostelles upon the Montaines of Sinay and Sion: In doctrine and discipline, without any mixture from Babylon, or that city sett on seven hills,[3] or from the policie of man's braine, hath bein, for sinceritie, truth, and libertie, thaise mony yeires, of all Kirks, in all the kingdoms of Europe, with admiration beholding and looking upon; faire as the morneing, cleir as the mone, pure as the soone in the eyes of hir freinds, and dreidfull as ane armie feghting[4] under ane banner, to all hir enimies! And, now, necessitie is laid upon me, with sorrowfull heart and drouping eyes, to sett doun the declyneing aige thereof,[5] which took the sensibill begining at that Evill Synod, the sevintein day of December, in the yeir of our Lord 1596; and haith continewit, from evill to worse, unto this present yeir, 1610; as the true Narratioun subsequent sall mak manifest.

M.D.XCVI.

The Kirk of Scotland having obteined not only hir Doctrine, bot hir Discipline and Governement, confirmed, ratified, and approven by the King's Majestie and quholl Estaites of the realme; first, severalie, by subscribeing and sweireing to his Majestie's Confessioune of Faith tuo dyverse tymes, viz., in the yeir 1581, and in the yeir

[1] Seven times seven years complete. [2] "This History written in 1610."—*Note* on Margin of Advocates' MS. Rob. III., 2, 12. [3] Rome, the mystical Babylon. [4] "Marching" in the other MSS. [5] "Handles only the Declining State of the Church, from the year 1596."—Margin of Adv. MS. Rob. III., 2, 12.

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1590; and thairefter by the Estates, solemnelie assembled in Parliament, haldin in Edinburgh in the moneth of June in the yeir 1592; and by the frie and powerfull walding of the tuo-edgit Romphaia,[1] put in the mouth of hir Ministers, and force of the bands of discipline joyned therwith; and, namely, in hir Generall Assemblies and Presbyteries, scho had gotten the Apostate Earles, Huntlie, Angus, and Arroll,[2] with the heidis of that Papiste factioune expelled the realme, 1594; and that most speciallie, for that forraine, unnaturall, and treasonabill conspiracy with the Spainyairds, scho did beginne, with true thankfullnes, seriouslie to seike God and the obedience to the haill will of Christ, hir spouse, according to the perfect lawis and ordinances of his kingdome, now fully establischit: And, first, at the Generall Assembly holdine at Edinburgh, in the moneth of Marche 1596, scho tryed exactlie hir haill memberes; searcheing out the corruptioune of all estaites, ordoures, and offices; preisching to abolishe and wasch them away by the fire and wattir of the blood[3] and Spirit of God; and, for that effect, had the doctrine daylie sounding mychtilie, with humiliatioune, fasting, and prayer, confessing hir sinnes, and calling for mercie and grace to amend; and sua reneweing and binding upe the Covenant maid to God in Jesus Christ.[4]

The Excercise beginning in the Generall Assemblies passeth by directioune thereoff to all the Provinciall Presbyteries and particular Sessiounes and Paroches of the realme, and was cairfullie keiped dureing the sommer and harvest sessioune thairefter, to the gryt joy, comfort, and edificatioune of all such as feired God and loved the Lord Jesus Christ; and I am certaine, by the experience found in my selff and maney others present in thaise meittinges, that the Assemblies of the saintes in Scotland wes nevir more beautifull and gloriouse by the manifold and mightie graces of the presence of the Holy Spirit; and sua nevir moir acceptabill to the

[1] The reading of this passage in the two Advocates' MSS. is as follows: "And by the free and powerfull pleading of the High God." [2] Adv. MSS. incorrectly read "Atholl." The Earl of Errol is the person alluded to. [3] Adv. MSS. "Word." [4] Adv. MSS. "Maid againe with God and Christ Jesus."

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Lord and Heid, and profitabill to everie one of hir true members, nor wes at thaise times; as the deductioune of the particular actiounes extant in the Buikes and stories of thaise Assemblies will testifie to the posteritie.

Thaise indeavores so enraged the Papistes and politictes,[1] that thei searched out all the cellars of Acheron, and in verie deid raised the very devill for the disturbance thairoff. The Papistes proving that thair wes na being for him in Scotland, iff that course schould continue, the politictis, feiring their craft and tread schould be undone, quhilk is to use indifferently all men and meines to effectuate their proffectes, and set thame selffes upe, and it were in the throne of Christ him selff: So, in the monethe of Auguste the King was movit in the Counsell at Falkland to decerne the recaveing haim the excommunicated and forfalted traitoures, apostat Earles, then to make choise of eight persounes,[2] viz.: Alexander Seaton, Prior of Pluscarty,[3] Walter Stewart, Prior of Blantyre, Mr John Lindsay, Mr Thomas Hamiltone, Mr James Elphinstone, Mr John Skeene, Mr David Carnigy, and Mr Peter Young of Seton, quhairof the chieffe were much suspected of Papistrie, called OCTAVIANS, quho schould have the chieffe matters and effaires of the Kingdome haillie concredited[4] to them; and thairwithall the Countesse of Huntly, ane professed obstinat Papist, to be resident at the Court, and haiff the governement of the Queine's persoune, or cheife attendance and caire upon hir. These things effectuat in the moneth of October.

The Commissionaris of the Generall Assembly, being put in just feir, wer moved to meit together at Edinburgh, in the monethe of October; quhair they resolved to abide and continue till they had usit all meines that lay in them for preventing of so dangerous attempts to the Kirk, and estait of all the realme, not omitting daylie to deille with the Kinges Majestie and Counsell annent these proceedings, and making the doctrine from pulpits stranglie to sownd

[1] Politicians. [2] University MS. reads, "And therfoir called 'The Octaviannes,'"—but does not give their names. [3] Pluscardine. [4] Entrusted.

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against thame, that no privie dealing nor[1] admonitioun could take place for staying thairof.

In the mean tyme, Mr David Blak, a faithfull watchman in the ministerie at Sanct Androes, made for warneing to the peiple, in ane sermone of his, from the pulpit at St Androes; for the quhilk, without any complaint of him maid aither to the Sessioune or Presbyterie, or to the Commissionares of the Generall Assemblie, he was summond at ane certaine day to compear before the King and Counselle, at Edinburgh, quhair the Commissionares of the Generall Assemblie being sitting, he advysethe with him self and tham quhat to doe; and be the commoune advyse, and consent, and counsell of the haill Ministerie that conveined with the said Commissionares, he was moved to give in a Declynatour, in wryt, subscrived by the hands of all, schawing, by maney invincibill reassouns out of the Word of God, that the King and Counsell could not be Judges to the Ministeris of God their doctrine utterit from pulpit, *in prima instantia.* A coppie of the quhilk Declinature, for the mair weght and strenth, wes with all dilligence sent by the Commissionaris of the Generall Kirk to everie Presbyterie [and] through every Province of the realme, and returnit againe to them subscribed by the hands of every severall Minister in Scotland; with humble and earnest exhortatioun to his Majestie's Counsell to use the ordour prescryved by the Word of God, constitutiounes of the Kirk, and established by the lawis and practise of the realme. The tennor of this Declinature[2] followis:

[1] "Dreiding or." University MS. [2] This very important paper is omitted in both of the MSS. belonging to the Advocates' Library. It has, however, been preserved in the University MS., and has also been printed in Calderwood's Hist. fol. edit., pp. 353, *et seq.*

It may be remarked here, that very few of the Original Papers have been preserved in the two transcripts belonging to the Faculty of Advocates, both of which have been very carelessly copied; but it is satisfactory, that by a collation of the three MSS. a pretty correct text has now been adjusted.—*Editor.*

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THE DECLYNATOUR OF THE KING AND COUNSELLE'S JUDGMENT IN MATTERES SPIRITUALL, NAMELY, PREICHING OF THE WORD, GIVIN IN TO THE SAME, ATT HALIRUDHOUSE, BE MR DAVID BLAK, MINISTER AT SAINCT ANDROES, IN HIS AWIN NAME, AND IN NAME OF HIS BRETHEREIN OF THE MINISTRIE, THE AUGHTEIN DAY OF NOVEMBER 1596.

Decretal. Lib. 5, cap. 5.

Quod latenter aut per vim vel alias illicite introductum est nulla stabilitate debet persistere.

Calvinus Farello.

Expecti sumus quam difficile sit eos moderari quæ viam sapientiæ opinione desipuunt pariendo tandem eluctabimur interea gemmamus ferentes quæ corrigere non licet.

"UNTO your Majestie and Lordis of Secrete Counsell, in all reverence in Christ, humblie meines,[1] I Mr David Blak, Minister of the Evangell at Sainct Androis, That quhair I am chargit be your Highnes' Letteris to compeir and answer for certain unrevereand, unfamous, and undecent speiches, alledgit be me utterit in some of my sermones maid in publict, in the Kirk of St Androis, in the monethe of October last bypast, 1596; as at more length is conteined in the said Letteris: Quhairin, albeit the conscience of my innocencie uphaldis me sufficientlie againes quhatsumever calumnies of men, and that I am readie, by the assistance and grace of my God, to give ane Confessioune, and [stand] to the defence of everie point of the treuthe of [my] God, utterit be me in the said sermones, aither in the opining up of his Word, or application thairof, befoir your Majestie or Councel, or quhatsumevir persoun or persounes that upon any lawfull cause will craiffe ane account of that houpe that

[1] Complains.

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is in me, in quhatsumevir place or maner, so far as salbe requisit for cleiring and maintinance of the treuthe and of my ministerie, and may be done without the prejudice of that libertie quhilk the Lord Jesus hes given and establischit in the spirituall Office-bearreris of his kingdom: Yet, sieing I am brought at this time to stand befoir your Majestie and Counseil [as a Judge] set to cognosce and decerne upon my doctrine, quhairthrow my answering to the pretendit accusatioune might import with the manifest prejudies of the liberties of the Kirk, and acknowledgement also of your Majestie's jurisdictioun in matteres that ar meir spirituall, quha mycht move your Majestie to attempt further in the spirituall government of the House off God, to the provocatioune of his holie[1] displeasure againes your Majestie; and in end, ather a plain subverting of the said Spirituall Judicature, or at least a confounding thairof with the civil, if at oney time prophain and ambitiouse Magistrats mycht by such dangerous beginninges finde the hedge brokine [downe] to mak a violent irruptioune[2] upon the Lord's inheritance, quhilk the Lord forbid! Thairfor, I am movid with[3] all humilitie and submissioune of mynd, to use a Declinatour of this judgment, at the least, *in prima instantia;* quhilk I beseik your Majestie earnestlie to consider of and accept. According to justice: For the REASSOUNES following.

"*First,* The Lord Jesus, the God of ordour, not of confusion, as apperis evidently in all the Kirkes of his Sainctis, and of quhom onlie I haiff [the grace of my] calling, as his ambassadour, albeit moste unworthie of that calling and honour to beir his Name amonges his saincts, he hes given me his Word, and no law or traditioune of men, as the only instructiounes quhairby I schould rewle the hail actiounes of my calling, preiching of the Word, administratioune of the Sacramentes[4] thairof, and excerceise of Discipline; and in the discharge of his commissioune I cannot fall in the reverence of any civill law of man; but in sua far as I salbe found to[5] pas the com-

[1] Cald. Hist. "Hote." [2] Univ. MS. "Corruptioune." [3] Cald. Hist. "Constrained us." [4] Cald. Hist. "Seales." [5] Cald. Hist. "Have passed."

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passe of my instructiounes, quhilk can not be judgit, according to the order estabilischit by that God of ordour, bot be his prophetes, quhoise lypes he hes oppined, and appoynted to be the keipers of his heavenlie wisdome, and to quhilk he has subjected the spiritis of the propheitis. And now, sieing it is the preiching of the Word quhairoff I am accusit, quhilk is a principall poynt of my calling, of necessitie it must be that the propheitis first cleir[1] quhither I haiff keipit the boundis of my directiounes befoir I cum to be judgit be your Majestie's power[2] for my offence.

" *Secondly*, Because the Libertie of the Kirke and haill Discipline thereof, according as the same has bein and is presently excerceised within the boundis of your Majestie's realme, hes bein confirmed by diverse actis of parliament, and approved by the Confessioune of Faith, be the subscriptiounnes and oathes of your Majestie, your Majestie's Estaites, and haill bodie of the contrie, and peceablie brooked be the Office-beirares of the Kirke in all poyntes; and namely, in the foresaid poynt annent the Judicatorie of the preiching of the Word, *in prima instantia;* as the practeis of diverse lait exemples evidentlie will schaw. Thairfoir, the questioune annent my preiching aught, first, according to the groundis and practise foirsaid, be judgit be the Ecclesiasticall Senat, as the competent Judge thairof, *in prima instantia.*

" In respect quhairoff, and for diverse other weightie causses and consideratiounes, namelie, for eschewing the gryt and dangerous inconveniences that myght both fall out to the Religioune and to your Majestie's awin Estaite by the appeirance of distractioune of your Majestie's affection from the Ministrie and good cause of God in their hands, to the greiff of your Majestie's best subjectes, and to the encouragment of the adversaries, boith of your Majestie's Estate and Religioun. Thairfoir, I most humblie beseche your Majestie, in name of my Breitherein the Commissionaris of the Generall Assemblie, and the remanent of the Breitherein of the Ministerie, quho, for testifieing of thair earnest affectioune and allowance of the pre-

[1] Cald. Hist. " Must first declair." [2] " Of your Majestie's lawes." Cald. Hist.

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misses, hes subscryved thir presents with their handis, that your Majestie, in this action, would manifest your earnest cair to mentein that libertie quhilk the Church of Christ within the countrie, for the confort of his saintis, with so gryt blessing enjoyed, since the Gospell was first revealed in this land, wherethrough the godlie may be comforted, the adversaris frustrated of their expectatioune, and your Majestie truly honoured, in honouring the Lord Jesus."

This moved the King and Counsell so, that by oppin proclamatioune, conteineing a most scandalous narratioune against the Ministers of the Kirk and their proceidinges, the Commissionaris of the Generall Assemblie wer commandit to avoid[1] the toune, and goe home to thair places, within aught and fourtie houres. The quhilk commandement, efter they had directed lettres to all the Presbyteries of the land concerneing thair proceedinges, and the cause of thair departour, they humbly obeyed; the coppie of the charge followes:

[CHARGE AGAINST THE MINISTERS, &c.]

"JAMES, be the grace of God, King of Scotis, To . . . . . Messengers, our Shereffis in that pairt, conjunctlie and severallie, speciallie constitut, greiting: Forsomeikle as we, with consent of our thrie estaitis of our parliament, in the yeire of God 1584, undirstanding that gryt inconvenience and harme has fallin in our realme throw the wicked and licentious privat and publict speiches of untrue calumneis of diverse his subjects, to the disdain and contempt of our Consell and proceidinges, and to the dishonour of us, our parantis, and progenitouris, and estaite; steiring upe of our subjectes thairby to mislyking, seditioune, unquyetnes, and to cast off all thair due obedience to us, to thair awin evident perrell, tinsell,[2] and distructioune, we alwayis concurring in love and clemencie towardis

[1] Retire from.

[2] Loss.

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our subjectes, and maist willing to seike thair saifetie and preservatioune: Thairfoir, it wes then statuted and ordained be us and our estaites of parliament, that non of our subjectes, of quhatsumever functioune, or degrie or qualities, in tyme comeing, schould presume nor tak upon hand, privatlie or publiclie, in sermones, declamatiounes, or familiar conferences, to utir any slanderous speiches to the disdain, contempt, and reproche of us, our Conseles and proceidinges, or to the dishonour, hurt, and prejudice of us, our parentes and progenitouris, to meddell with the effaires of us and our estait, present, bygaine, or to come, under the paines conteined in our actes of parliament, againes the mockers and tellers of lies betuix us and our subjectes, quhilk is the pain of death; certifieing thame that sould be found contraveineres thairoff, or that heires sick slanderous speiches, and repeitis not the same with dilligence, the same salbe execute againes thame with all rigor, in example of utheris; as in the aught parliament foirsaid, 1584 yeiris, at lenth is contained; in the quhilk also, be ane uther act, our royall power above all estaites, boith spirituall and temporall, wes estabillischit; and thairfoir, it wes ordained, that no persoune, functioune, or degree, spirituall or temporall, schould declyne our judgment in any materes of seditioune or of treassoune, or of uthiris civill or criminall causses, or in any contumelious, seditious, or tressonable speiches uttired be thame in pulpites or scoolis, or uthirwayes, to the disdaine, reproch, and contemp of us, our Counsell and proceidinges, undir the pain of tressoune, as the said uther act at mair lenth is conteined: And by reassoune the said wickit and licentious forme of speiches, publict in sermones and pulpites, and meddling with the estait daylie increasses, be impugninge of loveabill actes of parliament, Counsell, and proclamatiounes following thairupoune, with our loveabill decreitis in civill materes givin with advyse of our Nobilitie and Counsell, royall power and auctoritie, in all civill and criminalle matteres of seditioune and treassoune, being brought in doubt and quæstioune, as thought we wer not Judge to any speiches, of quhatsumevir qualitie, uterit in pulpit, or that the said place for utiring

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of God's Word, in truth and in veritie, schould be a girthe[1] and immunitie to false, seditious, and tressonabill words, and a caus of declyneing of our Judgement thairin; as also the samyn is most negligentlie sufferit be the auditouris thairof; testifyeing thairby, in a maner, they consent, specialie be the Magistrates and men of power to quhom the executioune of all guid lawis, and maintenance of our auctoritie properlie perteines: Thairfoir, it is statute and ordained, that ilk Schereff, Stewart, Bailies of our Regalities, Provest, Baillies and Counsellis within Burghes, Nobill men, Barrounes, and Gentil men of power to landwart, and ilk ane of thame, conjunctlie and severallie, quho sall be present auditores and hereres of any sic false and seditious, or treasonabill speiches foirsaids, *respective*, and sall not apprehend, keip, and detein the heireres thairof, quho sall suffir the utirer to speik publictlie any mair within the bounds and jurisdictioune foirsaid: And that lettres be directed be us, at our Advocattis instance, chairging the said Bailies, Stewartis, &c., ilk ane of thame *respective*, to put our said act of parliament, and this our present act, to dew executioune, undir the pain foirsaidis, within aught and fortie houris eftir ilk ane of thame be chargit thairto, undir the paine of rebellioune; and if they failie, to denunce, &c.: And that the tryall thairof sall come in maist summarlie, suspensioune, by way of supplicatioune and chairge to ane messinger, to summond the said Advocate the morne efter the chairge be obteinit be the pairtie chairgit, and to be desyeit severallie before us and our Counsell, in caice the pairtie chargeit deny all bygane contraventioune, and offir to find cautioune undir gryte sowmes, in caice he haiff bein found to haiff contraveinit, and for obedience in tyme comeing; but[2] prejudice alwayis of our richt and power to seike furder paines, sike as paine of lyffe, landis and guidis, competent to us againes the not reveillares of lyes, seditioune, and treassoun, according to the qualitie of the said speiches *respective*, quhilk salbe publictlie utterit, and not stoppite and reveillit[3] be the persounes foirsaid, heireres thairoff, conforme to the auld loveabill lawis and consuetud

[1] Sanctuary. [2] Without. [3] Stopped and revealed.

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of our realme, in pursuite of seditiounes and treassounabill persounes. Our Will is, &c.: Mak publicatioune heiroff."

The second Declinatoure of the King and Counsales Judicatour in matteris spirituall, namely, of the preiching of the Word, gevin to the samyne att Edinbruche, the 30th of November, by Mr David Blacke, in his awin name and of the haill Ministerie, quho had everie ane in their awin persounes subscryved the formere.[1]

The next sermone day, quhilk was the 17 day of December, advertisement comes to the Breither in the morneing, that about ane hundreth of the best professouris of the burgesses of the towne of Edinburgh were commandit to warde, out of the towne; [and the favourers of the Papist Earles, their servants, and friends, and clyents, were flocking to the toune, and gathering together therein.[2]] The Watchemen,[3] as duetie required, maid wairneing, and after the sermone requeist the Nobill men [and Gentlemen[4]] that wer present, in the name of Christ, to meit there immediatly in the West Kirk,[5] thair to advyse quhat were meittest to be done for preventing Popische attempts. The haill number gathered and convenit thought it maist fitt that a guid number of the best that were thair schould be directed to the Kingis Majestie and Counsell, presently sitting in the commoune Judgment-place, thair to complein humblie and heavilie of the dischairging of the Commissionaris of the Generall Assemblie, and of the trubleing of so mony honnest men without a causs, and of the libertie and freedome granted to excommunicat tratour Papists.

Traitors, whill as these wer attending his Majestie's answer, and the rest of the Nobill men and Gentill men abyding togider in the Kirk, and waiting for his Majestie's pleasoure, out comes ane with a gryt fray, and sayis, "The Papistis ar in armes to tak the towne, and to cutt all your throattis!" Quhairat the Nobill and Gentill

[1] This document is contained in the Univ. MS., but omitted in the others. It is to be found in Cald. Hist. folio edition, pp. 346-348. [2] Omitted in Univ. MS. [3] The Ministers of Edinburgh. [4] Note in Univ. MS. [5] The parish Church of St Cuthbert's, without the walls of the city. Univ. MS. reads, "in the nixt Kirk."

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men, with gryt feir and haste, arose. The tumult raissit, all the towne gois to armes, and coming togidder to the commone streit and mercat-place; but within les space nor ane houre of time, by the Ministers of Edinburgh thair travell, runneing amongis thair awin people, and forbiding thame, the tumult wes stayit without any hurt or harme to any man. His Majestie by all wes most reverentlie convoyit from the place of Judgment downe to the Palace off Halirudhouse; quhair, at aftirnoone, the Nobill and Gentill men directed to complaine were attending ane answer, by ane messenger sent by the King and Counsell wer commandit to depart forth of the towne, and to goe home, within so many houris, to thair places, under the paine of tressoun. The tumult is declairit to be seditious and treasonabill, and the Ministers of Edinbruche the cheif autouris thairoff; the burgesses of the towne, the committeres and all pairt-takeres of quhatsumevir place or ranke, guiltie.

The King with his Counsell makes haist from of Edinbruche to Lynlythgow, and thairfra, 20 December 1596, directs chairges to the Proveist and Baillies of Edinbruche to apprehend thair four (five) Ministeres, [viz., Masters Robert Bruce, Walter Balcanquall, William Watsone, James Balfour, and Michael Cranstoune,[1]] and put thame in stronge and closse prissoun to abyd thair tryalls. The Ministers after advyse with the chief and wysest of thair flockes, thought best to ceid[2] and give place to the present furie, and reserve thame selffis alyve to a better tyme; mainly tendering his Majestie's estait, leist he schould be seduced by wicked men and Counsell to doe that quhilk too lait mycht be repented; and sua, eftir the Apologie sett doune in wrytt, they withdrew tham selves secreitlie, and lurkit by the space of half ane yeare. The tennor of which Appologie followeth:[3]

[1] The names of the five Ministers of Edinburgh are not inserted in Univ. MS. [2] Adv. MSS. "To flie." [3] The reader is here referred to the note on p. 522 of this work.

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ANE HUMBILL SUPPLICATIOUNE APOLOGICALL, AND FAITHFULL ADMONITIOUN, TO HIS MAJESTIE AND COUNSELL, GIVIN AT THAT SAME TYME BE THE COMISSIONERES OF THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE, IN NAME OF THE HAIL KIRKE.

" Pleas your Majestie, and your Lordschips of your Majestie's Councell: For alsmeikle as the Generall Assemblie of the Kirk, haldine at Edinbruche in the moneth of Mairch last bypast, considering, that the iniquity of the land in all estaitis wer allredie com to the fulnes that it could not longer suffer a delay of the judgmentis threattnid againes the contempt of this aige; and percevinge the raige of Sataun kendled up all his instrumentis, alse weill within the contrie as without, that evin then it appeirit that the Lord wes preparing the scourge of his indignatioun quhairwith he wald straik undoutedlie befoir it wer longe; thairfoir, thai gaif thair commissioun to certaine chosine Breithreine, quho, upon the occasioune of the approching of the angrie continance of God, mycht assemble thame selffes togidder, and give thair attendance upoune the Lord's working, that by thair fidelitie, every ane of thame, in thair awin calling, mycht be in the convenient tyme steirit upe unfainedlie to turne unto God for preventing of his wraith: According to the quhilk, being heir conveinit, and finding the foirfaulted, excommunicated Earles to be returnit and remaineing within the contray, and to strenghtene thame selves dayly, by impunitie and ovirsycht, quhairthorowe they become able to give the concurrance to the forraine enemie, in caice of forraine assault, and lykewyis to attempt be thame selves and thair confederatis within the contray, quhatsumever purpose mycht be prejudiciall to the Kirke of God and your Majestie's estait, quhilk is a evident argument of the wraith of the Lord to be at hand, and moir neir alwyis nor it is apprehendit be your Majestie: We can nocht, thairfoir, but give your Majestie faithfull adverteisment, beseiking your Majestie to give heid thairto without all preoccupied mind and affectioune, as we be the grace of God, in sinceritie, love, and humilitie, sall propone the samyne to

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your Majestie: And becaus we, our Presbyteries and Ecclesiasticall Judgmentis, ar greviouslie traduced at Tabillis, Counsel, and mercat-crosses in publict proclamatiounes, be giveing us out to be unlawfully occupyed in devyseing and setting doune of formes, ruelis, and places, altogidder againest the law of God and man, prejudiciall to your Majestie's auctoritie and persoune, to presume proudly to mak convocatiounes and tumultis, to intend to brek your Majestie's peace, the raiseing of truble, seditiounes, and insurrectiounes, confusioune, discord, and uther inconvenientis in your Majestie's contrie; seiking only to cullour thair doinges under frivolus pretences and comissiounes, as thought we war nocht your Majestie's subjectis, or [your] Majestie hes nocht power to command us, and to be usurperes of auctoritie ovir our awin brethrein; to be cairles ovir our flockis, and leafe thame comfortles: Quhilk crymes, if they mycht justlie be laid to our chairge, we wer of all your Majestie's subjectis [most] unworthie to live, lett be to haif the reconsiliatioune to the world: And as they ar publischit againes us, sua calumniouslie thay can proceid from no uther fountane then from the dregis of antichristiane sinne, and can tend to no uther end bot to the disgrace of our holie ministerie, that thairefter the truth it self mycht lykwyis fall into discreidit, and then ane plaine way mycht be laid oppine to Papistrie or Atheisme, quhilk we beseik your Majestie to consider and tak heid wysely in tyme, befoir it com to a kanker that can not be cured. For this caus we wer compellit, for cleiring of our ministrie, and purging of us of all suspitioune of sick unnaturall affectiounes and offices towardis your Majestie and the estait of your Majestie's contray, to call the Gryt Judge, that knawis the secreitis of all heartis, and sall give to everie on according to thair secreite thoughte thairof, to judge betuix us and the auctouris of all thaise callumnies and speiches, befoir quhoise tribunall we protest that we haif allwayis borne, now beiris, and sall beir, God willing, to our lyffe's end, alse loyall affectioune to your Majestie as any of your Majestie's best subjectis within your Majestie's contrie, of quhatsumevir degrie or ranke, and according to our powir and calling, salbe, in the grace of our God,

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als readie to procuire your Majestie's welfair, peace, and advancement, as ony of the best affectionat quhatsumevir: Lykas we call your Majestie's awin heart to record quhair thay haif nocht found it in effect, sua in your Majestie's streatis;[1] and if your Majestie be nocht fully perswadit to find the lyk of us all, if it sall fall out that your Majestie haif occasioune in your difficulties to haif the tryall of the effectioune of your subjectis againe, and quhatsoevir we haif uttirit, ather in our doctrin or uther actiounes to your Majestie, it hes proceidit from a zealous affectioun to your Majestie's welfair, nix to the honor of God, above all thingis, as we protest; chuiseing rathir, be the libertie of our admonitiounes, to hazard our selves then by our sylence to suffir your Majestie, in the wraith and judgment of God.

"In respect quhairof, we most humblie beseik your Majestie so to esteim of us and our proceidinges as tending allwyis, in gryt sinceritie of our heartis, to the estabilisching of Religioune, the suretie of your Majestie's estait and croun, quhilk we acknawledge to be inseparabillie conjoyned thairwith, to the commoune peice and welfair of your Majestie's haill contrie, as the Lord knawes; and that your Majestie would earnestlie consider quhat may be the intentioune and end of such as haif sua subtilie and cautely[2] drawin your Majestie to exagitat thir thornie questiounes, and unnecessar at sic tymes, quhairin every appeirance of your Majestie and Majestie's course from the Ministrie of the Gospell and Preichours thairof, will give a dipe wound in your Majestie's subjectis, and ane greit encouragment to the adversaris, quhairby they may and doutles wilbe bold to attempt the hightest, in this sua greitt advantage quhilk is presented to us upone this occasioune: For we persuade our selffes, howsoevir the first motioun of the actiones mycht haiffe proceidit upon ane purpose of your Majestie to haif the limitis of the Spirituall jurisdictioune distinguischit from the Civil, yit the samyne is intertenit and blawin up by the favouris of thame that ar and sall prove the grytest enimies that eyther your Majestie or

[1] Straits, difficulties.

[2] Craftily; from Fr. *cauteller*, to deceive or cozen.

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causs of God can haiff in this contrie; thinking heirby to engendir sik a mislyking betuix your Majestie and the Ministeris as sall by tyme tak away all further trust, and make ane divisioun betuix the irreconcilabill, quhairby your Majestie mycht thinke your grytest friendis, (quhilk the Lord foirbid, for his mercie's saike!) as lykwyis herby to mak your Majestie's affectioune towardis the foirfaulted Earlis manifested to the hail world; as if this heat on your Majestie's pairte, againes the Ministerie, had proceidit upoun occasioune of the Kirke insisting againes the said Earlis, quhilk, out of all questioun, is thought alredie, and wilbe thought mair and mair, if your Majestie insistes further in this forme. And further, we maist humblie beseik your Majestie, sieing thair is no necessitie at this tyme, nor occasioun offirid upon any pairt, to insist on the decisioun of implicat and unprofitabill questiounes and processis, to the deversioun of your Majestie's intentioun and causses from againes the adversaries upon the Ministerie; albeit yit, be subtill craft of the favoureris of the adversaris of your Majestie's quyetnes, sum absurd and allmost impossibill suppositiounes, (quhilk the Lord foirbid sould entir in the heartis of his Messingeris!) be drawin in and urgit importunatlie at this tyme, as if the seortie[1] and priviledge of your Majestie's crowne [and] auctoritie royal dependit upon the present decisioun thairof.

"That thairfoir it wald pleis your Majestie to remitt the decisioun thairoff to ane lawfull Assemblie, that mycht discerne thairupone according to the Word of God, and not to croach[2] on the limit of Jesus Christ, under quhatsumevir pretence, and to bend to your Majestie's actioune, according to the sycht of God, according to the light he hes givin us in his truth; that the speciall caus of the blissing that hes remainit and remaines upoun your Majestie and contray, since your Majestie's coronatioune, hes bein and is the libertie quhilk the Gospell hes had within your realme, and of your Majestie, undir quhatsumevir culloure alledge the same, directlie or indirectlie, the wraithe of the Lord Jesus salbe kendlit againes

[1] Surety, stability. [2] Encroach.

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your Majestie and kingdome; [of] quhilk we haif forewairnit yow, in the name of the Lord Jesus: That your Majestie's and Counsel's blood ly not upoun us, chairge, in lykways, your Lordschips of his Majestie's Counsel and Nobilitie, in the name of the Lord Jesus, to give his Majestie feir and faithfull counsel; and as hithertill to the honour of God and your Lordschips' just paines, ye haif keipit your selffes, baith in counseling and actioun, from all prejudice of the libertie of the Gospel, by laying ony injunctiounes of the Ministerie thairof, sua your Lordschipis wald at this tyme wyisely and godlilie forsie that they be nocht drawin in the guiltines of sic ane greit sine againes the throne of Christ, by the craft of sic as hes bein subtilie seiking the thraldome of the Gospell, and now wald laye the guiltines of thair malitious devyces on your Lordschipis as auctoris of thea[1] iniquities, but yit be your advyce and credit, at his Majestie's hand, all controversies moved thairanent be remitted to a frie and lawfull Assemblie, that the samyn may be queitlie reassouned and concludit with greit evidence of the Word of God, as becumes in a matter of sua greit a weight, impairting the brawling of Religioun estabilishchit, quhairin we assure our selffes your Lordschipis sall doe exceptabill[2] service to God, and profitabill to his Majestie and haill contraye."[3]

Incontinent thairefter, the Ministeres [were also charged to appear before the King and Councill the 23 of October, as traitors, seditious, and convocaters of the leidges. The Ministeres][4] are denunced rebells and put to the horne, and so are the specialle citi-

[1] These. [2] Acceptable. [3] This important document is contained in the Univ. MS. only. It is followed in that MS. by "A Declaratioun of the Commissiounaris of the Generall Assemblie, [their] Proceidings annent the Petitioun proponit be thame to the Kingis Majestie, for ordour taking to purge the land of excommunicat, idolaterus Earlis, and contraversie fallin out be occasioun thairof; directit be the saidis Commissionaris to everie Presbyterie." That paper being very prolix, and besides being contained in the folio Edition of *Cald. Hist.*, (pp. 359-363,) and will of course be printed for the Wodrow Society in the progress of that work, it has not been deemed advisable to reprint it here also. The "Declaratioun" is not preserved in either of the Adv. Lib. MSS.—Editor. [4] Not in Univ. MS.

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zenes[1] and burgesses of the towne of Edinburghe; the towne is depryved of hir libertie, namelie, in chuseing off Magistratis and Ministeres, saiff only sic as it sould please the King to put in over thame. And thus was the Kirk and towne of Edinburghe, the very Sioun[2] of our Jerusaleme, overthrawin and put at undir!

This successe ovir the toun of Edinburgh emboldit the enemies so, that publisching ane Book of Questiounes, quhairby the Discipline and Governement of the Kirke wes maid dispautabill and brought in dout; [whereas the custome of the Kirk wes before, in all common matters, and of any importance, after earnest prayer and searching of the Scriptures, evidence of doctrine, power of exhortation, grave reasoning, and long time taken in consultation, and good advysement, to conclude and determine all things, by the uniforme consent of the whole Assemblie conveened.[3]] The King wrytis to the Presbyteries severallie, and appoyntis ane Conventioune of the Ministerie with the Estaites of the realme to be in Pearth, in the end of Februar, thair to dispute and discyd the Questiounes. The Ministerie conveining, they were in gryt perplexitie and doutsume anguisch of mynd, for the best saw cleirly that the owirthraw of the Discipline and Governement of the Kirk wes sought, and thairfoir wald noways condiscend to mak the meitting a Generall Assemblie, or entir in reassouneing of the Questiounes, but remitted all to the ordinar Generall Assemblie apoyntit in Apryl.

The wisest perceaved that by most dangerous and pernitious counsel, the Kirk and King wes brought to be most aposit, that the safetie of ane was wraike and undoeing to the other; and, thairfor, taking pity of boith, they thought meittest sumquhat to mitigat the King, and by ane pice of toleratioun to putt off ane evill tyme. The gryt number, in the meine tyme, pairtlie terriefied by threatneings, and pairtlie allured with faire promisses of the restoring of the Ministerie of Edinburghe, and making all things goe weill, yit wer brought to inclyne to the Court; for thairwithall gryt bussines, paines, and pollicie wer usit by courteouris to rent the Mini-

[1] Adv. MSS., "Artificers." [2] Adv. MSS., "Sun." [3] Not in Univ. MS.

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steris in contrarie factiounes. Many of the best witts and giftis, namely, of the North part of Scotland, were brought to the King's presence, and kisses of his handis to quhom complaints wer maid of the undiscreit, severe, and unreverend usage, pryd, and arrogating of the hail Discipline of the Kirke of the Sutherene Ministeres, namelie, of the towne of Edinburgh and St Androis. That the Northland Ministers were men of better dispositioune and discretioun, with whom his Majestie being acquantit and haifeing to doe with, sic things they sould sie in schort tyme that all matteres schould be composed and brought to a guid poynt, and so fraughtit with guid hope and Court holye watter, wer sent out to deall with the multitud that wes of purpose thair assemblit and conveined out of the North pairts, in favour of excommunicat Papist Earlis' Articles, quho sought to be relaxit and restorit againe to the Kirke: So that, in the end, the greater pairt overcame the best; and eftir four dayis deliberatioun and contraverting of the mater, that meitting wes decernit to be a Generall Assemblie of the Kirk; howbeit the last Moderator wes absent, no exhortatioun maid at the begining thairof; the Clark being laitlie deid, no new [one] wes chosine; no new Moderator wes chosine now: The Assemblie ordinar Generall wes to be keiped in Appryl. They intendit lichtly to dispaut of sume off the Questiounes, viz., in disputation, referring the rest to the next Generall Assemblie, to be haldine att Dundie in the moneth of Maye nixt following, and thairwithall they gaiff commissioun to certaine of the Ministeris of the North to receave[1] the offers and takines of repentance of the excommunicat Earles, and report to the nixt said Assemblie.[2]

[1] Univ. MS, "Heir." [2] There is a note in Adv. MSS.: "That which followeth in this page should preceed the Assembly of Perth. Here should also be insert The Book of Questions, and Answers given in thereunto."

In the Univ. MS. there followes "ANE APPOLLOGIE OR DECLARATIOUNE off the causses that moved the Ministers of Edinburgh to withdraw thame selfes from thair flockis for a seasone," &c. This has been inserted by Mr Ninian Dunlop, along with "The Buik of Questiounes," in the Univ. MS., but they have already been printed in a former part of this work. See pp. 374-383, and pp. 390-403.

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M.D.XCVII.

In the moneth of Februar thairefter following, upon the twentie-four[1] day thairoff, being the Saterday, betwixt nyne and ten houris befoir noone, a maist fearfull and conspicuous ecclipse of the soun began, quhilk continuit the space of tua houris; for the body of the moone enterit on that of the sonne. Till the going off the samyn,[2] the haill face of the sonne semit to be coverit and darknet about halff ane quarter of ane houre, so that non could sie to reid on a buik: The starris appeirit in the firmament, and the sea, land, air, and tries sua still strickin deid, as it war, that upon thair astonishment the faintnes of heartis of men and womene, foulis and beistis, were prostrat to the ground. I knew, out of ephemerides and almanak, the day and hour of it, as was also, by the naturall philosophie, the causses. I sett my selff to marke the proceidingis of it in a basine of watter mixit with inke, thinking the matter but commoune; but yit quhair it com to the extremitie of darknes, and I my selff lossit all the sunne, I was struckin with such feir and astonischment, that I had no refuge but to prostrat on my kneis, and commend my selff to God, and to cry for mercie. This wes thought by all the wyiss and godlie verie prodigious; so that in pulpit and by wrytting, boith in prose and verse, admonitiounes wer given to the Ministeres to be warr that the changeabill glistering shaw of the world sould not go in betwix thame and Christe, and remove the lycht of his countenance from his Kirk.

That samin yeir, in the moneth of Julij, thair was ane earthquake quhilk maid all the North pairtis of Scotland to Kintail,[3] Ross, Cromarty, Braidalbain, evin doun to Perth, to schaik; even as quhen King Uzzias[4] usurpit the preisthood, was the great earthquake in Judea[5] mentioned by the Prophets Amos and Zacharias, Amos i. 4; Zech. xiv. 5. Likewayes, in the yeir preceeding, a most monstrous and feirfull birth wes brought furth, not farr from the Kingis

[1] Adv. MS. "25 day." [2] Adv. MS. "Going down of the sun." [3] Adv. MSS. "Kintyre." [4] Uzziah, king of Judah. [5] Univ. MS. reads "Jordane."

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Pallace in Falkland, in Fyffe. Quhat thais things, and such like signes in the hevins, as heirefter in thair awin place salbe markit, did portend and threttin, the wyise and godlie did tak guid notice of, and weill consider, as by their sermounes and monumentis of their verse wes maid manifest.

It is not to be omitted, that the Bretherine conveinit in that meitting, being desyrit be the King's Comissionaris sent from his Majestie to that effect, to repair to the place quhair his Hines and Estaitis wer presentlie sitting, to confer anent the Kingis Questiounis, they, at his Majestie's desyr, resorted to the Counsel-hous, and thair, befoir any further reasoneing, efter the King had discoursit on sic thingis as wer propoundit, they protestit in maner as eftir followes:

[PROTESTATION BY THE BRETHREN TO THE KING'S MAJESTY.]

"SIR, Forsuameikle as we ar com heir to testifie unto your Majestie our obedience, to heir quhat salbe proponit to us by your Hines, in all reverence we Protest that this our meitting be not esteimed as thought we maid our selff ane Assemblie with the Estaites, or yit that we doe submitt ony matter Ecclesiastik concerning Doctrin and Discipline to your Judicatour; but eftir we have conferrit and reassonit with your Majestie concerning the Articles propoundit be your Majestie to us, we must returne to the ordinarie place of our Assemblies to reassoun, vote and resolve, in all these points, according to the Word of God and guid conscience: And this our Protestatioun we maist humblie beseik your Majestie to insert it in your Majestie's Buikis of Counsell, for the eschewing of inconvenientis that heirefter may arryse."

And this Protestatioun was reiterat, ratified, and confirmit by his Majestie; and, after reasouneing on the Articles, the Breithrein wer demissit.

The Generall Assemblie wes holdin at Dundie, the moneth of

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May following, by the King's Majestie, with great frequencie[1] of the Ministrie from all pairtis; but, namely, from the North: For now the politicians and freindis of the excommunicat and forfaulted Earles had purchessit and dressit to tham selves a gryt number and factioun of the Ministrie; and the King had maid, for his purpose, many of the wisest and best esteimit men, quhilk kythed[2] first in chuseing of ane to be the Moderator quha wes absent; and nixt the voitting of the relaxatioune of the apostate Earles from the excommunicatioune; but concludit in ane pluralitie of voitis, in a led maner; and last, in appointing Commissionaris, quho thairefter callit for at Court for everie occasioun usurpit the governement of the haill Kirk, and caried all thingis efter the King's plesoure; for all matters become then to be first placed and drest in Court, and syne effectuat and concludit by purchessit voitis of the greitest number at Assemblies [and] Conventions; [quhairas the Kirk and custome thairoff wes befoir, in all commoun matteris of importance, eftir earnest prayer, searching the Scripturis, evidence of doctrin and powar of exhortatioun, guid reassouneing, and long tyme taking for consultatioun and guid advysment, to conclud and determine by the uniforme consent of the haill Assemblie.[3]] Moirover, in that same manner, the lawfulnes off the Assemblie at Perth, and thinges done thairin, wes ratified, and summar excommunicatioun for notorious crymes, the feirefullest censure of the Kirk, wes suspendit, and in effect broken and takin away. In end, it is not to be omitted how matters following, quhilk that Assemblie wes solemnlie declairit by the King and haill number thairanent, the oracle declairing and ordaining, that no Conventioune of Pastouris sould be without his Majestie's knawledge and consent. His Majestie's consent is declarit to be extended to all and quhatsomever forme, either Generall Assemblies, or specially permittit and auctorised be his Majestie's Hienes lawes, according as they have warrand in the Word of God, as being the maist authorised and authentick forme of consent that any King can haiffe.

[1] Was well frequented; numerously attended. [2] Manifested itself. [3] This passage is altogether omitted in Adv. MSS.

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THE FORME OF THE FIRST GENERALL COMMISSIOUN.

"The whilk day, the 16 of May, sess. 9, in the presens of the haill Assemblie, the King's Majestie being personallie present, declaired, that throw the schortnes of tyme thair wes sindrie matters of weight and importance, not only concerneing particular folkis, bot quhilk did in speciall tuich the haill estait and body of the Kirk, quhilk could not commodiouslie be intreated and concludit in this present Assemblie, as namely, tuiching boith the planting of particular Congregatiounes and of the haill Kirk within the realme, quhilk as yit, thorow default of honnest intertainement, remaines unplantit, and is destitute of the comfort of the Word: And anent solid ordor to be takin anent a constant and perpetuall provisioune for the sustentatioune of the haill Ministerie within the realme, to the end that they be not, as in tyme bygoine, to attend and awayit on the Commissionaris appoynted for modifieing of thair stipend, and so be forcit to be absent thame selves the maist pairt of the yeir from thair flockis; to the gryt disgrace of thair callingis, disharting of their Congregatiounes, and discontentment of his Majestie, whois cair hes evir bein, and earnest desyre as yit is continuit, that every Congregatioun haiff a particular Pastour honorabillie susteinit, for the better waitting on of his cuir, and dischairging of his deutifull office in the samyn. And, thairfoir, his Majestie desyris the Breithrein to consider whether it were expedient that a Generall Commission should be granted to certaine of the most wyse and discreet of the Breithren to conveen with his Majestie for effectuating of the premisses. The which his Majestie's advyse the Generall Assembly thinks very necessar and expedient; and, therefore, hes given and granted, likeas, be the tenor heirof, they give and grant, their whole power and Commission to the Breithrein underwrytten, viz.: [Masters Alexander Douglas, James Nicolson, George Gladstones, Thomas Buchanan, Robert Pont, Robert Rollock, David Lindsay, Patrick Galloway, John Duncanson, Patrick Scharpe, John Porterfield, James Melvine, William Couper, and John Clap-

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pertoun,[1]] to the number of fourteen, or any seven of thame, to convein with his Majestie betuixt the day of thir presents and the last of the monethe of May instant; with power to thame to tak solid order annent the provisioun of Ministeres to the townes of Edinburghe, Dundie, and Sanct Androis, his Majestie's and the Prince's Houses, to giffe thair advyse and judgment to his Majestie annent the planting of everie particular kirke within the realme, to mak sic Overtures as they can best devyse, touching the Constant Plott [Plat;] and, generally, to give advyse to his Majestie in all affaires concerning the weill of the Kirke, and intertainment of peace and obedience to his Majestie within the realme; with expresse power and command to the said Commissioneres to propone to his Majestie the Petitions and Greivances alsweill of the Kirk in generall as of everie member thairoff in particular, as salbe meined unto them, *promitten. de rato.*"

Ane fair and honest taill, and ane specious fair schaw! But, alace! heir wes the deid-stroake[2] and baine of the Kirk, ever since the Court hes gydit hir! And so mikle as scho is inclined to the warld, so far declynit scho from Christ; as her honours increassit hir graces diminisched: For thais Commissionaris being exalted so high as to haiff accesse to the King quhen he pleasit, and to sitt with his Majestie in Counsell, began soone to chaing thair maneres and luik doun on thair breithrin. They reulit as they list; they rent the Kirk in tuo quhill as[3] the maist pairt followit thame; and the best stood to the Kirk hir establischit constitutioun, with the King's distresse, reproch, and contempt of courtieres; and, finallie, they were the very neidle to draw in the Episcopall threid; our enemies kytheit againes us by them with our awin armour, and maid us with our awin handis to pull doun our own walls, and ressaive in that fatall Trojan horsse.

With these forces and armouris of the Kirkis awin in the monethe of July following, they unbeset that uther maine fortres

[1] The names have been supplied from the folio edition of Calderwood's Hist pp. 409, 410. [2] Death-blow. [3] Till at length.

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of hirs, quhilk wes the Kirk and Universitie of Sanct Androis; and by auctoritie mair nor order they callit the haill Presbyteries of Sanct Androis befoir the King at Falkland, and retreated and annullit ane maist just sentence deprivative given againes ane most unworthie Minister, Mr John Rutherford, and reponed him againe to his place at Killuchames;[1] they threw out the tua maist painfull[2] Pastours therof, togider with the Rector of the Universitie, without any advyse at all; and directlie againes the consent of the Presbyterie, appointit ane new Minister for the Kirk, and Rector for the Universitie, with sic new orders and lawis as they thought maist fitting for the course, namely, that no Professor, nor power, nor Master of the Universitie, nor Doctor of Divinity, sould sit in Presbyteries, in matters of Discipline, quhilk wes of purpose to cutt off Mr Andro Melvin.

In the winter following the Parliament wes keipit, quhairin the Papist apostate Earlis were restoirit to thair livings and honouris; at the quhilk Parliament thais Commissioners, without any advyse or directioun from the Generall Assemblie, put up ane petitioun that the Ministers of the Kirk sould haiff voit in Parliament. Quhairupoun thair wes ane act passed, that suche of the Ministerie as would become Prelatis, sic as they wer of old in the Papisticall Kirk, sould be admitted to have voit in Parliament; the estaites of Parliament thinking, indeed, that no honnest men in the Ministrie wald undirtake such ane office, againes the quhilk the forme and tennor of thair doctrine had so longe and mychtilie soundit.

M.D.XCVIII.

In the beginning of the moneth of Marche following, the Generall Assemblie wes keipit at Dundie, verie frequentlie,[3] and with gryt expectatioun on boith the sydes. The Commissioners, on the one side, houping to be assisted and fortified be the Kingis Majestie, and be all meinis he could perswad, terrifie, or mak. For the two first dayis, thair wes nothing done, frae airly[4] in the morneing

[1] Left blank in Univ. MS. [2] Pains-taking, conscientious. [3] Very numerously attended. [4] From early.

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till late at night, but calling for this and that Minister to the Kingis Majestie; and deilling with thame, that they mycht be his. The Brethreine, standing for the establishit constitutioune of the Kirke, on the uther side, finding many Presbyteries that had Grieves and Complaints against the Commissioneris, in houpe to finde Godis concurrance, and standing for the caus of the Kirke; the Politicianis and Papistes, in the mein tyme, bussie to egge the bargaine,[1] thinking to take thair pastyme in beholding the battell and the blawis of thair enimies amongis thame selves, [as they did for sum dayis, to the gryt hart-breke of the godly.[2]] But the King, feiring that his purpose in setting up Bischoppis, by quhom he mycht reull the Kirk at his plesoure, sould not succeed weill that way, efter a few dayes controversies, composeit all matteres, buried the Grieves, forgaiff the Ministeres of Edinburghe, and enterit in freindschippe with thame again. Sua, at the tenth sessioun, the King had a speiche, declairing how gryt care he had to pacifie, adorne, and accommodat the Kirk, and remove all controversies, and estaiblische the discipline, and restoir the patrimonie thairoff; and farder, in effect, it wes most needfull that the Ministeres should have voit in Parliament, without the quhilk, they could not be vindicat from the povertie and contempe under the quhilk they had bein lying so long. He meinit not to bring in neither Angelicall nor Papisticall Bischoprickes, but only the best and wysest of thair Ministeres, apoyntit by the Generall Assemblie, sould haiff place in Counsell and Parliament, to sitt upoun thair awin matteres, and sie them done, and not to stand alwayes at the doore, dispysit like poor supplicantis, and not regardit. In the mein tyme, he promisit solemnelie to deill with the taxmen of the teinds,[3] by his Hienes' auctoritie, for the augmenting of the stipendis of the Ministerie of the Kirke, and to mak a law to compell such as wer not willing; for the quhilk caus, everie Minister sould doe weill, against a certain day, to give in to his Majestie's Exchakers and Commissioneris of the

[1] Foster, or encourage the strife or quarrel. The Univ. MS. reads "ogill;" to spy or look on the quarrel, as an unconcerned spectator. [2] Not in Adv. MSS.
[3] Those who held tacks or leases of the tithes.

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Kirk, the names of thair takismen and estait of thair Kirk. And because sindrie of the Britherine desyrit to be satisfied of his Majestie's mynd, by his awin mouth, towardis certaine of the Ministeris, and in speciall towardis the Ministeris of Edinburghe, anent quhatsoevir the thorteris[1] and accidentis fallin out, thais tua yeiris bygaine, his Majestie, for making of his Majestie's mynd to be moir cleirlie to be understood by the haill Britherine, declaired his mynd to be contentit and satisfied with the Ministeris of Edinburghe, and that his Majestie did beir no grudge nor evill-will to any of thame for any accidents that hes fallin out in ony tyme bygaine; and that the samyne sould nevir be rememberit by his Majestie in tyme coming, but that his Hienes and they (quhilk the Ministeris of Edinburche willinglie consentit) sould never call any of these accidentis fallen out, in any tyme bygaine, to rememberance; neither mak mentioune of the samyn, in privat speiches or publict sermones, in any tyme herefter. This being done, and the heartes of many hereby movite and conciliat, the Generall Commissioune wes renewit for the Constant Platt, to put the finall end and conclusioun to the samine, and solemnelie to plant every particular Kirk within the land: *Item*, to plant Ministers in burghs, and in the King and Prince their Housses; also to attend upon the Parliament, and to give thair advyce to his Majestie for avoyding and eschewing any danger or inconvenient quhilk may be lykelie to fall out in the prejudice of the Kirke; and lykwyis, in caice his Majestie sould find him self grieved, or craive redresse of ony enormitie done to his Hienes be any of the Ministerie, with power to him and the saids Commissioners, or any nyne of thame, to sitt and recognosce upon the samine, and suafurth.

In the eleventh and twelfth sessioune, the maine purpose wes handillit and concludit as followis:

"Forsomuch as the Commissioneris of the Generall Assemblie, at the Parliament haldin in the moneth of December last bypast, upon ane earnest zeale that they did evir beir to the weill of the

[1] Disagreements, wranglings.

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Kirk, had givin in certaine Articles to the Lordis of Parliament concerneing the libertie of the Kirke; and in speciall, had craivit that the Ministerie, as representing the trew Kirk of God within this realme, and so being the thrid Estait in this realme, micht haiff the voit in Parliament, according to the loveabill actes and constitutiounes maid befoir in Parliament in favouris of the freidome of the Holy Kirk and hir liberties; quhilk, their travells and endeavoiris, proceiding allwayis upon a godly intentioune, they submittit presentlie to the censure of the present Assemblie; desyring the Bretherin to allow or disallow of the samyn, as they sould think most expedient for the glorie of God and estaibilisching of trew Religioune within the realme. Quhairupon the Bretherine being ryplie advysed, allowit the honnest and godlie intentioune of the Commissioneris in craiving voitt in Parliament for the Ministrie: And forsomeikle as his Majestie, willing to uttir the guid intentioune that he hes allwayis borne to the estaiblishing of the true Kirk of God within this realme, declaired that, for the bettir performance thairoff, his Hienes had assistit the Commissioneris of the last Assemblie in craifing voit in Parliament, in name of the Kirk; quhilk thair suite, albeit in some pairt, and as it wer in a certaine manner, grantit be the Lords in the Parliament, yit the acceptatioune thairoff, the forme, constitutiounes, and haill of the persones, wer reservit to the Generall Assemblie, to be acceptit or refusit as the Kirk sould think expedient: And sieing his Majestie had anticipat the appoyntit tyme of the Assemblie, and desyrit the Brethrine to convein at this present tyme, especiallie for the caus foirsaid, thairfoir his Majestie desyrit that the Bretherine wald enter in a speciall consultatioune of the haill poynts of the samin act, in everie particular poynt thairof: And, first, to reassoun, in publict audience of the haill Assemblie, Quhither if it wer lawfull and expedient that the Ministerie, as representing undoubtitlie the Kirk within this realme, sould haiff voit in Parliament or not?

"The said questione being at very gryt lenth reassonit and debaited *in utramque partem*, in presens of the haill Bretherine, and thaireftir voited, the Generall Assemblie, by pluralitie of voitis, findis

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and concludis that that is most necessare and expedient for the weill of the Kirk, that the Ministerie, as the thrid Estait of this realme, in name of the Kirke haif voit in Parliament. In verie [truth] thair wes not halff ane scoir of voitis in the one syd moir nor on the uther, and thais wer of lyk persounes that had no commissioune.

"For the argument of the distinctioune betwixt the Kirk and the Commoun-weill of the kingdome of Jesus Christ, and thais of this world being so cleirit and insistit upon, as it wes caryit all that wes not preoccupyit nor corrupted in judgment efter it. Also they clearly schaw that it wes ane foundatioune to build up the humane Bischoprick upon quhilk in the Kirk of Scotland, as plaine Poprie was utterlie abollischit.

"Concerneing the number of them that sould haiff voite in Parliament, in name of the Kirk, it wes lykewayis concludit and thought upon, that it wes very expedient that as many of thame sould be chosine to voitt in Parliament as wes wont of old, in tyme of the Papisticall Kirke, to be Bischops, Abbotis, and Prioris, that had the lyk libertie to voit to the number of fiftie-one or thairby. *Item*, eftir reassouning, it wes voited and concludit that the electioune of sic of the Ministerie as schould voit in the Parliament aught to be of a mixit qualitie, and appertein pairtlie to his Majestie and pairtlie to the Kirk. And becaus be schortnes of tyme of the Bretherine could not perfytelie be resolvit in the remanent heidis and circumstances concerning the office of thame that schould haiff voit in Parliament, viz., *de modo eligendi;* of his rent; of continuance of his office; whither he sould be chosine *ad pœnam* or not; of his name; of the Cautiounes; of the preservatione of him frae corruptioune and sic uther circumstances: And thairfor the Assemblie ordained everie Presbyterie to be ryplie and thruchtlie advysit with the particular headis above written, and thairfoir to convocat their Provinciall Synodis thorow the haill realme upon ane day, quhilk salbe the first Tuysday of June nixttocome; and thair, eftir new reassouneing and advysement with the saids particular heidis above writtin, that every Provinciall Assembly chuse out thrie of the

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wyiseste of thair number, quho salbe ready on his Majestie's advysement, quhilk salbe on ane monethes warneing at the leist, to convein with his Majestie, togider with the Doctoris of Divinitie and of the Universitie, sic day and place as his Majestie sould think expedient; with power to thame to treat, reassoune, and conferr upon the saidis headis and utheris pertaineing thairto; and in caice of agriement and uniformitie of opiniounes, to voit and conclud in the haill questioune concerneing voit in Parliament, utherwayis, in cais of discrepance and variance, to refer the conclusioun thairof to the nixt Generall Assemblie."

Howbeit I lyk not to name any in particulare, yit the truth and substance of the storie requyreing sua, I must heir mentioun tuo: First, that Mr Andrew Melvill, howbeit directit in Commissioun from his Presbiterie to this Assembly, yit quhen he come he wes not suffirit to byd in the Assemblie; bot, by auctoritie, wes first commandit to keip his ludgein, and syne chairgit to goe hame to his Colledge. Nixt, Mr John Davidsoune[1] did give in ane Protestatioun in wryt againes the samine Assemblie and proceidingis thairof, as no lawfull and frie Assemblie, according to the Word of God, and estaiblischit ordour within the Kirk of Scotland, and such whois proceidingis tendit to the subversioun of the ordinance of Jesus Christ: But at the ryseing of that Sessioune, he wes fain to withdraw him selff, and wes thaireftir confyned and wardit within his parochine.

The next Generall Assemblie wes apoyntit to be haldine at Aberdeine the first day of July 1599, bot be the King's proclamatioun wes tossed too and fra tyme to tyme, and place to place, as befoir, from Stirling, quhair the first Assemblie at Dundie appoyntit it to be halden at Dundie againe, preventing[2] the day; so from Aberdien now to Montrose, postponeing the tyme; and this mainely becaus matteris wer not weill dressit; but cheiflie to the intent that the King mycht tak from the Kirk liberty of conveineing, (quhilk had

[1] Adv. MSS. "Adamsone."

[2] Anticipating. Lat. *prævenire.*

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injoyed it evir since the beginning, tuyse a yeir to conveine, and oftner *pro re nata,*) and mak it absolutlie in his pleasoure and power, and not else; that as by the actis and dealing of the Assemblie ratified at Perth at the first, and this last at Dundie, the frie preiching of the Word was restrained, and summar excommunicatioun suspendit; and so, the Kirk strypit nakit of hir chieffe armoure; and sua, now, scho mycht altogider be taine and led captive, by caussing either Generall Assemblie not to be holden at all, or then such only as wes dressit to prosecut the purpose in hand in overthrowing the Estaiblischit Estait of the Kirk, by such Conventiouns as sould beir the name of a Generall Assemblie, and so by hir selff to kill[1] and undoe hir selff!

M.D.XCIX.

The Provinciall Assemblies conveinit the first day of Junij, being Tuysday, at every ane quhairof wer present Commissioneris directit from his Majestie, with expres chairge to travell by all meines, that sic thrie as the King sould lyke sould be nominat to convein with his Majestie, according to the Commissioune given at the last Generall Assemblie, the quhilk being aines obteinit, they cairit nothing for the resolvit judgementis of Assemblies, for they percevit that in the Kingis absence everie ane of the Bretherine cleirit their mynde friely against the course. Thaireftir, diverse meittingis, at diverse meittingis and places, wer keipit with his Majestie by these that wer nominat to the Synodis and Commissioneres; as namely, at Falkland, in August immediatlie thaireftir; at Sainct Androis in Junij; at the Halirudhous in October; and of diverse Bretherine, the speciall of boith sydis, convenit with his Majestie's Commissioner att Bruntyland; quhairin, not finding the successe as they wald, the Assemblie wes prorogat to be keiped at Montrose, in Merche 1600.

[1] Adv. MSS. "Unkirk."

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M.DC.

The Generall Assembly conveening at Montrose, the King left all utheris effaires, and attended hailie thairupon, so that there was neither Sessioune nor Privie Conferrence without his presence. It wes thought guid, first, that thair sould be four choisine out of either syid, to advyse, reassoune, and compose matters in privatt; but the King, being informit by ane of that number that it wes to losse rather nor gaine thairby, callit, urgit, and reassounit to be before himself and the Privie Conference. So the Questiouns reassounit at gryt lenth, Quhither the voit in Parliament, as it wes offirit to the Kirk in the statut last maid thairannent, sould be acceptit or not? The Bretherine quho stood for the estaiblischit Discipline brought forth many Reassounes, concluding directly that it wes againes the Word of God, and thairfor could not be acceptit off. The Reassounes and Answers given at that time followes.

When matteris succeidit not as they lookit, in that plaine deilling, they went on to work under cover, peice and peice, as they mycht; and first, to conclud and ratifie in the present Assembly the thinges agreit upoun by the Commissiouneris of the Provinciall Synods; and, thaireftir, to assay ane maine poynt of it, giff it mycht be gottin through in the present Assemblie, quhilk wes the continowance of the Commissioune to voit in Parliament, in the persounes of sume ones, nominat *ad vitam aut culpam;* the quhilk if they mycht once gaine, thair purpose wes near a poynt; bot the matter was sone taine up, and ressouned and discoursit upone by mony guid bretherine, that the voyce of the Assembly wente and concludit that they sould be chosine *annuatim*. Quhilk conclusione the King and the Clerk adding thairto, drew alse neir thair purpose as they could; so all this proceiding past furth, as followis:

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[CONCLUSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT MONTROSE, AS TO MINISTERS VOTING IN PARLIAMENT.]

Sessio 6.

" The Commissioneris of the last Generall Assembly, conveinit at Falkland, in the moneth of July 1598, to decyde the questioun anent the Voitis in Parliament, &c., being ryplie and throwely advysit with the heidis following, gaive thair advyce and conclusioune as followis; the samin, in effect, quhilk wes sett doune and read in the Assembly at Dundie, and remitted to farder advysment, concerneing the maner of choysing of him that should haiff voit in Parliament, in name of the Kirk: It is condescendit upon, that first, he salbe recommendit from the Kirk to his Majestie; and that the Kirk sall nominat sex for every place that hes neid to be filled up, off quhom his Majestie sall chuse ane of quhom he best lykis; and his Majestie promises, oblisses, and bindis him selff to choyse none uther but ane of that number; and in cais his Majestie refuisses the haill, upon ane just caus of insufficiencie of thame, and gryter sufficiencie in uthers that are not recommendit, the Kirk sall mak ane new recommendatioune of men according to the first number, of the quhilk ane by his Majestie salbe choisine without any farder refuisall or new nominatioune; and he that salbe chosine be his Majestie salbe admitted by the Synodis.

" *Secundlie*, It is concludit that the Generall Assemblie sall haiff the nominatioune or recommendatioune of him that in name of the Kirk sall haiff voit in Parliament, quho sall tak the advyce of the Synods and Presbyteries thairanent, direct from thame in wryt; and the Synod sall haiff leiff to nominat alse weill within the Province as without, provyding that iff thair be ane man within the Province meit for that place, *cæteris paribus*, he be preferrit to ane uther.

" *Thridly*, Anent his rent, It is advysit, with ane consent, that the Kirk being planted sufficientlie, the Colledges and Schoolis al-

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redy erectit not prejudgit, that the King sall provyde him to all the rest that may be obtainit of that benefice quhairto he is preferrit.

"As to the Cautiounes to keip him from corruptioun that sall haiff voit in Parliament, they be these following:

THE CAUTIOUNES.

"1. That he presume not at any tyme to propone to Parliament, Counsell, or Conventioun, any thing in name of the Kirke, without expresse warrand and directioun of the Kirke; and sic thingis as he sall ansuer to be for the weill of the Kirke, undir paine of depositioun from his office: Neither sall he keip sylence, in any of the saidis Conventiounes, in ony thing that may be prejudiciall to the weill and libertie of the Kirk, under the said paine.

"2. He sall be bund at everie Generall Assemblie to give a compt anent the dischairge of his Commissioun since the Assemblie goeing befoire, and shall submitt himselff to the censure, and stand at thair determinatioune without appellatioune; and sall seike and obtein ratificatioune of his doinges at the said Assemblie, undir the paine of infamie and excommunicatioune.

"3. He sall content himself with that pairt of the benefice quhilk salbe givin him from his Majestie for his liveing, not hurting nor prejudging the rest of the Ministeres of the Kirk, within his benefice, plantit or unplantit as yet, or to be planted, or any uther Minister of the contray quhatsumevir; and this caus to be insert in his provisioune.

"4. He sall dilapidat in no wayis his benefice, neither mak, sett, nor disponne thairoff, without the speciall consent and advyce of his Majestie and Generall Assemblie; and for the gryter warrand, he sall interdict him selff not to dilapidat his benefice, nor consent to the dilapidatioune thairoff maid be utheris to the Generall Assemblie; and sall be content that inhibitiounes be raisit on him to that effect.

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"5. He salbe faithfully bund to attend upon his awine particular Congregatioune, quhair he salbe Minister, in all poyntis of a Pastour; and heiranent sall subject himselff to the tryell and censure of his awne Presbyterie and Provinciall Assembly, as ony uther Minister that beiris not Commissioun.

"6. In the administratioune of Discipline, Collatioune of Benefices, Visitatioune, and all uther poyntis of Ecclesiasticall Governement, he sall neither usurpe nor acclaime to himselff ony power nor jurisdictioune farther nor ony uther of the rest of his Bretherine, except he be imployit by his Brether, undir the paine of deprivatioune; and incais he usurpe any pairt of the Ecclesiasticall Governement, and the Synod, Presbyterie, and Generall Assembly oppone and make any impediment thairto, quhatsumevir he dois eftir that impediment to be null, *in ipso facto*, without any declarator.

"7. In Presbyteries, Provinciall and Generall Assemblies, he sall behaive himselff in all thingis, and sall be subject to thair censuring as any of the Breithrin of the Presbyterie.

"8. At his Admissioune to his office of Commissionarie, thir and all uther poyntis necessare he sall sweir and subscryve to fulfill, undir the penalties forsaidis; and utherwayis not to be admittit.

"9. And in cais he be deposit by the Generall Assemblie, Synod, or Presbyterie, from his office of his Ministerie, he sall also tyne[1] his voit in Parliament *ipso facto*, and his benefice sall vaike.[2]

"10. And farder Cautiounes to be maid, as the Kirk pleisis and findis occasioun.

"11. Anent his Name that for the Kirk sould haiff voit in Parliament, It is advysit, by uniforme consent of the haill Bretherine, that he salbe callit 'The Commissioner' of sic a place; and in cais the Parliament, by his Majestie's moyen,[3] may be induceit to acknawledge that name, it sall stand so; iff not, the Generall Assembly sall voit and conclud this questioune annent his name.

"12. The questioune being demandit, Quhither the Commissioune of him that for the Kirk sould voit in Parliament sould in-

[1] Lose. [2] Become void or vacant. [3] Means, influence.

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dure his lyff-tyme, except sum cryme or offence intervein, or for a schorter tyme, at the plesoure of the Kirk? The Commissiouneris of the Generall Assemblie, being of diverse opiniounes, thought guid to refer this questioune to the nixt Generall Assemblie."

Quhilk haill Conclusiounes being red, in the audience off the Generall Assembly, and they being ryplie advysit thairwith, ratified, allowed, and approved the samyne, and thought expedient that the samen Cautiounes, togider with such utheris as salbe concludit on by the Assemblie, be insert in the bodie of the act of Parliament that is to be maid for confirmatioune of voit in Parliament to the Kirk, as maist necessar and substantiall pointis of the same.

Sessio 8.

"Forasmuch as the Commissioneris of the Synod convenit at Falkland, the 25 of July 1598, being of diverse opiniounes concerneing the continowance of the Commissioneris that sould haiff voit in Parliament, quhither he sould indure for his lyftyme, except sum cryme or offence intervein, or for a schorter tyme, at the plesoure of the Kirk, they thought guid to refer the same to this present Assemblie: Thairfor, the Generall Assemblie, haiffing reassouneit at lenth the said questioun tuiching the continowance of him that sall haiff voit in Parliament; efter voiting of the same, findis and declairis that he sall *annuatim* give a compt of the Commissioun obteinit from the Assemblie, and lay doune the same at thair feit, to be continowed or altered thairfra by his Majestie and the Assemblie, and that as the Assemblie, with consent of his Majestie, sall think most expedient for the weill of the Kirk.

"It is also statute and ordained, that none of thame that sall haiff voit in Parliament sall come as Commissioneris to any Generall Assemblie, nor haiff voit in the same, in any tyme cuming, except he be authorizit with Commissioun from his awin Presbyterie to that effect.

"It is moirover fund be the Assemblie, that *crimen ambitus* salbe sufficient caus of deprivatioune of him that sall haiff voit in Parliament.

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"In end, it is statute and ordained, that everie Minister intimat this generall, that the voit in Parliament is concludit by the Assemblie, and that naine utter speiche in pulpit contrair to the same."

Thair wer very money guid Breitherine at this Assemblie, and did stand verie honnestly to the caus; but auctoritie, dissimulatioun, crafte, and painfullness, cairied the matter away.

As for example, of Auctoritie; that Moderator quho had utterit excellent guid doctrine befoir-noone wes compellit, at leist inducit, by auctoritie to recant it efter-[noone,[1]] to the gryt greiff and offence of the best. Mr Andro Melvill come to the Assembly, by Commissioune of his Presbytrie, but wes commandit to keip his ludgeing; quho, being callit to the King in private, and demandit, Quhy he wes so trublesume as to come to the Assemblie, being dischairgit? He answerit, He had a calling in the Kirk of God, and of Jesus Chryst, the King of kings, quhilk he behovit to dischairge at all occasiounes, being orderlie callit thairto, as he wes at this tyme; and that for feir of a grytter punischment then could any earthly king inflict. Quhairat the King being angrie, utterit sume minassing words. The said Mr Andro, laying his hand to his heid,[2] said, "Sir, it is this that ye would haiff! Ye sall haiff it: Tak it! Tak it! or[3] ye bereave[4] us of the liberties of Jesus Christ and his kingdome!" With many mo speiches, verie zealouslie, to that effect.

Dissimulatioun; in sa meikle that as making on the Bischoprie with all mycht and maine, yet they did give it out amangis the Breitherine thair wes no sick thing meinit, saiff onlie vot in the Parliament, to vindicat the Kirk from contempt and povertie; and sua soundit all the answeris to the argumentis of the manifold and maist stronge reasounes of the Breitherine that stood for the Estaiblischit Discipline.

Craft; whereof take the instance of the choyseing of the Mode-

[1] Advocates' MSS. [2] "On his neck." Adv. MSS. [3] Rather than.
[4] "Robe," (rob.) Adv. MSS.

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rator, quhilk wes the thing they evir laborit for to haiff their voices, and to have ane at their devotioune: For the quhilk purpose, all this Assemblie, they used this stratageme; first, they compted the voites they had made and were sure off; and, feiring they sould be overcume by a gryter numbir, they causit put upon the leitis for chuseing of the Moderator four of the cheiffest Breitherine, amongis all with him quhom they designit, assuring tham selves that thairby that the voitis wald be distracted, quhille, as sume sould think ane meit, and sume ane uther; and in the mein tyme, they keipit close constant thair course, and voited all to ane; and so it come to passe, indeide; quhairas, all the contrair voites sould [have] been given to ane of thais guid Breitherine, they had farr prevailed.

And as for Painfullness; in the time [of this Assembly] the King arose earlie at morne till he went late to bed, he was continually with Ministers, and so bussie with them, that the cortiouris compleaned heavilie that they could gett no accesse. Bot, to be short, the Generall Commissioune, that reullit all, being renewit, and the nixt Assemblie apoyntit at Sainct Androis in the last Tuysday of July in the year 1601, the Assemblie wes dismissed.

The summer eftir following, the Ministeres of Edinbruche, being repossessit in thair places, beganne freilie to preach in the auld maner; bot by the occasioun of the matter of Gowrie, that fell furth in the moneth of August thaireftir, thair pulpit was overthrawin the second tyme; for, becaus they could not goe on immediatlie upon the first occasione and informatioune to informe the people, and convein the people, and give publict thankis from pulpit, they wer commandit to goe out of Edinbruche, and not to preiche nor approach within eight myles neir to that towne; and how Mr Robert Bruce, for his uprychtnes and heriate [hatred ?] of the Episcopall course, wes usit, it would requyre a larger treatie nor we can in this compend of storie bestow thairupon.

M.DC.I.

The yeir following, the Generall Assemblie appoyntit at Saint

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Androis, wes, first by proclamatioune anticipate in tyme, reserving the place and tyme, and syne proclaimed to be haldine againe at Bruntiland.[1] What with feir and satisfactioun of discontentmentis, a maist fair and plausibill forme wes used; first, forsuith, to searche for the causses of so gryt defectioune from the puritie, zeal, and practise of the trew Religione in all estaitis of the contrie; and nixt, how the samyne mycht be maist effectually releivit, so that maist excellent, comfortable, and maist necessar exercisses of humiliatioune, fasting, and renewing the Covenant with God, wes concludit to begin at that Assembly, and thairfoir upone ane weik to be solemnlie keipit throwout all the realme; approving that now, quhilk boith by the Court and by monie of the Ministeris wes not only neglected, bot scornit befoir. The King, in presens of the haill Assemblie, maid a lairg and humbill confessioune of his awin sines, and great unthankfullnes, committed alsweill in the commoune governement, namlie, in spairing of Papistis, and giveing remissioune for murther as done before in his familie and persoune, with promisses and calling for grace to amend; and so all followit. Bot howbeit the heartis of many were humblite and sett to seik God and the honor of Jesus Christ, the right way, yit litle sinceritie or guid meineing kythed in the reulleris and cheiff directeris of that actioune; for, neither wes the cheiff caus of diffectioun laid oppine, nor any thing meinit of the rycht way to remeid the samyne. The four Ministeres of Edinbruche were transportit from their places at Edinbruche, and ordained to be placit in other places, and in the Generall Commission renewit a speciall caus be put in for that effect. Uther things also wald haiff bein assayit war not, after they were aschamed, the catalogue of the Breitherine then conveinit, they could not be sure to carie it away by a pluralitie, namlie, eftir so publict and earnest humiliatioune; and so, eftir ratificatioune againe of the actes of the former Assemblies, and for dischairging

[1] The General Assembly was to have been held on the last Tuesday of July; but owing to the King having fallen from his horse at the hunting near Falkland, (when he hurt his left shoulder,) it was appointed by him to be held at Burntisland on 12th May, 1601. See Cald. Hist., &c. [2] Advocates' MSS. "Plantit."

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appellatiounes in excerceisses, and yonge men from pricheing in cheiff places, the nixt Assemblie wes appointit to be haldine at Sainct Androis at the last Tuysday 1602; bot that day wes only for the faschioun's saike, for the King wes now accustomit to appoynt thame quhen, and quhair, and how he pleisit, by his proclamatiounes at mercat places.

About the end of Junij, Mr Andro Melvine, making his excerceisses in his ordinarie places upon the Ephesians, v. 2, he insistit onlie in schawing the duetie of Ministeres; and tuichit sua the present corruptiounes to the quick, namely, of the degenerat and intrusit Ministerie of Saint Androis, that they compleined to the King, causit him to come to St Androis, in July thairafter, and commandit Mr Andro [Melvill] to ward within his awin Colledge of Theologie, quhairof he wes Principall Master; lyke as the samyne auctoritie, he had bein befoir dischairgit aff the Presbyterie and all the Doctoris of Theologie with him for this cause; bot the wynter thairefter, the lairnit Ministeris of that Presbyterie, being all of them Mr Andro his scholleris, beganne ane excerciss in the Schooles of Divynitie, and continowit it ordinarlie their tyme about[1] befoir the haill Universitie; quhairin they disputed all contraveined[2] poynts accuratly, as it wer againes the Papistis, and cleirit the truth stronglie and evidentlie to all. This grevit thame mychtilie, bot becaus it wes done in the Latine tongue in the Schoolis, and in schaw againes the Papistis, according to ane ordinance of the Generall Assemblie, it could not be for a gryt space countermandit, till be these travellis the lawfull auctoritie of Presbyteries and Generall Assemblies wes confirmed, Popish supremacy and all Episcopall auctoritie ovirthrawin, the course of the present corruptiounes damned, and all the Ministerie of that Presbyterie verie much edified and incuradgit. Sa, in the moneth of October, the Provinciall Synod of Fyffe wes keipit at Kinghorne, quhair all the corrupt proceidingis wes sett doune in Grevis, and the Commissionaris appoyntit to mein[3] the same to nixt Generall Assemblie,

[1] Alternately. [2] Controverted. [3] Make complaint of.

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quhilk by proclamatioune wes translaitit from Sainct Androis, quhair it wes ordaneit to be keipit in July by the last Assemblie, and commandit to be haldine at Edinburght in November following.

This was sair againes the heartis and laboris of sume Episcopall Commissioneris thair present, but the universall myndis of the guid Ministerie of that Province prevailit. They follow heirafter, as they are registrat in the Buikis of the Generall Assemblie.

M.DC.II.

Now, the last Generall Assemblie that the King kepeit in Scotland wes at his Palace of Halirudhous, in the moneth of November 1602; quhairin, becaus all thingis were deliberated and painfullie and diligentlie dressit, he thought weill to obtein his purpose. The quhilk ane of the Bretherine weill percaiving, quhen it came to his voite concerning the Moderator, he thus protested, with all reverence of the King's Majestie's presence, but in the feir of the gryte God and in love of Christ, his annoyntit, quho is above all:

"Befoir I speik ony thing in this Assemblie, I man protest that, sieing it is conveined extraordinarly by his Majestie's authoritie, besydis[1] the tyme appoyntit in the last Assemblie, and is keipit heir within his Majestie's Palace, a place quhairin no Assemblie wes accustomit to be keipit heirtofoir; quhatsoevir be done thairin contrair to the Word of God and former constitutiounes of the Kirk, and the establischit Disciplin thairoff, (as God forbid thair sould be any!) the same be null and of nane effect; and remeidit at the nixt Generall Assemblie ordinar, frie and lawfull, of the Kirk of Scotland."[2]

The haill drift of the Assemblie being to sett up the Bischoppis in the second Sessioune, the same wes convoyit, first, be the tryell of the Commissioneris appoyntit by the last Assemblie; in place quhairoff, thair wes thrie Bischopis put in possessioune of thair

[1] Apart from, independent of. [2] From the manner in which this brief outline of the speech is given, it is most probable to have been delivered by Mr James Melvill, who, with his accustomed modesty, thus generally alluded to himself in his Diary.

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Bischoprickis, undir cure[1] of thair Commissioun givin thame to Visit thais Provinces, to witt, Rosse, Caitnes, and Aberdeine, all contrair to the Cautiounes; and to be continowit by the renewing the foirsaid Commissioun for Visitatioune of thais Provinces; and thairfoir to convoy the matter the bettir, a new exact ordour wes sett doun by the Assemblie: The quhilk convoy being discoverit befoir the Assemblie, it wes stoutly and honnestlie gainstood, namely, in the persone of Mr George Gladstaines for Caitnes; quhom, notwithstanding the grytter number of the Assemblie refuissit to appoynt a new Commissioun for Caithnes, yit auctoritie and cunning convoy carreit it away in the end.

The poynt being wounne, and a new Generall Commissioun sett doune againe, and the said thrie Bischoppis continowit in their Commissiounes and Bischoprickis in the fourt Sessioune, the matter gois on; and undir pretence to plant and provyd the Kirk, the Prelacies and gryt Benifices ar thought meit to be givin and disposit to Ministeris, as followis:

"Annent the Constant Platt, the Breitherine ordainit to sitt thairone with his Majestie's Commissioneres being demandit, Quhat effect thair travelis had takin in the samyn? They producit the conclusioune of the Commissioneres of the said Platt, resolving thrie heidis, out of the quhilk one sould be chosine as the maist readiest way for the effectuating of the said work; quhairof the tennor followes:

OVERTOURIS OF THE COMMISSIONERIS OF THE PLATT TO BE ADVYSIT WITH HIS MAJESTIE, &c.

"Giff everie Minister being assignet out of the fruictis of the Kirk quhair he serves, by the benevolence of the takismen[2] grantit

[1] Cover. [2] Tacksmen, lease holders, or tenants of the teinds or tithes.

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to the augmentatioune of the said stipend, iff thair salbe ane perpetuall securitie maid to the said takismen of thair teyndis of ane speciall gressowme to be condescendit upon for ilk chalder, for the space of 19 yeiris, and to be renewit yeirly thairefter for the lyk space and the lyk gressowme; upon this conditioune, that the said principall taxmen sall grant and renew the lyk securitie to the sub-taxmen for peyment of thair pairt of the said gressowme *pro rato*, where ony tax[1] are: Or giff the gryt benefices salbe provydit to Ministeres upon this conditioune, that all the Kirkis of the Prelacies be planted with sufficient Ministeres, and be provydit with competent livingis, as the modifiaris of the said Constant Plaite sall think expedient, and he to pay to the Kingis Majestie yeirly the tent pairt of the fruitis of the said benefice quhilk sall rest, by and attour[2] the sustentatioune[3] of the said Ministeres; and that all the inferiour benefices salbe provydit with Ministeres serving the cuir of the saidis Kirkis, alseweill personage as viccaradge: Or giff all the gryt benefices salbe dissolvit, and the Prelat to haiff the principall Kirke of the Prelacie with the temporall landis thairof, and the rest of the Kirkis to be provydit with qualified Ministeres, and the said Prelat and Titularis of the said Kirkes to pey ane yeirlie duetie to his Majestie as the benefice may beire, at the sight of the Commissioneres forsaids."

The quhilk Overtouris being red in the sight of the Assemblie, It wes ordained every Synod sould haiff a coppy of the same, and to be advysit thairwith untill the morning, that they mych give thair advyse to his Majestie quhilk of the thrie wer maist meit to be imbraced.

This purpose wes also plainly espeyitt and withstood, by giveing in ane coppie to the Kingis Majestie of the former Plott of Planteing of all the Kirkis of the realme, settin downe by Commissioune from his Majestie and the estaites of Parliament 1597, by dissolveing of Prelacies, and Planting of fyftie Presbyteries in thair places, the Commissioneris quhairoff sould haiff voit in parliament; bot by

[1] Tacks, leases. [2] Over and above. [3] Support.

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auctoritie and dressing of voitis of the evill advysed multitud it wes rejected, and the conclusioun past as followis:

"Anent the Overtouris givin in by the Commissioneris of the Constant Platt, with the quhilk the Bretherine were ordained to be advysit, efter mature deliberatioune and voiting, The Assemblie thinkes the second Overtour maist expedient to be accepted, bearing the provisioun of Ministeres to all Prelacies, with the conditiounes thairin conteinit as is above expressit. *Item*, the Assemblie thought expedient to adjoyne and nominat utheris out of the number of the Britherine to be adjoyned to thais quhilk wer nominat by the Commissioneres of the Provinces conveinit at Halyrudehouse, the fyftein of October; out of the quhilk number his Majestie sould mak his chuise of sic as he sould present to the benefice vacand. The names of thame all are as followes: Mrs Robert Pont, James Melvill, James Nicolsoune, Patrick Galloway, Johne Forbes, Jhone Knox, Robert Wilkie, Jhone Howisoune, George Monro, Johne Clappertoune, Robert Bruce, Johne Carmichaell, William Malcolme, Robert Howie, Alexander Scrymgeour, Alexander Lyndsay, James Robertsoune, Patrick Lindsay, Andro Knox, Johne Spottiswood, Gavine Hamiltoun, Andro Lambe, Alexander Forbes, Alexander Douglas, and George Grahame."

Off the quhilk, sume plainely refuised, and sume wer absent, and yit thair names wer put in as nominat by the Assemblie.

It wes long and verie much urgit, or[1] the Greivances of the Synod of Fyffe could be gottin hard[2] and answerit; but, sieing the grytest number of the Assemblie pressit the same, thair wes halff ane dussane namit out of the Assemblie to confer with so many of the said Synod thairanent, and to report thair agriement to the full Assemblie.

FOLLOWS THE GREIVANCES OF THE SYNOD OF FYFF.

"1. It wald be meined[3] to the Generall Assembly nixt, that the Generall Assemblies of the Kirk are nocht ordinarilie keipit, nocht-

[1] Before, ere. [2] Heard. [3] Complained of.

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withstanding the actis of Parliament and Generall Assemblie, and the necessitie of the tyme; but that the dyatis thairof ar altered without the knawledge of the Presbyteries and Synodis.

"2. That Ministeres are callit befoir his Majestie's Secreit Councill, *in prima instantia*, for Discipline or Doctrine, quhilk is a gryt incouradgment to the enimies.

"3. That all applicatiounes of Doctrine in Presbyteries and Excercises ar found falt with, undir pretence of an act of ane Generall Assemblie; quhilk act, thairfoir, wald be sichted and cleirlie interpretit.

"4. That the Governement of the cheiff matteres of the Kirk continowis in the handis of a few, undir the name of a Commissioune, to the gryt prejudice of the liberties of Synods and Presbyteries.

"5. That the ordinarie Doctoris beiring[1] ordinare calling in the Kirk, by the discipline and constitutioune thairoff, [and are now abrogat, and now[2]] ar debarrit from Presbyteries and Assemblies.

"6. That the Assemblie hes takin no tryell hithertill[3] annent the Cautiounes sett doune for avoyding of corruptioune in the Commissioneris, and voiteris in Parliament.

"7. That the absence of the Pastouris in Edinbruche, and alteratioune of the Ministerie thairoff, quhilk wes the cheiff Watchtower of the Kirk, hurtis greitlie the caus of true Religioune, and incowradges the enemies.

"8. That thair is distractiounes in opiniounes far different from the consent and unitie of heartis quhilk hes bein in the Kirk befoir, in all weightie causses, and ovir letill deliberatioune and reassouneing had in matteres; quhairby conclusiounes are past, almaist the halff of the Bretherine gaising;[4] quhairas our Assemblies wes evir wont to consider before they concludit any thing.

"9. That the land is defiled, and the Kirk is indomadgit by the French Embassadour his mass.

[1] Univ. MS. reads, "diverse learned men having." [2] Adv. MSS. [3] Heretofore, hitherto. [4] Both of the Adv. MSS. read "gainstanding."

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"10. That excommunicat persounes for Papistrie are suffired to haunt the countrey publictlie and piceablie.

"11. That the Nobillmen laitlie relaxit from excommunicatione for Papistrie gives no toakines of thair professioun of the truth, bot rather the contrarie.

"12. That apprehendit Papistis' directiounes and Letteris are kepit close, and the dangers imminent thairby to the Kirk are not communicated to the Watchmen,[1] quhairby they may make faithfull[2] wairneing, and prevent the perrell.

"13. That the Discipline of the Kirk againes murther, incest, and adulterie, is not practised with that holy severitie that becomes, notwithstanding of the frequent remissiounes obtainit by criminall persounes, for eschewing of civill punischment.

"14. That the remeidis sett doune againes apprehendit dangeris at diverse tymes, and at diverse meittingis of the Kirk, ar not followit furth."[3]

Sess. 8, *November* 13, 1602.[4]

"The said day, the Breither they appointit to visite the Greivances and Petitiounes of the Synod of Fyfe, condescendit upon the Answers following:

[ANSWERS BY THE BRETHREN APPOINTED TO VISIT THE GRIEVANCES OF THE SYNOD OF FIFE.]

"*First*, Findis and decerns that the Generall Assemblies sould be appoyntit and keipit according to the act of Parliament haldin at Edinbruche the fifth day of June 1592, quhairoff the tennour followis, so far as concernes that poynt: 'And siclyk, ratiffies and

[1] The Ministers. [2] Univ. MS. "thankfull." [3] Immediately following this document, there follows in the Univ. MS., "The Sowme of the Conference keipit at Halirudhous the 17 of Nov. 1595;" which the reader will find in the DIARY, pp. 446-462. [4] In Univ. MS., "13 December, Sess. 5."

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approves the Generall Assemblies appoyntit by the samyne Kirk; and declaires that it salbe lawfull to the said Kirk and Ministeres, every yeir at the leist, and oftner *pro re nata*, as occasione and necessitie sall serve and requyre, to haiff and keip Generall Assemblies; providing that the King's Majestie or his Commissioneris to be appoyntit with thame be his Heines, being present att ilk Generall Assemblie, befoir the dissolving thairoff, nominat and appoynt a tyme and place quhen and quhair the nixt Generall Assemblie sall be keipit; and in caice that naither his Majestie nor his saids Commissioners be present for the tyme in that toune quhair the Generall Assemblie salbe halden, that then, and in that cais, it salbe leisum to the said Generall Assemblie, by thame selff, to nominat and appoynt tyme and place, quhen and quhair, the nixt Generall Assemblie of the Kirk salbe keipit and holdin, as they haiff bein in use thir tymes bygane.

"2. Giff his Majestie proceid againes Ministeres according to his Majestie's awin declaratioune, maid and inacted in the Generall Assemblie haldin at Dundie, 1597, sess. 2, the desyre of the second article is satisfiet, and no uther thing meinit thairby.

"3. Thinkis it expedient that the act maid annent applicatiounes in excerceis be interpreit not to be extended to forbid the useing of the Word of God, in applicatiounes to the generall endis thairoff, quhilk is lawfull to use efter this manner; this heid of doctrine serves for refutatioune of sic ane errour, for the rebuke of such ane vice, for comforting of such ane people or persoune in such ane cais, &c.; and as for particulare or personall applicatiounes, leaves it to be advysit quither it salbe in tyme comeing or noe, and how farre. And thinkis guid that this be reassonit in the Presbyteries and their Commissioneris sent with utheris reassounis to the nixt Generall Assemblie thairannent; and, in the meintyme, no invocatiounes to be used againes personall applicatiounes.

"4. Let all Commissiounes be givin furth and usit according to the actis of the Generall Assemblie from this tyme furth.

"5. Findis that Doctouris hes had, and may haiff, voit in Generall Assemblies, thai haiffing ane generall lawfull commissioune for that

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effect, according as it hes bein elis fund[1] and declared by the Generall Assemblie's Commissioun for that effect, haldin at Edinbruche, May 10, 1586, and at Glasgow 1581; quhair it is fund and declareit by the act of the Generall Assemblie, that Doctouris sould concurr with the Elderis thair, and thair Bretherein, in all Assemblies.

"6. Lett the Cautiounes be lookit and preceisely keipit in tyme cumming, undir the paines conteinit in the actis maid thairannent."

ANSWERIT IN THE ASSEMBLIE.

"7. Nothing to be done and concludit in Assemblie, except it be sufficiently reassounit and deliberat upoune.

"8. Acquiesces in the deliberatioune of the Breitherine that hes spokin to his Majestie thairannent; and desyres Mr Walter Balcanquall to schew the samyn to the Assemblie, and how the Presbyterie of Edinbruche is satisfied in this poynt.

"9. Let thair names be given up to his Majestie, that he may tak order with thame according to the lawis; and in special with Captain Halkersoun, Patrik Butter, Mr Alexander Leslie, Duncane Law, Thomas Browne, William Leslie, and Thomas Mortimer."

ENDIT IN THE ASSEMBLIE.

"10. To acquiesce in his Majestie's declaratioune thairannent; and to requiest his Majestie that the Presbyteries heiraftir be acquentit in sic causses, quhen it salbe neidfull.

"11. Quhair thair is negligence in this poynt, let it be mendit heireftir, according to the actis of the Assemblie.

"12. Let farder diligence be usit quhair negligence hes bein."

Quhilks Answers the Assemblie allowis of, and approves thame; and ordaines the samyn to be insert in the Buikis of the Assem-

[1] Already found.

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blies. And so ended this Assembly. The nixt Assemblie wes appoyntit to hauld at Abirdein, the last Tuysday of July, *anno* 1604, the King voiting thairto him selff first, and the rest following; howbeit, he did schaw him selff mychtily offendit at the minting[1] to keipe the samyn, as the progress of this storie will schaw.[2]

M.DC.III.

The yeir following, guid Quein Elizabeth restit in peace, and King James entirit King in England more peaceably nor him selff or any uthir could haiff expectit. So it pleasit God to magnifie his mercie and grace with his blissit Gospell of peace; the lycht quhairoff once entering in Britaine, eftir the grosse and most dark night of Poprie, beganne peace betwixt the unconciliabill[3] natiounes of Scottis and English: The continowing quhairof maid peace to grow, and at last perfytit the samyn be ane blessit Unioune, iff it be, in the true faith of boith doctrine and discipline, knitt fast with the band of love in Chryst. The King maid gryt haist to goe to tak possessioun in England, and in oration maid publictlie for taking his leiff, in the Gryt Kirk of Edinbruche, he thankit God that he had sattled boith Kirk and kingdome of Scotland, and left it in that estate quhilk he meinit nocht to hurt or alter ony way, the subjectis thairof remaineing and injoying the samyn peaceably and quyetly; for the quhilk effect, he would once in every thrie yeir cume and visit the samyn. Also, his Majestie send back word with diverse Ministeris that mett him by the way, that thai sould schaw all thair bretherein, in his name, that thais sould keip unitie and peace, without altering any thing concludit in thais Assemblies quhairin he wes present him selff in persoune, for his purpose was nocht to alter ony thing.

M.DC.IV.

In the moneth of January thaireftir, the Conferrence was keipit at Hamptoune Court, of gryt expectatioune that all the great and grosse corruptiounes of the Kirk of England sould be reformed;

[1] Aiming, attempting. [2] Adv. MSS. "testifie." [3] Irreconcileable.

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the effect quhairof wes publischit by two proclamationes, in the monethe of Merche following; one againes Jesuites and Seminaries, but very favourabill to the Pape, and Papistis in Religioune; the uthir very favourabill to the Bisschoppis, but griveous to the sincere Ministeres, and gryt disapoyntment, discouragement, and disgrace of all that craiffed and luikit for reformatioune.

The Provinciall Synods in Scotland conveining in Appryl, and heiring of ane Parliament proclamed to be keeped in Edinburght, directit ovir thair Commissioneris to joyne and advyse with the Commissioneris of the Generall Assemblie annent the effaires of the Kirk; and, according to the custome, desyrit ane Generall Assemblie to be grantit and haldin befoir or with the Parliament, namely, at sic a necessare tyme, when all wes on fute awaikit to look to thair matteris: Sa, we passit ovir to the Parliament haldin at Edinburg the 24th of that moneth, quhair Mr Patrik Galloway and Mr David Lindsay, callit Bischoppis[1] laitly, wer cume from the King; quho, in a full Conventioune of the Commissioneris boith of the Generall Assemblie [and of the last Provinciall, declared unto us that they had desyred a Generall Assemblie to be[2]] afoir[3] or at the Parliament; [quhilk the King said, needeth not, in respect there wes nocht to be intreated of in this Parliament,[4]] bot concerning the Unioun, quhairin the Kirk could have no interest in at this Parliament, and quhairby the ordour and discipline of our Kirk of Scotland sould nawayis be hurt. The Commissioneris of the Provinciall Assemblies reassounit in the contrair, that so could not be; becaus the realmes could not be united without the unioune of the Kirk; neither could the Kirkis be united in discipline, the ane being Episcopall and the uther Presbyteriall, unles that the ane sould surrender and cede[5] to the uther. It wes replyit, that nothing wes

[1] Advocates' MSS. "Bischope of Rosse." [2] Omitted in University MS. [3] Before. [4] Omitted in University MS.—These omissions are noted here to exhibit a specimen of the extreme carelessness of nearly all the existing transcripts from old MSS, and the necessity of scrupulously collating them with as many copies as can conveniently be procured.—ED. [5] Adv. MSS. "Yeild."

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to be done in this Parliament but chuseing of Commissioneris to treat of the Unioune, and report. We answerit, that commounly, as thingis wer dressit and blokit by the Conferrence and treiting, they wer at last sua concludit and endit, and, thairfoir, the greittest danger wes in the want of skill, tentivnes, faithfullnes, and guid effectioune of Commissioneris, and quho did undertak commissioune in so weightie a matter for the Generall Kirk, without warrand and directioune from the samyn, or quho could be callit Commissioneris for ony estait, and accept it as such, unles thai wer chosen by thame, and ressavit instructiounes and warrand from thame. Thai replyeit,[1] that the Parliament did chuse thame, and the Kirk had appoyntit certaine to vote thairin. We answerit, that sic wer athare[2] of old Prelates, or men namit[3] Bisschoppis. Giff[4] the auld Prelates, the most just exceptiounes of the Kirk, had bein at all tymes bygaine againes thame, as neither beiring office in the Kirk nor having commissioun thairfra: Giff new[-named] Bisschoppis, thair wes ane express cautioun, disschairging thame to presume to propone any thing, in Parliament or in ony uthir Conventioune, in name of the Kirk, without ane expres warrand and direction of the samyn, undir the paine of deprivatioune from thair office.

This reassouning pleissit not the Bisschoppis, (of new so nameit,) and such of the Commissioneris of the Generall Assemblie, in quhom the King confided; and thairfoir wes lychtly brokin off, and the matter eludit and put off to further advysement. Wee, sieing thingis like to goe so that the Parliament wald chuse, eftir the commoune maner, Lordis of Articles, and thai the Commissioneris to treat of the Unioune, we wer of purpose to treat and protest in oppin Parliament; but, being assurit of new that the King menit[5] not to alter any thing off our order and discipline, and had expressly promissit thame, provyding we had behaived our selves quyetly at this tyme; also, perceaving that the treity annent the Unioune wes not lyk to frame in neither of the realmes, but lykly to be crossit

[1] Advocates' MSS. "Threiped," *i.e.* pertinaciously asserted. [2] Either.
[3] Adv. MSS. "New-named." [4] If. [5] Meant.

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be uther estaitis, to the Kingis miscontentment, we left aff the purpose of publict protestatioune, and resolvit to keip us within the boundis of deilling with the Commissioneris of our awin Generall Assembly; and sua putt our Advyse and Articles in wryt, and to present thame with a graiff and scharpe admonitioun, quhilk nochtwithstanding was reverently ressavit, and our advyce promissit to be followit, and put faythfullie to practise by thame that had place. Followis now

THE ADVYCE OF THE COMMISSIOUNERIS FROM THE PROVINCIALL SYNODIS, GIVIN UP TO THE COMMISSIONERIS OF THE GENERALL ASSEMBLY CONVEINIT AT EDINBURGHE, BEFOIR THE PARLIAMENT, THE 24 OF APRYLE 1604.

"Forsuameikle as, by your Missives directit to our Presbyteries, (Right Reverent and worschipfull Breithrin,) we wer warnit to give in our advyce to yow befoir this proclaimed Parliament, anent matteris to be propouned be the same for the weill of the Kirk, for dischairgeing of that dewtie, we haiff sett doun and sent to yow in wrytt by our Commissioneris, with all heartly salutatioune in the Lord Jesus, the Articles of our Advyce following:

"And, First, we thank God of this purpose of Unioune of thais realmes togidder, as maist loveabill and guid, in respect that allready by the professioune of the Gospell, thai haiff bein united in God thais many yeiris bypast; and now, by a speciall blissing of that samyn Gospell of peice and unioune in Jesus Christ, they ar come undir ane King in vertues and graces incomparabill; and, thairfoir, we earnestlie wische the same, be all guid meinis and indeavouris of all estaitis to be present, namely, by the ecclesiasticall, evin till it be effectuat for the estabilisching and maintinence of the kingdome of Jesus Christ, quhilk is the kingdome of true peace and unioune, wirking true saftie and firme weillfare to all kingdomes reigneing and standing with Christ and in him. Secondlie, Becaus the occasioun and treating annent the Unioune so happily be God's gryt and guid Providence falline furth, is since the last Generall

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Assemblie, and in name of the said Assemblie of the Kirk of this realme, ye could thairfoir haiff no warrand, directione, or informatioune to deall in any particulare concerneing the same; yet we think that thai may and sould doe this in generall, in the name of the said Assembly: That is to say,

"First, To craive the actis maid in favours of the Kirk, in Parliaments preceiding, to be ratified and to be confirmit off new in this present.

"Nixt, Solemnelie we protest that nothing be done by way of Commissioune or utherwayis, at this tyme, quhairby any innovatioune, alteratioune, hurt or prejudice ensew againes the present rycht professioune of the Doctrine, Discipline, and Governement of the Kirk and kingdome of Jesus Chryst within this realme, estabilischit be the Word of God, confirmeit by the law of the contrey, breiffely comprehendit and publischit in the Kingis Majestie's Confessioun of Faith, quhairunto all his Heines' subjectis wer movit, with thair King and Soveraigne Lordis solemnlie to sweir and subscryve, and the quhilk his Majestie, going to his prosperous promotioune, most gratiously vouchsaffit, and granted it sould enjoy peiceabilly and unaltered heirefter. And incais thair be any thing done in the contraire, (as God forbid!) to protest it to be null, and of no force nor effect in it selff, in respect that neithir the Generall Kirk wes warnit thairto,[1] nor had directit any Commissiouneris thairannent.

"Thridlie, That the old Petitiounes of the Generall Assembly be reneued, and so much the moir presently urgit, as the danger is gryt; to witt, that none vote in name of the Kirk, and as the estait thairof, in Parliament, quho beiris not office within the samyn, nor hes any Commissioun so to doe from the same; and iff thai be admittit to sit and voit thairin in that name, to protest that it be not esteimed the voit and judgment of the Kirk of Scotland.

"Fourtlie, Forsuameikle as in the Generall Assemblie haldine in presence of the Kingis Majestie's presens, at Montrosse, in the

[1] Advocates' MSS. "would yeild thairto."

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monethe of Marche *anno* 1600, it wes expresslie and be cautioune provydit, that thais of the Ministrie quho in name of the Kirk ar appoyntit to voit in Parliament sall not presume at ony tyme, in Parliament, Counsell, or Conventioune, to propoune any thing in name of the Kirk, without ane expresse directioune and warrand thairfra; neithir yet sall keip silence in oppouning thameselves thairto, iff thai sall heir or persaiff ony thing uttirit to the hurt or prejudice thairof, under the paine of deprivatioune: Thairfoir, we think that thai sould chairge the same voitteris in Parliament, in name of Christ and his Kirk, so to doe, undir the paine of deprivatioune, and further as Christ by his Kirk sall inflict; and to recommend to thame the order and discipline of our Kirk to be weill considerit, studeit, and hauldine in memory, that thai may menteine and stand faythfully to the samyn to thair uttirmost; remembiring that accompt thai must give to the Generall Kirk of this realme, but namely to Jesus Christ, and that gryt and glorious Parliament off his last appeirance to judge the quick and the deid.

"Fyftlie and last, We most earnestly beseik yow, in the bowellis of Christ Jesus, yea evin attesting and adjureing, befoir God and his elect angellis, as ye will mak answer to that great Judge to quhom ye man give ane accompt of your stewartschip, that ye, by these presentis, certiffie and informe the Commissioneris to be chosine in the present Parliament to treat upoun this Unioune, for the pairt of the Kirk, and so by thame the King, our Soveraigne his most excellent Majestie on earth, that we belive in our heart and conscience, and have it instructit, cleirit, and assurit by the Word of God, wryttin in Holy Scripture, that the essentiall grundis of the Discipline and Governement of the Kirk and kingdome of Jesus Christ, estabilischit and usit within this realme of Scotland, ar not thingis indifferent and alterabill, but substantiall pairtis of the Gospell, haiffing as great and lyk warrand as ony poynt of our fayth and religioune; quhilk to renunce or pass fra we will not, by his grace: We will esteime it as hard as to renunce the manifest truth of God, reveilit to us in the Scripture, and so hardly and worse then to suffer the death, quhilk expressly, by thir presentis, we

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protest and confesses, chuseing rather so to doe now befoir hand, for the eas and releife of our conscience, nor ovir lait[1] heirefter, quhen (as it may be yet, God forbid!) thair is constitutiounes and lawis maid in the contraire."

The Parliament being prorogat to the moneth of July, and keipit at Perth, the Barrounes and Burgessis, with sume of the ancient Nobilitie, quhois numbir wes but small, in respect of the new-maid Lords and Erlis advancit to honour for that purpose, as namelie the guid auld Earle of Mortoune, most uprycht and zealous for the libertie and sincere standing of the doctrine and discipline of the Kirk, desyrit ane claus to be insert in the Commissioune for the Unioune, to preserve and keipe the present sincere and frie estait of the Religioune in discipline and doctrine within the Kirkis. They deall with the Commissiouneris of the Generall Assembly to assist thairin, as such to quhom it appertaineth cheifly; bot thai were borne back by the new nameit Bisschoppes and agentis of the Court, haid lytle cair thairin, (a blott of treasoun againes the caus,) yit the foir-nameit Nobillmen, to quhome the prais heiroff amonges men speciallie belongis, insistit so in oppine Parliament, that howbeit the clause wes not insertit in the Commissioune; yit, in the first act of that Parliament maid in favouris of the Kirk, it wes provydit that the estait present of the Kirk of Scotland, in religioune and sinceritie, boith of doctrine and discipline, sould no wayes be prejudgit or hurt by the present Commissioune, or grantit be the Unioune, &c., and that wes all we desyrit for the tyme.

The Generall Assembly wes appoyntit to be haldine att Aberdeine the last Twyisday of July. Amongis utheris Articles that the Lord Comptroller, Lord of Scoone, brought from Court, (for now our country begouth[2] to be reulit be directioune of Articles,) thair wes one annent the prorogating of the said Generall Assembly till the Unioune wes concludit, and the nixt adverteisement. The questioune, thairfoir, being movit in the Presbyterie of Saint Androis, Quhither Commissioners sould be directed to keipe that day or not?

[1] Than too late. [2] Began.

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It wes concludit that thai sould, becaus the warrand of keipeing wes greitter nor of continowing and prorogatioune thairoff, to witt, the Word of God, custome of the Kirk since the first Reformatioune of Religioun, law of the realme, and ordinance of the last Generall Assembly, quhair his Majestie, with the Assembly, did appoynt the samyn; and namely, the priviledges, weill, and libertie of our Kirk, wes to be lookit to at this tyme, quhen all estaitis wer zealous of their rychtis and liberties. Quhairupoun that Presbyterie directit the Commissioneris to Aberdeine; quhais diligence wes reported by thame to the said Presbyterie, as followis:

"AT ABERDEIN, the last day of July 1604, within Saint Nicolas' Paroch Kirk of the Burght off Aberdein, at four houris efter noone, or thairby, befoir thir wittnesses, Mr Peter Blackburne, James Rosse, and Archibald Blackburne, Ministeres of Aberdeene, John Rought, Minister at Rige,[1] Mr Thomas Nicolsoune, Commissioner of Aberdein, and George Nicolsone, burges off the said Burgh:

"The quhilk day, in presens of the wittnesses foirsaidis, and of the connotaris publict under-subscryvand, compeirit personally within the said Paroche Kirk, Mrs James Melvill, William Erskine, and Williame Murray, Ministeris of the Evangell of Jesus Chryst, and presented ane Commissioune givin to thame be the Breitherin of the Presbyterie of Saint Androis, &c., quhairby thai ar constitut Commissioneris for thame for keipeing of the Generall Assembly appoyntit at Aberdein in the moneth of July instant; as the said Commissioun, quhilk wes red in audience of us and of the saidis wittnesses, in the selff at mair lenth beires; quhairof the tennour followis: 'AT ST ANDROIS, the 26 day of July 1604; the quhilk day, after incalling[2] on God, the Presbyterie did appoynt and constitute thair Breither Ministeris, James Melvill, Williame Erskine, and William Morray, thair Commissioneris to the Generall Assembly appoyntit to be haldine at Aberdeine [this moneth; giving to thame thair full Commissioune and express command to pass to Aber-

[1] Adv. MSS., erroneously, "John Rower, Minister at Rige."

[2] Invocation.

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deine,[1]] and thair, for the said Presbyterie and in thair names, to conferr, voit, and conclud sic thingis as sould be handelit in that Assemblie, and to doe quhatsumevir thingis that perteinis to the weill of the Kirk: Promiseing to ratifie and approve quhatevir the saids Commissioneris sall doe thairinto, according to the Word of God. In wittnes quhairoff, thai haiff commandit thair Clerk to subscryve this present Commissioune, day, yeir, and place foirsaidis. (*Sic subscribitur*,) Mr Robert Rouchт,[2] Clerk to the Presbyterie, at the command of the same.' And thairwith did give in and present in wryt thair Protestatioune subsequent; quhilk, siclyk, wes red in audience of us and the said witneses, and wes subscryvit with thair handis in our presence; quhairoff lykwayis the tennour followis: 'Forsuameikle as albeit the Kirk of Scotland, evir since the Reformatioune of Religioune, and lycht of the Gospell rychtly instructit and informit, hes thought it a most necessar duetie, awand to Chryst and his Kirk, to conveine in thair Generall Assemblie, yeirly, for keiping of the puritie of the doctrine, excerceise of discipline, and governement of the haill estait thairoff, with uniforme consent and agriement, lykas thai haiff bein in continuall use and possessioune to keipe the same inviolabill, as a cheiff and principall pairt of the libertie and office of the Ministrie commandit by the Lord Jesus Christ: As also, God hes movit the heart of the King, our Soveraine, with consent of his Estaitis in Parliament, by speciall actis and lawis, to ratifie and approve the same, granting libertie and fridome to the Ministeris of the Kirk to convein in thair Generall Assemblies, once in the yeir at the least, and oftner *pro re nata*; and the Kingis Majestie, of his speciall caire and effectioune to the Kirk of Jesus Christ within his Hienes' realme, did give his awin presens, as at uthers diverse Generall Assemblies, so at the last holdine at Halirudhous, quhair certaine Grievances being givin in, amang the rest, that the Generall Assemblies wer not keipit ordinarlie, quhilk his Majestie and the said Assembly ordeinit to be keipit in tyme comming; appoynting the actis of Parliament maid thairannent to

[1] Omitted in Univ. MS.

[2] Adv. MSS. "Kooke."

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be observit, inserting the very wordis of the act of Parliament in the ordinall of the Assemblie, and according thairto at the ending of the said Assemblie, appoyntit the nixt Generall Assemblie to be holden at Aberdeine the last Twysday of Jully, in this instant yeir 1604.'

"Nevertheless, that day being now come and instant, we fand no appeirance of the keiping of the said Assemblie by the presens of the last Moderatour, nor Conventioune, nor meiting togither of Bretherine, Commissiouneris directit from Provinces or Presbyteries, to the gryt displesoure and greiff of our heartis, namely, in sua necessare and sua neidfull a tyme, quhen messes are breking forth in diverse pairtis, and sume of the burghis of the realme, Kirks and Congregatiounes lyis pitifully unplantit, a cairles cauldnes in all estaitis, namely in the Ministrie it selff, and Atheisme, with all kynd of vyce overflowing the face of the land: Thairfoir, we, Mrs James Melvill, Williame Erskine, and Williame Murray, Commissioneris apoyntit and sent hither by the Presbyterie of Saint Androis, haiffing preceisely keipit the day sett for the Generall Assemblie, and attendit on in the Kirk of Aberdeine all the foir noone, without meetting of ony Commissioneris from uthir Provinces or Presbyteries since we came; and sieing we can do no more, hes thoucht it our most necessar duetie, befoir God and his angellis, and yow that ar present, to tak documentis and mak protestatioune: Lykas, in the handis of yow notaris publict we tak actis, documentis, and instrumentis, that we, abovenamit, ar heir present, directit in commissioune from our said Presbyterie of Saint Androis, for keiping of the said appoyntit Generall Assemblie on this day and at this place; so that this same defect hes not, so much as lyes in us, but may hold and keipe according to the Word of God, constitutiounes and continuall customes of the Kirk, the lawes of the realme, and the appoyntment of the Generall Assembly last holden, the Kingis Majestie being present thairat, and voiting first to the samen: And we doe protest, befoir God, that quhatsoevir skaith, hurt, damnage, or entres,[1] the Kirk and Kingdome of Jesus Christ within the realme,

[1] Interest.

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in the priviledgis, liberties, or friedomes, or utherwayis in the generall or particular estait thairoff, sall happine to incurre or susteine, by the oversycht, negligence, and slipping of the said appoyntit Assemblie, it be not imputed to us and our said Presbyterie of Saint Androis: Protesting also, expressly, that the samyne (iff any be) may be amendit and redressit by remeid of the Word of God, lawis of the realme, actis and constitutiounes of our Kirk, and auld libertie and friedome thairoff in sic tyme and place as God sall think expedient.

"Thus, protesting and procureing most earnestlie[1] and solemnely for the weill, priviledgis, and libertie of the said Kirk and Kingdome of Jesus Christ estaiblischit in this realme, movit and steirit up thairto for no uther caus (as God is Judge) but that we may doe and dischairge a most necessar deutie for the glorie of Christ, saftie of his Kirk, and the ease and releiff of our consciences in the gryt day of his glorious appeirance, to call us to ane accompt of our ministerie and dispensatioune concredit[2] to us.

(*Sic subscribitur*) "Mr James Melvill.
"William Murray.
"William Erskine.

"Quhilk Commissioune and Protestatioune being red and presentit, as said is, the said Mr James Melvill, William Erskine, and William Morray, maid their Protestatiounes conforme thairto, and tuik documentis and instrumentis thairupone in the handis of us connotaris publict, undirsubscryveand, day, monethe, yeir, and place foirsaid, and befoir the witneses above mentionit, witnessing thais our subscriptiounes manuellis.

"*Ita est*, Mr Thomas Nicolsoune, *scriba constitutus communis Burgi de Aberdeine, Notarius Publicus, ac testis ad premissa requisitus et rogatus; testan. hac mea subscriptione manuali.*

"*Ita est*, Walterus Robertsone, *scriba constitutus Burgi de*

[1] Adv. MSS. "instantly." [2] Entrusted.

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Abirdiene, Connotarius Publicus, ad premissa specialiter rogatus et requisitus; testan. hic meis signo et subscriptione manualibus.

"*Ita est,* DAVID MAR,[1] *Connotarius, in premissa rogatus et requisitus; teste mea hac subscriptione manuali.*"

The guid Breitherine of the North, sieing Saint Androis to haiff such a cair of the Generall Assemblie, quhairoff thai had bein cairles, condemned thair awin negligence, and did tak advyce to direct Lettres and Commissioneris from thair nixt Synod to be holdine at Abirdeine in the moneth of August, to all the Provinces of the realme, requeisting that a certaine number directit from every ane of thame aucht to be present at the Synod of Fyff, to be keipit in St Androis in the moneth of September, quhair thai mycht expoune their Grivances, namely, annent the Earle of Huntly, quho vexed thame with his proud Poperie, and to crave all concurrance for a Generall Assemblie.

Be this occasioune, the Synod wes keipit verie frequently[2] at Saint Androis. Thair wes a gryt numbir of gentillmen and many Commissioneris of diverse Provinces, namely, be-south and west. The doctrine wes upon Appostasie, the xxix. of Deut.; quhilk God blissit with gryt power and moveing of the heartis of all. Thair wes the Laird of Lauristoune, the King's Commissiouner, quho being informit that we meineit to keep ane Generall Assemblie, had Lettres in reddines from the Councill to dischairge our meitting; but quhen he heard the occasioune expouned be our Breitherine of Abirdeine, and saw all our proceidingis in ane ordinar and quyet forme, he approvit all. Att this Synod the questioune wes movit,[3] Quhither the Generall Assemblie mycht be haldine[4] without craiving and obteineing the King's leive? It wes found, by guid reassouneing, that it mycht; for, besyd the warrand of Christ, the onlie King of the Kirk, quhilk is sufficient and great aneugh, we haiff a law for it, quhilk the King himselff, in a Generall Assemblie at Dundie, acknawledgit to be the most autentik forme of license and consent

[1] Adv. MSS. "Mure."
[2] Crowdedly, great numbers attending it.
[3] Adv. MSS. "reasoned."
[4] *Ib.* "conveen."

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that a King could give, *et id possumus quod de jure possimus:* Thairfoir, we sould not dout of it, bot even as Shereffis and Barrounes keepis thair Courtis upoun warrandis, and giftis, and infeftmentis, so may we. Bot the Kingis Commissiouner, granting that so it mycht be, counsellit us rather to attend his Majestie's license and guid will; for utherwayis it wald mak a sturr, and the Counsell by Lettres wald dischairge it: We sould doe weill to mak warneing from this Synod and the rest of the Provinces to direct thair Commissiouneris to meitt with such as this Assemblie sould appoynt, at Perth, in October following, quhair also he sould caus the Commissiouneris of the Generall Assemblie to be present with himselff, and quhat wes thought most meitt concerning a Generall Assemblie, or any uther thing, then he sould cary it to the King, and returne a guid answer. Quhilk advyce being followit, and the Commissiouneris being nominat, the Assemblie dissolvit.

The dyat set at Perth, in the moneth of October, wes very frequently keipit, quhair the Kingis Commissiouner declairet the caus of thair meiting, and desyrit all the Commissiouneris from Provinces to meitt togidder by thameselves, to advyse on Articles and Petitiounes to be sent be him to the King, for he wes presently on his journay towardis his Majestie; and he, with the Commissiouneris of the Generall Assemblie, would advys alon in the lyk maner. So we rose from thame, and went togider to a place off the Kirk by our selvis, quhair, chuseing a Moderator, the Breither that come from all pairtis and Provinces of the land, with gryt gladnes and contentment of mynd, spent the foirnoone; every man orderly and at length uttering their Grivances, and laying thame opin in plaine termes to their Britherine, regrating hevilie the decaying estait of the Kirk, the restraineing of the fridome thairof, the usurpatioune of the Commissiouneris of the Generall Assemblie, in taking upone thame the haill reulling and government of the Kirk, and gryt and manifold inconveniences falling out daylie in all Provinces thairby, namlie for the wanting of a frie and Generall Assemblie; adding also, in end, thair judgmentis and advyces, how thaise things mycht be mendit, and further hurt and mischeiff mycht be preventit; so

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that evirie man thought thai wer begining of new to tast againe of the sueiteness of the auld fridomes thairof, and joyfull meiting togidder of the Breitherine for Chrystis honour and thair mutuall confort. Bot, how sone as the knawledge heiroff come to the Commissiouneris, (as it come incontinent be sume that went out from amongst us, bot wer not of us,) we haiff not leive to meit againe and proceid at eftirnoone; but it behovit us, of need force, either to sit togidder with him, and advyse on matteres in commoune, or then to be dischairgit. Many guid Breitherine wald haiff contínowit and mett again togidder at eftirnoone, but the grytest pairt left us; and we being desyrit to continow togidder with thame, wald seime to be singular, and be auctoris of a schisme, but come and sat doun with thame, quhair we enterit in a very peice off free conferrence about the male-contentment of Breither.

We did schaw plainly thair wes amongis us mony more, two causses in speciall, that grivit us; only that the Commissiouneris last chosine be the Generall Assemblie, or rathir a very few of that numbir, arrogatis to thame the haill governement of the Kirk and power of the Generall Assemblie. They did and undid in the name thairof quhat thai list; sa thai maide the compend to abolische the haill gryt work [and power of the Generall Assemblie,[1]] and redactit[2] the Kirk to ane oligarchie, and wald not leiff off thair commissioune, nochtwithstanding the tyme thairoff, being bot to the nixt Generall Assemblie, wes expyrit: The uthir wes, that we saw thais new-nameit Bischoppis growne up fellounlie and ambitiouslie to tak it on thame in Parliament, reassouneing and voiting thairin without any commissioune from the Kirk, to the gryt schame of the Kirk in hir estimatioune, and hurt of hir patrimony.

Thair answer to the first wes, thai undirstud that thair Commissioune wes to continew till the holding of the nixt Generall Assemblie, quhilk keipit not at Aberdeine; and it wes not so meikle thair desyre to remaine commissioneris, for thai wer wearie of the office, as because the King would acknawledge no uthir to deall with him

[1] Not in the Univ. MS.

[2] Reduced, Lat. *redactus*.

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bot them, and that we wald finde iff we attemptit any thing without them.

To the nixt annent the Bischoppis, if thai had done any thing contrair to the Cautiounes and Ordinances of the Generall Assemblie, thai sould find all the Commissiouneris alse sair[1] censureris as any of us; upon the quhilk poynt thai contendit not to heir the Moderator, Mr Patrik Galloway, to speik verie zealously and lairgelie; bot evirie ane of the Commissiouneris and Bisschoppis thair present spak thair tyme about, and thair stryving quha mycht be most zealous and preceis againes the Bisschoppis as breking off the Cautiounes. Many thingis wer replyit, bot specially againes the second; that thair wes never one jote of the Cautiounes keipit, eithir in the entrie or behaviour of thais Bisschoppis, as it wes evident to men that had desertit thair flockis, and left thair ministrie to goe posting to Court, and come home Lord Bisschoppis againe, as Mr Johne Spotiswood, Mr Alexander Forbes, and utheris had done. All quhilk we were ready[2] presentlie to verify, and all the quhilk we wer desyrit to reserve to the Generall Assemblie; quhairat, iff we gat not concurrance, as every ane had thair professit and promissit, thai sould nevir be estemit as Britherine. Quhairunto this wes answerit, that all wes remittit to the nixt Generall Assemblie; and by them that feirit controlment, that wes moyened at the hand of the Court to be driftit and delayit till custome had corroborat corruptiounes, and meinis maid evin among the Ministeres for thair upsetting and standing betwixt thame and Christ, be it quhen he sould come and call all to ane accompt.

In end, thair wes four Petitiounes aggriet upon to be sent and directit to the Kingis Majestie, with his Heines' Commissiouner, quho promisit fidelitie thairannent:

First, craiffing a Generall Assemblie to be keipit without his Majestie's offence, according to the actis of the Parliament, and custome of the Kirk.

That order mycht be takin with the Papistis, and contemneris of the Kirkis discipline and censures.

[1] Severe. [2] Adv. MSS. "undertook."

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That the godlie and ffaithfull Britherine in England, vexit with Bischoppis, mycht find favour with his Majestie, and be reponit to thair offices and livingis.

Annent the Platt, and helping of their Britherine quho had bein enormly hurt at the last modificatioune, namely, in the Priorie of Sanct Androis.

No further that yeir, bot of a strang meteor, quhilk wes hard and sein in the aire, the seventh day of December. About ane houre befoir the sone rose, the moone schyneing cleir tuo dayis befoir the chainge, in ane calme and pleasant morneing, thair wes at ane instant sein gryt inflamatiounes of fyre-flauchtis[1] in the Eisterne hemisphere, and suddentlie thaireftir thair wes hard a gryt crack, as of a gryt cannoun, and sensibilie markit a gryt glob or bullat, fyrrie-cullorit, with a mychtie quhissilling noyse, flieing from the north-eist to the south-west, quhilk left behind it a blew traine and draught in the air, most lyk ane serpent in mony faulds and linkit wimples; the head quhairof breathing out flames and smooke, as it wald directlie invaid the moone, and swallowit hir up; but immediatlie the sone ryseing, faire and pleasant, abolischit all. The crack wes hard of all, alseweill within as without the house; and sic as wer without, in the tyme, or hastilie ran out to see, did verie sensibilly sie and markit the rest above rehearsit. Heir wes a subject for Poyetis and Prophettis to play upoun, as wes also the strange comett so much discoursit upoun and written on, togidder with the starr that appeirit and cleirly schynit aboune Edinbruche, hard on by the sonne, at ten hours, elevin hours, and at twelve and ane of the clock, in the middel day; prognosticatting, undoutidlie, strang alteratiounes and changes in the world, namely under our climat. Bartholomeus, Kelermannus, the learned Dantiscane philosopher, in his extraordinarie Disputatiounes of his Naturall Philosophie, did tak it for ane undoutit comet out of Petrus Crugorius' Observatiounes of the most lairnit Astrologianis, namely, that nobill Ticho Brache, Thaddeus Hagatius, Paulus Fabricius, Hastarchus, Honstelius,

[1] Flashes of lightning.

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Consul Augustinus, Mestelenus Briumas, Minotius, Valerius Pratensis, and a gryt number moe, concerneing the strangnes and eventis from thair workis; namely, the said Ticho Brache, in his Astronomicall Excercitatiounes, and Kelermannus, Dialepsis againes thame.

M.DC.V.

In the monethe of Merch, anno 1605, Mr Johne Forbes, ane faithfull brother [and] godlie Minister in the North, by Commissioune of his Brethir of the Synodis of Abirdeine and Murray, and advyce of the Secreit Counsel, past to the King, and wes verie weill acceptit of his Majestie, and wes sent backe with diligence, carieing lettres and credit againes the Erle of Huntlie and all Papistis; with certificatioune of the King's constancie in that Religioune he wes brought upe into, and concerneing the order of the Kirk; that his Hienes wes not myndit to alter ony thing thairin; but that his Majestie's will and plesoure wes, that the acts of Parliament and constitutiounes of the Generall Assemblie, namelie, quhairat he wes present, sould be keipit; and that his Majestie commandit the said Mr Johne to utter it to all the Britherine of the Ministrie, as his manifest will wes to doe soe; the quhilk Mr John did faithfullie. Now, the great Commissiouner, Lawristoune, with the Commissiouneris of the Generall Assemblie, had writtine to all the Presbyteries for keiping of the Generall Assemblie at Abirdeine the second of July; annent the keiping quhairoff great troubill and disputatioune fell out, as at length the following exemple and most true Narratioune sall particularly informe the reider:

A TRUE NARRATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY AT ABERDEEN, IN JULY 1605.

"At Aberdeene, the seconde day of July 1605: The quhilk day, diverse and sindrie Britherine from diverse and sindrie places and Provinces of the land, instructit with sufficient Commissiounes

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from thair Presbyteries to reassoune, voit, and conclud in the Generall Assemblie, appoyntit be his Majestie's Commissiouner, [and Commissiouneris of the Generall Assemblie directit from Perth, the 4 of July 1604, subscryvit with his Majestie's Commissiouner,[1]] the Lairde of Lawristoune, Mr Patrik Gallaway, Moderator of the last Generall Assemblie holdine at Halirudhous, and Richard Thomsoune, as Clerk to the Commissiouneris, to be and begine att Abirdeine the first Twysday of July 1605, iff by sooner advertisment, it can nocht, being lawfullie assemblit upoun the said warrand and directioun, according to the Word of God, lawis of the countrie, nature and continuall custome of the Kirk of God, eftir incalling[2] on the name of God be Mr Donald Rob[ertsoune,[3]] in absence of the lait Moderator, Mr Patrik Gallaway, Mr Robert Durie, Johne Muray,[4] Johne Forbes, being put on the leitt, with uniforme consent, Mr Johne Forbes wes chosine Moderator, his Majestie's Commissiouner haveing first nominat the said Mr Johnne to be mouthe to the rest; and Mr Johne Scharpe, in abscence of Mr Thomas Nicolsoune, with consent of the haill Britherine, wes nominat and chosine Clerk.

"The same day, his Majestie's Commissiouner, haiffing first by word declairit and oppinit the desyre of his Majestie's Secreit Counsel, concerneing the said meitting, did give in ane Lettre direct from the saidis Lordis of his Majestie's Counsel to the Britherine of the said Ministerie conveinit at the said Assemblie; the effect quhairoff wes, to desist from the keipeing of the Assemblie, and to suffer that meitting to desert. Quhilk Lettre, and desyre conteinit thairin, with the suit and desyre of his Majestie's Commissiouner agrieing thairwith, being ryplie considerit by the said Assemblie, and haiffing weyeit[5] the weightiness off the effairis to be thairin treatit, and rarenes[6] of thair awin number, diverse of the Commissiouners being stayed be the tempest of wethir, and willing then, as at all tymes, to wittnes thair willingnes they carriet to satisfie the Kingis Ma-

[1] Omitted in Univ. MS. [2] Invocation. [3] Adv. MSS. "David Wait." [4] *Ib.* "Monroe." [5] Weighed. [6] Fewness, smallness.

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jestie and Lordis of his Hienes' Secreit Counsel, in all thair reassounabill desyris, insomuch as mycht stand with the Word of God and testimonie of a guid conscience, thought meitt and expedient to continow the intreating of the effaires perteining to the said Assemblie to the last Twysday of Septembir following; and to dissolve for the present, according to the said suite and desyre of the Councill and Commissioners. Befoir the quhilk ordinance, his Majestic's Commissiouner maid protestatioune, that from the beginning he did not acknawledge that present meitting to be a lawfull Assemblie, in respect of the absence of the last Moderator and Clerk ordinare. The Moderator, in name of the Britherine, protestit againe, that the said meitting now wes, and behoved to be, ane lawfull Assemblie, in respect of the warrand of thair meitting alledgit. Quhairwith the Commissiouner, not being contentit, causit a messenger, thair present, with letteris to chairge the Britherine thair assemblit to depairt, and suffir that meitting to desert, undir the paine of horneing.

" The Kingis Lettres being red and considerit, the Moderator and Britherine immediatlie yeilding obedience, callit on the name of God, and dissolvit the Assemblie, taking documentis and actis in the handis of the said messenger, who was also a notar publict, nameit Johne Wischart, of thair present readie obedience; and becaus the said Johne refusit the benefit of his office in that pairt, the Moderator, togidder with the haill Britherine assemblit, depairtit out of the Kirk and place quhair thai satt, and went streight to the Commoune Clerkis chalmer of the Towne of Aberdein, at halff ane hour to four eftir noone, and thair tuik documentis and instrumentis in the handis of Mr Thomas Nicolsoune; the tennour quhairof followis:

" ' At Abirdeine, the 2d of July 1605, in the Commoune Clerk his wrytting chalmer of the burght of Aberdein, at half houre to four eftir noone, or thairby: In presens of us, connotaris publict and witnesses undirwritten, compeirit personally the Commissiouneris of the Ministerie of this realme eftir following: Thai ar to say, Mr Robert Durie, Minister at Anstruther, Mr Andro Duncan, Mini-

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ster at Carraill, Mr Johne Scharpe, Minister at Kilreny,[1] Mr Alexander Strachane, Minister at Raith,[2] Mr Johne Forbes, Minister at Ford,[3] Mr Alexander Forbes, Minister at Buittorhulk,[4] Mr James Irving, Minister at Touch, Mr Robert Youngstoune, Minister at Clatt, Mr Robert Reid, Minister at Banchrie Trinitie, Mr Charles Ferme, Minister at Fraserburght, Mr William Davidsoune, Minister at Ruthwen,[5] Mr David Robertsoune, Minister at Kinglatt, Mr Johne Mountro,[6] Minister at Taine, Mr Archibald Blackburne, Minister at Abirdein, Mr James Ross, Minister thair, Mr Johne Roucht,[7] Minister at Nig, and alledgit that thai being conveinit in the Sessioun-house of the Kirk of this burght of Abirdein this day, as the appoyntit tyme and place for holding of the Generall Assemblie of the Ministerie of this realme, thai wer chairgit be Johnne Wischart, messenger, by virtue of his Majestie's Lettres givin be act of his Hienes Secret Counsel, of the dait at Edinbruche, the twentie day of Junij[8] last bypast, within the space of ane quarter of ane hour since, that thai sould suffir the Assemblie to desert, and to repair everie one to thair awin dwelling places and chairge; and that thai in nowayis presume or take upoun hand to convein or assemble thame selves in ony place, for keipeing of the said Assembly, undir the paine of horneing; as the coppie of the saidis Lettres, quhilk thai schew to us, connotaris publict and witnesses undirwrittin, subscryvit, as appeirit to said Johne Wisschart, messenger, proportis: And that, for obedience to the command and chairge of the said Lettres, the Ministerie, eftir the giveing of the said chairge, dissolvit without any further actioun, and come immediatlie furth of the said Sessioune-house and Kirk, to tak notis and instrumentis of their obedience, to the command of the said Lettres and dissolveing of the said Assembly, in the hands of us, connottaris undir subscryvand; and heirupoun thai tuik instrumentis at the saidis Commoun Clerkis chalmer at the west end of the towne of Abirdein, at the most publict place, day, moneth, hour, yeir, and

[1] Blotted in Univ. MS. The Adv. MSS. read "Kirkman." [2] *Ib.* "Careith." [3] *Ib.* "Alsford." [4] *Ib.* "Kinkethauchie." [5] *Ib.* "Ratraw." [6] *Ib.* "Monroe." [7] *Ib.* "Ronok." [8] *Ib.* "July."

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place foirsaid; befoir thir wittnesses, Mr Alexander Forbes of Fingas,[1] David Ronaldsoune in Tullidaff, Mathew Donaldsoune, Johne Ker, Baxtar, Alexander Thomsoun, Skinner, Burges of Aberdeine, with George Speir, servitour to the said Mr Johne Forbes, and Thomas Forbes, sone to Thomas Forbes, elder, burges of Abirdeine.

"'*Ita est*, Mr THOMAS NICOLSOUNE, *Notarius Publicus, scriba communis Burgi de Abredonia, ad premissa requisitus.*

"'*Ita est*, WALTERUS ROBERTSOUNE, *scriba substitutus.*

(*Sic subscribitur*) "'Mr JOHNE SCHARPE, Clerk of the Assemblie.'

"Upon the Fryday thaireftir, being the fyft[2] of July, a numbir of Britherine, directit from all pairtis and Provinces of the realme, in Commissioune to the said Assemblie, come to Abirdene, hindrith pairtlie by evill wether, and spaits of watteris, and pairtlie by mistaiking of the day directit by the Commissiouneris lettres sent to thair Presbyteries beiring the fyft day of July; quho, quhen thai had undirstanding and considerit the doeing of thair Britherine, quha keipit the second day, thai did confirme and approve the samyn, directing thair proceidings to Edinbruche, with all diligence to the Secreit Counsel.

"The Kingis Commissiouner, Lauristoune, returneing from Abirdein to the Secreit Counsel, quhither movit with the spirit of lies and falschood, or intysit and corruptit publictly[3] to tak occasioun of this accident to undoe the Generall Assemblie and the haill liberties of the Kirk, God knowis; but certainly he did report ane false and deidly lie, to witt, that he had dischairgit the Breitherine to meitt on that day befoir the Assemblie, and that by oppin proclamatioun at the mercat-cross of Abirdein, and notwithstanding thairoff, in manifest contempt of the Kingis Majestie's auctoritie, thai had keipit the Assemblie; yit, nevirtheles of this schameles lie, for verificatioun thairof he wes not abill to produce ane man in all the toune of Aberdein. The Counsel ordaines, first,

[1] Adv. MSS. "Tagastar." [2] *Ib.* "Fourt." [3] *Ib.* "politickly."

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all the Britherin that conveinit thair to be denunceit rebellis and put to the horne; but perceiving that wald want the grund of lawfull chairgeing, and heiring that Mr Johne Forbes, the Moderator, and Mr Johne Welsche, Minister at Aire, wer in Edinbruche, quhair the Counsel did sitt, thai usit the occasioun, and warnit thame by a messenger to compeire befoir the Counsel; quhair, eftir certaine interrogatoris, notwithstanding thair answers were most pertinent and cleire, according to the truth of thair proceidings, as is befoir rehersit, that thai schewed thame, it wes the Kingis will that thai sould be wardit in the Castell of Blacknes till his Majestie's directioune.

"The Counsel was betymes conveinit in the morneing, betuixt sex and sevin a clock; and so lyk that of the Scribes and Pharisies that condemnit Christ, consisting of a few Court Lordis and sum Ministeres, to schaw the oppositioune of the Nobilitie, quha conveineing at the ordinare houre of Counsel, reassounit honnestlie for the Britherine of the Assemblie of Aberdeen.

"Thus, Mr Johne Forbes, and Mr Johne Welsche, eftir thai had bein keipit in the Castell of Edinburgh one night, wes transportit thairfra to the dungeoune of Blacknes; quhairintill thai wer ressavit, and none suffirit to cum unto thame for thair confort. On Friday, the 27 of July, the rest wer ordainit to be summoned with lettres to compeir at Edinbruche the first day of August.

"The foure Commissiouneris of Fyfe, Maisters Robert Durie, Andro Duncan, Johne Scharpe, [and Alexander Strauchane,[1]] who came to sie what was done at Edinbruche, [compeiring befoir the Counsel, and standing honnestlie to that quhilk wes done in Abirdeine,[2]] were incontinent careit away from Edinbruche to the Blacknes to comfort their Breitherine, and were not twenty-four houris thairin, quhen, evin on the morrow, the plague of pestilence brak up in the towne of Edinbruche, Leith, and St Androis, and diverse uthir pairtis of the land, a verie feirfull thing; and, with the first, the Lord Chancelleris awin house infectit in Edinbruche,

[1] Not in Adv. MSS. [2] Not in Adv. MSS.

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and betain[1] with the penalty pronunced be Josua upon the building up of Jericho; for his eldest and only sonne died, and a young damosell, his neice, so that he wes compellit to dissolve his familie, and to goe with his wiff alone, as in hermitage, with gryt feir of the death of his daughter also, on quhom the byles brak furth. This was markit[2] and talkit of be the peiple.[3]

"About this same tyme, Sir George Home's sonne,[4] of the house of Manderstoune, wes advancit to gryt honnour, being first maid Lord of Barwick, and syne Erle of Dumbar, and thairwith imployit Gryt Commissiouner from his Majestie to governe all Scotland, Kirk, and Commounweill; to quhom certaine of the Ministerie, of his guid acquaintance, did wrytt as followis:

[LETTER TO THE EARL OF DUNBAR.]

"'Unto your Honnour, our duetie humblie rememberit in the Lord, pleas that, undirstanding that your cuming in the contray with high honouris and ample Commissioun, we would faine haiff salutit your Lordschip in presens, and congratulat your Lordschipis advancement to sic honor and wealth, as becam us; but being debarritt be seiknes and uthir impedimentis, we haiff takin boldnes to doe the same by this schort Lettre, quhilk we pray your honor to tak in gud pairt, as the humble servantis of God. We wald hold you in remembrance, that sic preferment comis not from the est nor from the west, as sayis the Psalmist, but from God, quha exaltis and dejectis at his plesour, and quho will honour them quha will honor him. Thairfoir, for your Lordschipis stabilitie in honour, we wald recomend to yow earnestlie the Kirk of Jesus Christ within this realme, that it may injoye the sinceritie of the Gospel, and rycht governement and discipline prescryvit thairin, as it hes bein constitut, and be the Kingis Majestie's awin lawes estabilischit in the Northerne kingdome of his Gryt Britanne. We are

[1] Overtaken. [2] Adv. MSS. "marvelled." [3] *Ib.* "of all the Brether." [4] *Ib.* "ane uncle."

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put in sum feir be the plottis and attemptis of your new and young Bisschoppis, quho, without all order of the Kirk, ethir old or new, intruse[1] thame selves in thais rooms, quhilk his Majestie sett doun in ane Generall Assemblie, holdine at Montrose, be the Commissiouneris for the Kirk at his Heines' Parliament, taking thair instructiounes and directiounes from the Generall Assemblie; the quhilk cautiounes, notwithstanding, if thai sall keipe and observe, we look for nothing but guid peice and quietnes among us; quhairunto we sie the haill Ministerie marvelouslie inclyne since his Majestie's last directioune at the entrie of his Heines progresse towardis the South.

"'But if thais Bisschoppis breick the cautiounes, and preas lordly to tyranise owir the Britherine and the Kirk of Jesus Christ, thai wilbe the brekeris of the peice of Jesus Christ and his Kirk, and quyetnes of his Majestie's subjectis, sore againes our will and heart. The men are bot yong, and easily puft up with the auctoritie and countinence of so wyse and mychtie a King; but we know thame weill eneughe that they have been under the rod of our correctioun and discipline boith in the scoolis and Kirk. We cannot, with patience, sie thame misken God, his Kirk, and thame selves, without putting order thairto, be the power that Chryst hes givin us, according to our calling; the boundis quhairof, by Godis grace, we sall nowayis passe. But your Lordschipis gryt wisdome and knawledge of the estait of this countrie may easilie tak upe quhair that may breid, to witt, iff possibill, it may be that his Majestie's clemencie may be expugnant by thair importunity, thai will procure his Majestie's wraith and indignatioune upoun us, quhilk, iff thai obtein, we man resolve patientlie and constantlie to suffir; bot what may ensue thairupoun manifest exemples of our lait aige may cleirly declair.

"'Your Lordschip knawis best of our pure approveing fidelitie and loyaltie to his Majestie in all thingis, and how compleseing we haife bein in all matteris, saiff this poynt, allenerlie,[2] that tuiches

[1] Intrude.

[2] Only, alone.

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our conscience and duetie to the King of kingis, the Lord Jesus Chryst, to quhom quhosoevir is unfaithfull, or unfaithfull in thair ministerie, sall nevir prove faithfull nor stabill to men. We doe abyd the samen men quho will give place to no Bisschope of thame all in loyalty, honour, reverence, obedience, or ony sort of duetie to his maist excellent Majestie, and doeing of all guid offices in our callings for preservatioune of his Majestie's most royall estait and persoun in suretie, peace, and in the favour of God and all guid men, the only sure foundatioune of sic majestick and magnifick a building: Bot in this opinioun we will die, (and so, we ar assurit, will the best, yea, evin the greattest pairt of the Ministerie of the Kirk of Scotland,) that to suffir the tyrannie of Bisschoppis to come within our Kirk of new againe, is to committ hight treassoune against Christ and the King; and, thairfoir, must oppoune ourselves thairto to the uttirmost of our lyffis, yea, think our lyves most honorabillie bestowit, if God will honour us so meikle as to suffir thairfoir, evin to the losse of our lyvis, being assurit that so we sall gaine our saullis and lyvis to lyff for evir.

" ' Thairfoir, as we haiff evir knawin your Lordschip weill and cairfullie affectit to the Kirk, for his Majestie's quiet estait and peaceabill reigne, we most humbilly beseik your Lordschip to imploy your Lordschipe's gryt credit, for staying the ambitious follie of thais men, that it disturbe not the piceabill, most quyet, and obedient estait of the realme; and iff it fall out any utherwayis, (as God forbid,) we tak your Lordschip to wittnes be thir our present lettres, that we ar wytles,[1] being of purpose to doe no moire for Christ and his Kirk establischit within this realme nor[2] the purest subject thairin wald doe for ane cot-hous and a kail-yaird, quhairto he had guid rycht, and quhairin he wes in long and peaceabill possessioun of the same; that is, to stand for the rycht, and doe for it his uttirmost. Thus doeing, as we dout not of your Lordschipe's approven guid-will, boith of old and of new, by that quhilk our Brothir, Mr Johne[3] Forbes, fand, being laitlie at Court, and hes

[1] Free of *wyte* or blame. [2] Than. [3] Adv. MSS. " Patrick."

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maid knawin to all the guid Britherine, your Lordschip sall undoutedlie procuire the blessing of God, the love of Chryst, the favour of all guid men.'

"At the verie selff-same tyme, ane nobill, weill-affectit gentill man to the kingdome of Chryst, and of guid credit with the Earle of Dumbarr, wrote to him as followis:

[LETTER BY A NOBLE, WELL-AFFECTED GENTLEMAN TO THE EARL OF DUNBAR.]

"'My Lord, haifeing the occasioun to meitt with sume speciall of the Ministerie, immediatly eftir my departoure from your Lordschip, I fand that thai are abill to justifie thair doeingis at the Assemblie at Aberdein, be sufficient warrand, thai being nevir dischairgit, directlie nor indirectlie, till all wes concludit; and feiring the misconstructing of thair matteris, and meittingis be the Bisschoppis, behavit thame selves in sic sort, that thai meddilit with no particularis whatsumevir; only electit the Moderator, callit the Rollis, and continowit the Assemblie till ane uthir dyat: Quhilk thingis, being indifferentlie considerit, thai (not dischairgit) wald seime most lawfullie to be done. Thairfoir, seing thai haiff your Lordschip in sic estimatioune amongis thame, as thair awin[1] patroune at the Kingis Majestie's handis, let me be this bauld, most humblie to intreat your Lordschip at this tyme so to doe, that thai may find your Lordschipis favoure to continow with thame; and to accept of the declaratioun of the truth of that matter without being prejudgit, and I will promise, in thair name, for so I haiff commissioun to wryt, that heireftir, iff your Lordschip wilbe plessit to reveil your Lordschipis mynd quhat way thai sall behaiff thameselves concerneing his Majestie, thai salbe reulit with your Lordschipe's advyse in all thingis, so far as thai may, keipeing thair conscience saiff befoir God in all thair callingis. And for this effect, thai wald be glaid

[1] Adv. MSS. "only."

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that your Lordschip wald imploy sume one to quhom your Lordschip will give credit in the contrary, and how far suche thingis, quha from tyme to tyme mycht accquant thame with your Lordschipis mynd; by the quhilk doeing, your Lordschip will not only haiff thame youris in goeing on your Lordschipis awin respectis, but lykwayis to the furtherance of quhatsumevir uther thing sall occur in the Kingis Majestie's estait, in contentment, and your Lordschipis credit, quhairin none can doe so guid offices as they, haiffing the heartis of all the godly and honnest within the land.

"'Iff your Lordschip knew thair credit in the contray, and how far thai ar affectiouned to the Kingis Majestie's obedience, and the quyetnes of the land, togidder with thair honnest and unifold[1] meining in simplicitie in everie thing, as I doe, your Lordschip wald mervell how thai sould be so misconstructed as thai ar. The truth is indeid this, that in thais thingis quhilk concerned the libertie of the Kirk and discipline thairof, thai wilbe instant for the defence thairof, be all meines possibill, lawfullie, yea, even hazard of their lyves. Thairfoir, as I dout not, thai ar approvin to your Lordschipis conscience to be the best sorte, it salbe ane honour to your Lordschip to take thair mentinence, althought for the present your Lordschip may not directlie nor yit indirectlie; and thairby your Lordschip sall conqueiss all the heartis of the honnest men in the land, and I am assurit that the Lord will recompense it with eternall blissing. Now, sieing thai ar your Lordschipis, for the present, loiss thame not, for thai ar worthie to be keipit; ane man may haiff the credit of thame as your Lordschip hes, and may haiff. Many utheris reassounes I mycht wryt, quhilk I refferr it to your Lordschipis guid and wyse considèratioune; and sua, I bid your Lordschip fairweill.'

"Upoune the 25 of July thair wes publischit a Proclamatioune, being a narratione that a few Ministeris, not content to continow in the guid ordour quhairin the Kirk had florischit many yeiris, had

[1] There seems to be no doubt this is meant for *afald*, sincere.

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of lait, in a manifest contempt and misregard of the King, conveinit thameselves at Abirdein, and thair held ane Assemblie, and appoyntit a new Assemblie to be haldin the last Tuysday of September nixt to come, without any lawfull warrand, power, or commissioun for that effect; thairfoir, commanding, chairging, and inhibiting the Proveistis and Bailies of Abirdein, and of all burghes and villages, that thai suffir not Ministeres to come within thair boundis to that effect, the said day, nor eight dayes befoir nor eftir the same; and siclyk, all nobillmen, barrounes, and gentillmen, and all Burrowes, Presbyteries, and Sessiounes, magistratis, and inhabitantis of tounes, burchtis, and villages, that thai direct no Commissiouneris, nor repaire thameselves thairto; undir the paine of convocatioun of the King's leidgies and horneing, &c. The first pairt of that proclamatioune wes remarkabill, that the King had givin so mony proofes and testimonies of his sinceritye in that Religioune quhairin he wes trainit upe, and quhairin he had given ane confessioun, and maid a constant professioune, that everie weill-affectit subject, and namelie the Ministeris, had maist just caus to expect assureitly that stedfast course to be still keipit by his Majestie; and this wes to tak away all suspitioune of alteratioune intended in the Kirk.

"Upon the eight day of August, immediatly eftir following, wes publischit ane uther Proclamatioune, schawing the unlawfullnes of that Assemblie halden at Abirdeine; and, thairfoir, dischairging all Synods, Presbyteries, and Sessiounes of Kirks, and Ministeres, from ratifieing and approveing of the samen, undir the paine to be reputt[1] as guiltie as they; also all nobillmen, barrounes, and gentilmen, burgesses, or uthiris, from heiring of the samyn, athir privatly or publictly approvin, undilating the samyn to the Secreit Counsell, and furnesching of wittnes for probatioune of the same, to the intent thai mycht be convictit and punischeit.

"The samyne moneth of August, again the Britherine committed to ward wer seitid[2] to compeire befoir the Counsel to answer to certaine Interrogatoris that come from Court; quhilk quhen thai

[1] Reputed. [2] Cited.

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had done, thai wer committit againe to thair waird at Blacknes, and ordaineit to compeire befoir the Counsell at the toune of Perth, at such a day in the moneth of October following. In the meintyme, the Synod ordinar of Fyff being convenit in Innerkitheing, did deliberat and reassoune in the matter as follows:

[PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYNOD OF FIFE HELD AT INVERKEITHING, AUGUST 1605.]

"'First, they find it most necessar to haiff ane Generall Assemblie without anie delay, without the quhilk the Kirk of Jesus Christ, within this realme establischit, could not remaine long frie and saiff, in respect of the insolencie of Papistis, grouthe of Atheisme, dissolutioune of maneris, and distractioun amongis the Pastors and Ministeris of the Kirk, quhilk in small proces of tyme mycht proceid to ane horribill and feirfull schisme, to the uttir overthrow and subversioune of the sinceritie of the Gospell and libertie of the kingdome of Jesus Christ, so notably settelit and faithfully deliverit to the present office-beireris thairin by thair godly, wyse, learnit, and zealous predecessoris, and of the inuttirabill mercie and guidness of God.

"'Nixt, becaus the last Synod of thair Province, haldine at Bruntyland in the moneth of April last bypast, thai had thought it most necessar, for the reassoune above specifeit, and diverse utheris great and weightie reassounes and causes moveing thame, that evirie Presbyterie within the Province sould elect thair Commissiouneris for the keipeing of the Generall Assemblie appoyntit by the King's Commissioner, with the advyce of the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly to be holdine at Abirdeine the first Tuysday of July last bypast, the Presbyteries thairof had done faithfull duety by directing thair Commissiouneris; quhilk Commissiouneris had reported thair diligence in assisting with the Commissiouneris of uthir Presbyteries in fenseing the said Generall Assembly, day and place abpve mentionit, and continowance of the samyn, for the causses

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contineit in the actis and documentis takin at Abirdein thairannent, unto the last Thursday of this present moneth of September: The quhilk doeing and diligence the said Presbyterie had allowit.

"'Thairfoir, this present Synod sould find it to be the most necessar for the foirsaid causes, and for the keipeing the possessioun of our Generall Assemblies saif and frie, (quhilk, utherwayis, mycht be interruptit and brokin, and fall be prescriptioun of tyme,) that the said day sould be keipeit at Abirdein be the Commissiouneris of the Presbyteries: But, undirstanding that thair haid interveinit proclamatioune and edictis publischit in the Kingis Majestie's name, by the quhilk the said Assemblie holdin at Aberdeine is condemned as proceiding of contempt and rebellioun againes his Majestie, (the contrair quhairof the God of hevin, and guid men on earth knawis,) and the haill occasiounes and behaviour of the said Commissiouneris of the Presbyteries evidently testifies; and, thairfoir, the said next Assemblie and meitting at Abirdein is dischairgit undir the paine of horneing, as at mair lenth is conteinit in the said proclamatioune, the said Synode fand thameselves brought in this strait, athir in omitting in keipeing of the said dyet at Abirdeine, and so losseing the possessioune of thair Generall Assemblie, or then of the incurring of the Kingis hight indignatioune and paines conteinit in the said proclamatioune. The quhilk gryt strait and extreame difficultie, quhen they had long and most gravely reassonit upon and considerit, at diverse sessiounes, and eftir invocatioune most earnestlie for the lycht, wisdome, and directioune of God, in so weighty a matter and gryt perplexitie, sould resolve in end, for thair awin pairt, rather nor fall undir the handis of men, and undir their displeasure and danger of thair decries, then to omitt so necessar a duetie, and to fall in the handis of God, quho is a consumeing fyre, and in caise of ane evill conscience, quhilk is that contínowall byting[1] worme that never dies; and yet, feiring least that any danger, be over haistie or rasche doeing of them, mycht come to the commoun estait of Godis Kirk, and so to the just offence of

[1] Adv. MSS. "living."

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the memberis thairof throughout this realme, and in other contrayis also, assureing thamselves that thais proclamatiounes proceidit not so meikle from his Majestie as from sinisterous informatiounes and evill-effectit persounes towardis the guid estait of the Kirk; as also thinking it most meit, in a matter of extreame importance, to haiff the advyce and concurrance of the Britherine of uthir Provinces, for meining of the matter by humble Supplicatiounes to his Majestie; not douting but his Majestie, being rychtly informit of all proceidingis, and sieing sic necessitie for a Generall Assemblie, and so greit reverence cariit towardis his Majestie's obedience, but that his Majestie wilbe movit to grant to the requeist of the Kirk: Thairfoir, the said Synod thought it meitt to prorogat the day appoyntit be the Britherine at Abirdein to the moneth of Maii nixt following, sieing that befoir that tyme, neithir the Kingis Majestie can be rychtlie informit in treating, and his Majestie's answer gottine, neither yit the advyce and concurrance of the Presbyteries and uthir Provinces obteinit, ane Supplicatione in the meintyme wald be penned and sent to his Majestie with sume of the maist gracious Britherine from the Synod; lykas from the same Commissioners to all other Provinces nixt adjacent about, to haiff thair advyce, concurrance, and consent, alseweill to the said Supplicatioune as to the continouatioune of the day appoyntit for the nixt Generall Assemblie, that, if it be possibill, we neither tyne[1] the possessioune of our Generall Assemblie, nor incur his Majestie's offence, nor any wayis prejudge or hurt the caus of Christ, the Britherine quhom he honouris with so godly and honnest both doeing and suffiring for the samyn; but that we may be about, with all lawfull indevouris, to purches thair relive.[2]

"'This being weill deliberat, faillit in that pairt effectuating concerneing that Supplicatioune and sending to the King; pairtly for feir thai sould not be admittit to the Kingis Majestie's presens, quho would ressave no informatioune of the matteris of the Kirk but from his Commissiouneris, pairtly throught distrust that it

[1] Lose. [2] Procure their relief.

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could work anything but the hurt, boith of them that wer in prissoun and uthiris: Allwayis, the knawledge thairoff, goeing athort[1] the Presbyteries, come to the King word by word; lykas, also, that quhilk wes with universall consent agriet upoun in that Synod at Fyff, that a Fast sould be keipit throughout all the haill Provinces, on twa dayis solemnely, immediatly eftir the returne of evirie Minister to his flock, viz. upoun the 15 and 22 dayes of that instant September; the Causses quhairof wer agrieit upoun in the verie wordis following:

[CAUSES OF THE FAST TO BE KEPT IN THE SYNOD OF FIFE.]

"'*First*, The plague of pestilence so long continowing, and the litle estimatioune of the hand of God thairin.

"'*2dly*, Unseassonabill wether in the tyme of harvest.

"'*3dly*, The distractioune of the Ministerie, and sume thairof seiking thair awin preferrement, contraire to the Word of God and constitutioune of our Kirk.

"'*4thly*, The restraint of Generall Assemblies, being sua neidfull in tyme of Atheisme and Papistrie growing.

"'[*5thly*,] The imprissounement of Ministeris, and restraineing of thame from thair flockis at the tyme quhairin Godis judgmentis are brokine furth.

"'[*6thly*,] The not knawing the day of our visitatioune, in thingis perteining to our awin peice, neither by the Sieris and Watchmen, nor be the peiple.'

"This deliberatioune and doeing of the Synod of Fyff, howbeit in gryt weaknes, yet goeing abroad, and coming to the knawledge of the Ministeris and their flockis athort this realme, maid monie to look neirer to the matter, and tak it moir to heart; also the godly behavioure and zealous excerceis of prayer and preicheing of the Word, quhilk the imprissounit Britherine usit in all thair prissounes, Dumbartan, Stirling, Doun,[2] [and] Blacknes, movit the people

[1] Across, *athwart*. [2] Adv. MSS. "Dundie."

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very muche, so that the Counsell thought it neidfull to direct lettres to evirie Presbyterie within the realme, schawing thair guid dispositioune to put the lawis in executioune againes the Papistis, and all insolent contemneris of Ministeris; notwithstanding, thai wer to tak order with the few number that had factiously and seditiouslie offendit his Majestie's command and directioun. The quhilk wes answerit and mett be ane Appologie givin out for the Britherin, taking[1] upe the matter schortlie and pithilie in this sillogisme following, the assertioun premittit:

The guid and godly Britherine their caus is cleirit, to the conscience of all, by the force of this Syllogisme:

"'Giff thai haiff assemblit and proceidit in thair Generall Assemblie haldin at Abirdein, the second day of July 1605, be the guid warrand of the Word of God, of the Lawis of the realme, of the Constitutiounes and continowall Practise of the Kirk of Scotland, sin the first Reformatioune of the Religioune, and according to the Order and Discipline of the Kirk, subscryved and solemnelie sworne to by the King, and Estaitis, and the Ministeris, and haill body of the Kirk and kingdome, &c., thai haiff done lawfullie, weill, and wysely; and so sould not be condemned and punischit, but honourit and rewardit:

"'Bot so it is, that thai evin haiff so assemblit thameselvis, and proceidit in the truthe:

"'Thairfore, thai haiff done lawfullie, weill, and wyselie; and so sould not be condemned and punischit, bot, by the contraire, honorit and rewardit.'

"The warrandis of the Word of God, quhen he had deduceit by severall poyntis orderlie, and cleirlie, he concluded thus:

"'It is then manifest, of the Word of God, that Jesus Christ, to quhom all power in hevin and earth is givin, hes givin power to the Pastouris and Elderis to meit togidder solemnelie with thair flockis and peiple, not only to Preiching his Evangell, and Publict Service

[1] Adv. MSS. "packing."

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and Worschippeing, in Prayer and Administratioune of the Holy Sacramentis, but also to keipe Assemblies for reteineing of the samyn in sinceritie without corruptioune, and for conteineing boith Pastoris and peiple in thair Christiane duetie by the rod of Discipline : And this power is givin be Christ to his Pastores, no mortall sould restraine, violat, or imped any wayis; no King, Prince, nor Magistrat, much more being a Christiane Magistrat; but the more truelie and sincerely the Emperour, King, Prince, or Magistrat, professes Christ Jesus, the more willing, bent, and ardent sould he be in imploying the power and auctoritie that God hes givin him, to sie God glorified and obeyit in his Kirk, and so preserve and manteine haill and sound the priveledge and liberties of conveineing and assembling commandit by Jesus Christ unto the Pastoris and Elderis of the Kirk. The Lord Jesus Christ oppine the eyis of the King and his Consel to sie with quhom it is they have adoe, to wit, even with the Lord Jesus, and not with poor, simple men, quhom they persewe; and also, quhat thai ar doeing in this caus, for by the last proclamatioune givin out againes the Assemblies and meittinges of the Ministeres, thai being the best servandis of Christ, and the maist duetifull subjectis to the King, to that extreamitie of The Thrie Childrein and Daniel, that is, either to transgresse againes God, or to be cassin in the fyrie fornace or lyounes denn; and so that is maist perteinent to this purpose, quhilk Eusebius, in his first book of the Lyff of Constantine, wrytis of Licinus the tyrant, as the Latine interpreter translaitit it: *Utilitas et necessitas Synodorum vel inde provideri potest quod Licinus Ecclesiis exitum machinatur, cum nihil haberet quod commiseretur aliud, hanc legem promulgavit, Ne Episcopi inter se de rebus suis vel Ecclesiarum communicarent, neque Conventus aut Consilia celebrarent.*' And this he subjoynes, '*Hæc tanquam causa Licinio fuit ad nos proterve contumeliosque tractandos aut enim legem violando supplicio obnoxios esse opportebat, aut legis præcepto more gerendo Ecclesiæ ritus et instituta evertere, nam magnæ et graves deliberationes de rebus Ecclesiæ susceptæ non aliter possunt quam per rectam Conciliorum administrationem ratione et via procedere.*'

" When he had producit his warrands, by diverse and many actis

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of parliament, statutis, and lawis of the realme, and also from the constitutiounes and custome of the Kirk, since the year 1560, to the year 1563,[1] he bringis in the oppugneris objectiounes and answeris to them: *First*, The few number: 2*dly*, The forme of the chuissing the Moderator omitted: 3*dly*, The want of the ordinar Scribe: 4*thly*, The way and place of keipeing of it, as nevir wes usit in any Assembly in Christis Kirk befoir: 5*thly*, and last, The standing preceisly upon the keipeing of one day with the King, quho meinit not to tak away our Generall Assemblies from us.

"For the number and fewnes, he answers, that the Assemblies of Christis Kirk are not in his Gospell defynit by great numbers, bot by very small; as that, 'At quhatsumevir tyme two or thrie ar gatherit in my name, I wilbe present in the middest of yow:' So that, 'Agrieing in my name,' 'Quhatsoevir ye doe on earth in my name, salbe ratified in heavin.' So suir ar we that this wes and is, and farder for all that wes donne, thair wer anew, and ovir many, to witt, to fensse the Assemblie with prayer, and continow the samyn till a uthir day for just causes moveing thame, with thankisgiveing to God, in the end: Quhilk forme of doeing, as in the parliament of our realme oftine so hes it bein in our Kirk in use: For instance and example, in the year 1596, the Generall Assembly ordinarie of our Kirk wes appoyntit at Saint Androis; thair interveinit a great schaiking of the Kirk, and brangeling thairof by the divil at that Evill Synod, 17 day of December,[2] and ane Assemblie by the Kingis Missive Letteris, convocatid at Perthe in February. Mr Robert Pont, a godlie, learnit fathir in the Kirk, being ordinarie Moderator, accompanied with Mr John Hall,[3] and a few othir godly Britherin, come to St Androis on the 27 day of Aprile, ordained for the ordinarie Generall Assemblie, and did prorogat and continow the samyn till the moneth of May nixt following, to be keipit at Dundie, for the keipeing of the Kirk in the possessioun of hir libertie, quhilk that Conventioune of Perth wes about to prejudge and tak away.

"For the Moderator, say they, thair wes ane ordinarie standing

[1] Adv. MSS. "1603." [2] *Ib.* "September." [3] *Ib.* "Auld."

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answer: He wes absent undeutifullie, and thairfoir another chosine in his rowme lawfullie, to moderat that meitting, and to censure the absent: Thair wes no exhortatioune, no edictis[1] for electioune, none put to the dore. Answer, The last Moderator, lookit for, came not to preache, and no uther man, upon so short a tyme, without advysement, could tak upon him sic a weightie matter; also the ordinarie doctrine of the Ministerie of the place mycht serve for that, and supplie it. 2. Lettres [leets?] that wer maid eftir prayer, concevit by the Moderator of the Synod of the Province of Abirdeine; and as for that putting out, and the rest of these accidentall formes and ceremonies, one answer may serve for all, that sic triffles can not stand nor [be] sticken upon, quhen the substance of all is in sic perrel of undoeing and perisching, as at that tyme, the possessioun of the libertie of the keipeing of our Assembly. In end, the forme of moderatioun is not thought to be sua strange, and so to be querrelit by thame, iff thai wald remembir the foir-mentionit Assemblie at Perthe, quhair, without any doctrine or letteris [leets] at all, in absence of Mr Robert Pont, ordinare Moderator, Mr David Lindsay, at the only nominatioun of two or thrie of the Britherine present, in a secreit conference, enterit Moderator to that Assemblie. Witnes all that wer present thair.

"As for the Ordinarie Scribe, for feir he refusit to doe his office, being stayit be the King's Commissiouner; but it became not the Ministeres of Jesus Christ so dastardlie to leive so necessare a dewtie, and thairfoir thai chusit ane moir auctentik Clarke, ane of thair awin numbir, efter the maner of the Synodis and Presbyteries of the Kirke, ane lairnit, honnest Minister of Christ's Evangel.

"Annent the place, it wes not privat, as wes alledgit wrangouslie; nor yit with closse doris, utherwayis nor is the common customе of keipeing of Assemblies, but in the ordinar Sessioun-Hous, without the Great Kirk of Abirdein, quhairin the Synodis and Presbyteries ordinarlie sittis; as publict ane hous as athir the Counsell-hous, within the Tolbuith of Dundie, quhair wes keipit a most notabill

[1] Adv. MSS. read more correctly "lites," (leets.)

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Generall Assemblie in the monethe of July 1580, or the Counselhous within the Tolbuithe of Edinburcht, whair ordinarily twyse everie yeir, by the space of diverse yeires, the Generall Assemblie did sitt. Bot, as hes been answerit, all thais circumstances and formes givis place quhen the essence and substance of matteris standis in hazard and jeopardie.

"Fyftlie, and last, concerneing the preceis keiping of a day with the King; answer, Thair wes ane great caus in standing on ane day, quhen ane uthir day had bein appoyntit, for utherwayes the possessioun of our Generall Assemblie had bein interrupted and brokin off, nather could the way have been fund ordinarilie to convocat againe ane Generall Assemblie; for quho had powir to appoynt tyme and place for the samyne? None ordinarlie and orderlie but the Generall Assemblie. So the day appoyntit be the last Generall Assemblie being omitted and desertit without the appoynting of a new day, the possessioun of our Generall Assemblie was lossit by the prescriptioun and circumduceing of the terme, as the laweris callis it; and further, in verie deid, thair wes manifest just causses, quhilk did mak thame to feire the meineing to tak away and dispossess the Kirk of hir Generall Assemblies, at the least the lawfull ordinarie Assemblies continowit since the beginning: For the Assemblies convocat be the King, or his proclamatiounes and missives, ar not the proper, lawfull, ordinare Assemblies of the Kirk, becaus thai flow from a Civill Magistrat, for civill obedience, quhilk is but the ordinance of man, as the Apostle Paull callis thame, Coloss. ii. 20, 22, and not spirituall, and ordinances of Jesus Christ, the only King of his Kirk."

Ane speciall poynt of the Appollogie is the schawing of the just caus of our feir of our wanting, and disspossessing of us of our Generall Assemblies, quhilk ar thais following:

"The King plainelie professit that he lykit not our Generall Assemblies, becaus we acknawledged not the power thairof to flow from his auctoritie: *2dly*, The Bischoppis abhorrit thame becaus thai wer thair judge, for feir thai sould be callit to ane accompt for breking of the Cautiounes thairof; quhairof in all thai wer guiltie:

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3dly, The Commissiouneris, in lyk maner, because they fearit censureing and putting of thame from the haill governement of the Kirk, quhilk thai had usurpit and plukit away from the Generall Assemblie, under pretence of a Commissioun therfra.

"We sought to haiff obteinit leive, and beine suffirit to keipe and hold ane Assemblie according to our custome and warrand, and usit for the same all maner of earnest Supplicatiounes by the space of tuo yeires and mair, but could not obteine the samyn; pairtlie, becaus of the forme of the petitioune, that without his Majestie's offence or staying, we mycht keipe our Generall Assemblie; pairtlie, for feir we sould ovirturne so meikle of the Episcopall worke that wes buildit upe. First, to this effect, the Synod of Fyfe earnestlie delt with and wrote to Mr Johne Hall, last Moderator befoir Mr Patrik Galloway, quho wes absent out of the countrie and realme, that forsuameikle as thair wes ane Parliament to be for his Majestie's coronatione, and uthiris maist weightie effaires of the Unioune of the tuo realmes togider undir his Majestie's dominioune, we mycht haiff ane Generall Assemblie at that Parliament [to sie to the estait of our Kirk, as it had evir bein the custome of the samyne, since the first Reformatione of Religione, to have a Generall Assemblie[1]] in tyme of Parliament: The said Mr John Hall promissit to wryt to the King, quho reportit ane answer that he had so done, and could not obteine it.

"Secondly, The Ministeris of Edinburcht wryt to Mr Patrick Galloway, last Moderator, he being with his Majestie at Court, to the samyne effect; quho, eftir delaying and mony promisses, at last he wrot that he sould come home and keipe ane Assemblie; but eftir his home-cumming no sic effect followit.

"Thirdlie, The Britherine of the North, eftir thai fand the Assemblie appoyntit at Abirdeine in July 1604 to be continowit, came to the Synod of Fyff holdin at Saint Androis in September soone eftir, and joyneing with thame of that Synod, besought the Kingis Commissiouner, the Laird of Lawristoune, thair present in the

[1] Omitted in Univ. MS.

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Synode, for the effect foirsaid, quho answerit, he was repairing towardis his Majestie; and, thairfoir, desyrit the Commissiouneris of everie Province to meitt at Perth, and joyne togider in one Supplicatioune, quhilk he sould carie as that from the Commissiouneris of the Generall Assemblie, to be assemblit thair, (for from the handis of no uthir wald the King ressave aney requeist or Supplicatioune concerneing the commoune effaires of the Kirk,) and said, he wes in guid houpe to obteine the samyn.

"The Commissiouneris of the Generall Assemblie conveinit with the Kingis Commissiouner at Leith,[1] in Octobir thaireftir; quhair wes also frequently conveinit many diverse Commissiouneris from all the pairtis and provinces of Scotland, quhilk all agreid in ane to mak Supplicatioune for a Generall Assemblie, directing the samyne with the Kingis Commissiouner, and sua expectit some guid answer; but all in vaine.

"Mentioun being maid of a Generall Assemblie at the last Synod of Fyff, haldin at Bruntiland, the Commissiouner being now returnit from Court, and thair present, did strangely withstand the samyne; schawing that he had ane expres article in his Commissioune not to permitt it. It wes humblie and earnestlie desyrit thair that the tyme and place mycht onlie be appoyntit, hou schort or hou long soever, that the Kirk mycht be put out off suspitioune and jealousie of dispossessing of thame, and losseing of ane Assemblie for evir; but it could not be grantit.

"The said Commissiouner, at the day approaching, appoyntit for the Generall Assemblie at Abirdein in July 1605, sent Lettres to all the Presbyteries for superceiding thairoff; the quhilk Lettres buire no certaine day nor place to the quhilk the Assemblie sould be prorogat and continowit.

"The Lettres directed to Abirdeine from the Counsell desyrit and counselit, directlie and expresslie, that the Assemblie mycht be deserted and left; yea, and the Britherine conveined thair being callit be the Counsel, cravit that any day and place mycht be ap-

[1] Adv. MSS. "Perthe."

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poyntit for the nixt Generall Assemblie, that thair mycht at least yet remaine sume houpe of the samyn; but it could not be grantit: And, Last, it wes and is the commoune voyce of all, to the grytest greiff of the guid and godly, and the tryumphing of enemies, Papistis, Atheistis, and licentious, that we sould nevir have a frie Generall Assemblie of our Kirk againe. Let onie indifferent man then judge quhither thair wes not just caus of feir for the lossing all libertie within our Kirk and Assemblies or not!"

FOLLOWIS THE APPOLLOGIE FOR THE PRISSOUNERIS OF CHRYST PRESENTLIE IN BLACKNES.[1]

Soli Deo gloria.

"The commoune newis and maner of talk is now of the imprissounement and horneing of Ministeres, (of the quhilk thair be money,) yea, even of the Ministerie that is not evil thought of, and so almost allowit be sum, procurit be all, is not takin to heart, but coldlie regairdit; and yit it is sure that sic a numbir of the lairneitest, godliest, and best of the Ministerie, hes done amisse and fallin. The breck and ruine of the Kirk is great, for the quhilk we all, true memberis thairof, maist sensibillie and feillinglie be tuichit and sorowe. If thai haiff not failit, but done ane honnest necessar duetie, and that rychtly and wysely, then the procureres of the punischment of sic weill-doeing, the allowaris thairoff, yea, and the lycht

[1] This document was written by Mr James Melvill, and has often been alluded to by historians. In the folio edition of Calderwood's History, p. 497, it is merely cited as the production of our Author. As is generally the case, this very important paper is not contained in either of the MSS. of this Continuation, belonging to the Faculty of Advocates. It would have been desirable to have collated so remarkable an Apology with a more perfect transcript, but although a pretty careful search was made among the Miscellaneous MS. Collections in the Advocates' Library, the Editor was not so fortunate as to meet with a perfect copy. No doubt, such must still be extant, and it is not unlikely to be contained in the larger work of the indefatigable Calderwood, in a more perfect form.

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estimeris and cauld considereris of the caus, ar gryt befoir God, evirie ane on in thair awin rank, and can not schaw his wraithe, quho sufferis none to doe his prophetis wrong unpunischit, but reprovith Kingis for thair saikis, saying, 'Tuich not myne annoyntit, and doe my prophetis no harme,' Ps. cv. 15; but, be lik the sonnes of Jacob, quho sould Joseph to prissoun, and syne sat doun to eit and drink, and without repenting in tyme, brought on a plague, as may mak thame, with Jacob's sonnes, to say ane to ane uthir, 'We haiff veriely sinneit againes our brothir, in that we saw the anguisch of his saulle quhen he besought us, and we would not heir him; thairfoir is this trubill cum upon us!' And that someikill the mair, if thais guid Britherine be negligentlie, cowardlie, and traterouslie desertit in the work of the Lord, and caus of our Chryst, commoun to all Christiannes, namelie his Ministeris, quho, iff thai suffir with him, sall reigne with him; iff thai denye him, he will also denye thame, Tim. ii. 12. Heirfoir, I haiff thought it expedient and necessar to cleir the caus of the Britherine, (if it be Chrystis Jesus his caus,) I houpe doe mak it manifest, that it is all trew Christiannes may tak pairt thairine, as they would be acknawledgit by him quhen he comes in the glorie of his kingdome; that iff ignorance hinder thame, thai may be instructit; iff negligence or foirgetfulnes, thai may be rememberit and steirit upe; if remisnes and cauldnes, thai may be prickit and maid zealous; least the caus standing be the cair, wisdome, and power of him quhois it is, thai sall fall with the enimies; for the Heid[1] said, 'He that is not with me is againes me, and he that gatherit not with me scattirith; and quhosoevir is aschamed of me and of my wordis, of him sall the Sonne of man be schamit quhen he sall come in his glorie, and in the glorie of his Father and holy angellis!' Luc. ix. 26.

"Eftir the sillogisme set doune, followis the probatioun thairof, and pairtis of the Apollogie:

"Giff the propositioune of this hypothetick sillogisme, I think non will doubt it, but it is true; thairfoir at the present it seimes

[1] Christ Jesus, the great Head of his Church.

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to be tain[1] in the probatioune and cleiring of the assumptioune; and so comes in order the pairtis of the present Appollogie.

"First, Quhat the Word of God teiches thairannent, and iff according thairto thai haiff done.

"2. Quhat ar the lawis of the realme concerneing the same.

"3. The constitutiounes and practise of our Kirk since the first Reformatioune thairoff.

"4. and last, The mentionned Confessioune of Faith, and iff the Britherine haiff done rychtly and wysely conforme to the same.

"We then deduce the warrand of the Word of God orderly, in thais Propositiounes:

"Thair is no power but from God, Rom. ii.

"The Father annoynting Jesus, his only begottin Sonne, King owir his Kirk, hes givin him all power in hevin and in earth, Psal. xxvi.; Math. xxviii. 18.

"Chryst hes givin the office, power, and giftis to gather his Kirk, and to governe the same, unto his Appostles, and that for that caus promissit to be with thame and thair successoris unto the end of the world, Math. xxviii.: And not to leive thame orphalling,[2] Joh. xvi. 18: And as the Father sent him, so sent he thame, Joh. xx. 1: He breathit on thame, saying, 'Ressaive the Holie Ghost; quhois sinnes ye remitt thai salbe remittit, and quhois [sinnes] ye retein thai salbe reteined,' *ib.* 23, 22: He converssit with tham eftir his resurrectioune fortie dayes, instructing thame in matteres concerneing the kingdome of hevine, that is, the governement of his Kirk, Acts iii.: And, finally, on the day of Pentecost, he sent on thame the Holy Ghost, that Comforter promiseit, Acts ii.

"The same Chryst, quhen he had be the same Appostles collectit the Kirke and foundit thame, be thame also he gaive the Kirke Pastouris, Doctoris, Elderis, for the co-augmentatioune of the saintis for the worke of the Ministerie, for the edificatioune of his body, till all the elect sould grow upe to a perfyt man, in the just measure of the stature of Chryst, Eph. iv. 13; Tit. 15; 1 Cor. 12.[3]

[1] Taken, comprehended. [2] Orphans, comfortless. [3] It may be noted here, once for all, that there is much confusion in the Scripture proofs and references throughout this document, and in many of the other Papers in this Continuation.

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"Chryst, not to thir Appostles only, but also to thais Pastouris, Doctouris, and Elderis ordained be thame, he gave the keyes of the kingdome of heavin, and power of binding and lowsing, of reteineing and remitting of sines, as said is; and that be the use and ministerie of the Word, Sacramentis, and Censuris of the Kirk, Math. xvi. 17, 18; John xx. 20; Acts 20, 28; 1 Pet. v.; 1 Cor. v. 5; Math. xvi. 19.

"Chryst, then, the only Lord and King of his Kirk, hes appoyntit his administratoris and officeres of his kingdome, Pastouris, Doctoris, and Elderis, to be occupyit about the Word, Sacramentis, Discipline of maneris, and caire owir the pure, Eph. iv. 12; Rom. xii. 17, 18; 1 Cor. ix.; 2 Tim. v. 7; Phil.; 2 Tim. iii.

"Now, all thais Ministeres and Office-beareris in the Kirk of Chryst ressavit from thair Lord and King the office and giftis to dischairge the same, togider with the expres command and power to execuit and doe the same faithfully and dilligentlie; and that not only severally, but conjunctlie in thair Sessiounes, Presbyteries, and Synodis, as in places quotted, is evident, Eph. iv.; Math.; 1 Cor. 3; and of the practise thairof, in the xii. of the Actis.

"Namelie, the office and duetie of Pastouris is to superceid for the Presbyterie, 'Tak heid to themselvis, and to thair flockis ouir the quhilk the Holy Ghost hes appoyntit thame Pastouris, Watchmen, and Ovirsieris,' Acts ii. 28: And that baith severally, in the particulare functiounes of every office, Rom. xii. 7, 8: And together, in the Sessioun of the Kirk and Presbyterie, Math. v. 22, 17, 18; 1 Tim. iv. 14; 1 Pet. v. 2: For the quhilk caus the solemne meittingis and Generall Assemblies of Meittingis of Pastouris of the Kirk is most necessar and profitabill, that thai may thairin tak heid to thame selvis, and order with thame selff, the Kirkis, and Congregatiounes, ouir the quhilk Chryst placit thame, in doctrine and maneris, that thai mycht entir in pice and uniformitie, keipeing the unitie of faith by the band of charitie, Acts xx. 28; xxi. 23; Heb. x. 25.

"The Assemblies, in the legall pollicie of the Kirk, Chryst approvith, Math. v. 22; Luc. xxii. 66; quhair he makis answer befoir

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the Presbyterie of the Jewis Kirk, and neither damnes[1] thair Judicatoure nor declynes the same, it being the lawfull ordinance of God. So did his Appostles, Peter and Johne, Acts iv.; and Paull, [Acts] xxii. xxiii. 3.

"But in the Chrystiane Kirk, and Pollicie thairoff, he expressly constitutit and ordained the samyn, translaiting that quhilk wes the lawfull ordinance of God, most necessar for the governement of the Kirk, from the Legall to the Evangelicall, Math. xviii. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20; commanding to tell the Kirk, that is, the Assemblies and Meittings of Pastouris and Ruelleris of the Kirk, quhair any Christiane Bretherin can not be amendit be privat admonitiounes; to the quhilk he gives the power of binding and lowsing, quhom he bids expresslie convein quhair he promissit, albeit thair number wer niver so small, but 'tuo or thrie being convenit in his name, that thair he wilbe with thame, evin in the middis of thame.'

"This power the Appostles ressavit and continowit; in the governeing in the Primitive Kirk, Acts i. vi. and xv.; the electioun of Mathias; in chuseing the Deacounes; and in holding the Counsell at Jerusalem; in every city and kirk, Paull and Barnabas ordained the same, Acts xi. 22, and xx. 17; and directit Titus to doe the same, Titus i.; and the calling of Timothe is commandit, by laying on of the handis of the Presbyterie, 1 Tim. iv. 14.

"And it is most evident that the Appostles, obeying the commandimentis, and leining on the promise of Chryst thair King and Minister, as the Heid of the Kirk requyrit, conveinit thameselvis in his name and auctoritie, and electit Mathias in the place of Judas the traitor, Actis i. 12; chusit the seven Decounes to ministrat the tabiles, and tak cair of the powir,[2] Actis vi. 3; relivit the Gentiles convertit be Chryst from the burdein of the Ceremoniall Law, Actis xv.; separat Paul and Barnabas for the workis of the Gospell, Actis xiii.: Lyk as, they most gravely exhortit the Pastouris, and electit and constitut be thame in every Presbyterie, to doe the

[1] Condemns. [2] Poor.

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same faithfully and dilligently, so oft as the necessitie of the Kirk requyrit, Actis xx. 28; 1 Cor. v.

"It is manifest by the Word of God, &c., but so it is then (to assume) that the nine Britherin's imprissounement, viz., Mr Johne Forbes, Robert Durie, Johne Welch, Mr Andro Duncane, Alexander Strachane, Johne Scharpe, Johne Monro, Charles Ferme, and Johnne Ros, and the rest of the Ministeres that keipit day and place appoyntit for the Generall Assemblie in the moneth of July last, are the weill-knawin and trewely appoyntit Ministeris of Chryst within the Kirk of Scotland, quhilk no member within the same can be so impudent as to deny; thairfoir, thais faithfull Ministeres of Chryst, quho assemblit last at Abirdein, had that warrand and power of Jesus Chryst so to doe, namely at so necessary a tyme quhen Papistis, Atheistis, and licentious men, wer ovirwhelmeing the Pastouris and the pairt of the Kirk of that realme, and so manifest evidence kythit of the ovirthrawing of the haill liberties of the Kirk, and sinceritie of the Gospel; and sould, thairfoir, be the Christian Magistrat, be honourabilly reverenceit nor[1] schamfully punischit.

"II. The second poynt, thair warrand of the Lawis.—Now, as to the second poynt to be provin, annent the Lawis of the realme; the first of all, in the actis of parliament, is annent the fridome of the Holy Kirk: It is statut and ordainit, that the Holy Kirk joy and bruk, and the Ministeris thairof, thair old priveledges and fridomes; James I., par. 1, cap. 1. *Item*, in lyk maner, the first act of the second parl. is, in the first, to the honour of God, that the fridome of the Holy Kirk be keipit throught out the realme. The same is augmentit and confirmit be King James II. in his first parl. quhilk is all in print in Actis of Parliament. Siclyk, in the second parl. of King James III., in the first, it is statut and ordaineit, that the priviledges of the Holy Kirk and spirituall persounes be observit,

[1] Rather than be.

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&c., confirmit be the sam King James, in the first and fyft parl., in thir wordis, 'That the fridome of the Holy Kirk be keipit in all priviledgis and fridomes;' in the same maner and wordis be King James IV. in the first act of his second parl.; the first act of the parl. of King James V. is, that fridomes and priviledges of the Holy Kirk and spirituall persounes be observit, and keipit in honour and worschippe, &c.

"Then, iff fridomes and priviledgis of the Holie Kirk be statut and ordaineit be law to be keipit with all imunitie, priviledg, and fridome, and this wes knawin evir to be ane of hir speciall priviledgis to convein in thair Synodis, surely the Synodis and Conventiounes, as also the Assemblies of the Kirk, may lawfully be the warrand of the actis of parliament; and iff ony will object that this wes grantit to the Papisticall Kirk, this answer is easie and strong far mair to the trew Refformeit Kirk of Chryst Jesus: And, indeid, the godly Provinces following, eftir the manifestatioune of the lyight of the Gospell and Reformatioune of Religioune cleirit and inlairgit the priviledgis and fridomes of the Kirk, and namely to his immortall prais, our present King quho now reignes, (and quho mot[1] happily reigne!) and that not only be the advyce of his four Regentis in his minority, but maist lairgely and particularly eftir the taking of the governement in his awin hand and persoun, and cleirest and fullest eftir his perfytt age of twenty-five yeiris, as the actis following will declair.

"In the parliament holdin be the Erle of Morray, callit commounly, as he wes indeid, 'The Guid Regent,' ratified in his secound parl. haldin be his Majestie's guidschire,[2] of guid memorie, Mathow, Erle of Lenox, in the second act thairof, in thais wordes: '*Item*, our soveraine Lord, with advyse of his said Regent, his thrie estaitis, and body of the present parliament, hes ratified, and by this present act ratifies, all and quhatsumevir actis and statutis maid off befoir be our soveraine Lord and his predicessoris, annent the fridome and libertie of the Kirk of God, and Religioun now pub-

[1] May he.

[2] Grandfather by the father's side.

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lictlie professit within this realme;' and namely in that first act of that parl. of King James the Sixth, the 15 of December 1567, annent the lait Patronnes, thais wordis ar in the act, 'It salbe leasume to the Patronnes to appeil to the Superintendent and Ministerie of the Province quhair the beneficis lyis, and desyre the persoune to be presentit to be admittit; quhilk iff thai refusse, to appeil to the Generall Assemblie of this realme, be quhom the caus being decydit, sall tak as they decerne; quhairin the Suppreme and highest Judgment of the Kirk may be expressely sein the acknowledgeing and approbatioune of the Generall Assemblie, as the highest Judge in the haill realme in Kirk matteris.'

"The same is ratified in his first act of his Majestie's third parl. holdin eftir the haill governement wes in his awin hand; also, in the first act of his sixth parl. holdin at Edinbruche, the 20th of October 1579: 'Our soverain Lord, with advyce and consent of his thrie estaitis, and haill body of this haill parliament, ratifies all and quhatsumevir actis and statutis maid of befoir be his Hines, by advyce of his Regent, in his awin reigne or predicessoris, annent the fridome and libertie of the true Kirk of God, and Religioun, as now professit within the realme.' The secound act of the same sixth parl. expresslie for the jurisdictioun of the said Kirk, quhilk is confynit, consistis, and standis in the priching of the Word of Jesus Chryst, correctioun of manneris, and administratioune of the Holy Sacramentis; and declairis that 'thair is no uthir face of Kirk nor no uthir face of Religioun then is presentlie, by the favour of God, establischit within this realme; and that thair is no uthir Jurisdictioun Ecclesiasticall acknawledgit within this realme uthir then that is and quhilk salbe within the same Kirk, or that quhilk followis thairfra, concerneing the premisses.'

"So thair is ane Jurisdictioun of the Kirk amplie aneugh distinguischit be the civill pollicie, quhilk of necessitie must haiff meittingis in tyme and place to excercise and execute the same.

"And his seventh parl. at Edinbruche, the 25th of October 1581, in the first act, thair is a generall ratificatioun of the libertie of the true Kirk of God; and confirmatioune of all the actis and lawis

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maid to the effect befoir; and that be particular rehersall and catollogie, among the rest, a ratificatioune of the libertie of the true Kirk of God and Religioune, annent the Jurisdictioune of the true Kirk, tuyse. And thaireftir the Kingis perfytt age of twenty-one yeiris, at the eleventh parl. at Edinbruche, the 29 of July 1587, thair a full and a cleire ratificatioune of all lawis maid annent the libertie of the Kirk, and all uthiris maid be his progenitouris in his minoritie be his Regentis, or since the acceptatioune of governement in his awin persoune. And, finally, that 'Golden Act' of twelfth parl. quhilk cleirlie crownnes and firmelie concludis the caus, viz., the first act of that twelfth parl. of King James VI. holdin at Edinbruche, the 8 of July 1592, intitulat Ratificatioune of the Libertie of the true Kirk, of the Generall and Synodall Assemblies, of Presbyteries, of Discipline; quhairin, annent our Generall Assemblies, thais ar the wordis: 'And siclyk, ratifies and approvis the Generall Assemblie appoyntit be the said Kirk, and declairis it salbe lawfull to the Kirk and Ministeres, every yeir at leist, and oftir[1] *pro re nata*, that is, as occasioune and necessitie sall requyre, to hold and keipe Generall Assemblies; that, provyding that the Kingis Majestie or his Commissiouneris with thame, to be appoyntit be his Hines to be present at ilk Generall Assemblie befoir the dissolving thairoff, nominat and appoyntit tyme and place quhen and quhair the nixt Generall Assemblie salbe keipit and holdin, as hes bein in use thir tymes bygaine.' Quhair the gentill and benevolent reider hes to mark, that the King and Estaitis takis not upoun thame to give the powir to the Generall Assemblie thair to convein, quhilk nethir thai nor the Kirke ever thought it to be in thair handis, but in the handis of Christ Jesus allenirely,[2] the only King off his Kirk, [of] quhom the Kirk of Scotland had it, and according thairto practiseit it thirty-two yeiris befoir thir actis of parliament, but only to ratifie and approve it, conforme to thair Christiane duetie by the auctoritie that God hes put in thair handis.

"And becaus the [15]84 yeir myght be alledgit againes the Assemblies and liberties of the Kirk, thairfor this posterior act ex-

[1] Oftener, more frequently.

[2] Solely, alone.

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presslie speikis thus: 'And becaus thair is diverse actis of parliament tending to the prejudice of the libertie of the true Kirk of God, and Religioun presently professit within this realme, in jurisdictioune and libertie thairoff, quhilk standis yit in the buikis of actis of parliament not abrogat nor annullit; thairfor his Hines and Estaitis foirsaidis hes abrogat and annullit, and be the tennour heiroff, abrogattis and annullis all actis of parliament *respective*, with all and quhatsumevir actis, lawis, and statutis maid at any tyme befoir the day and daitt heiroff, againes the libertie of the true Kirk, and jurisdictioun, and libertie, and discipline thairoff, as the samen is usit and execuitit within the realme,' &c. And declairis, in 129 [act] of parl. haldin at Edinbruche, the 22 of May 1584, sall no ways be prejudiciall nor derogat any thing to the priviledge that God hes givin to the spirituall office-beireris in his Kirk, concerneing the Heidis of Religioune, matteres of Heresie, Excommunicatioune, Collatioune, or Dispositioune[1] of Ministeres, or any siclyk essentiall censuris specially grundit and haivand [warrant?] of the Word of God.

"Now, it is objectit that the actis may be grantit indeid, bot it conteines ane expres provisioun that the Kirk [King?] and his Commissiouneris, with the Ministeres, sall appoynt the tyme and place: Answer, first, we grant the provisioune, but sic as it is, that is not privatly, or derogative to the lawfullnes of the meittingis ratifieit be the actis with the claus 'utherwayis not,' or sic as the laweris and formalistis usis; sua that iff the provisioune be not observit, the licences is null, not bot only for the strenth and furtherance of the Assemblie, provyding that his Majestie or his Commissiouner sall concur as the claus nided,[2] (as they haiff in use to doe thir tymes bypast,) cleirly schawis.

"Nixt, we answer, we haiff his Majestie's licence and consent, first, be plain law, as we presently alledge and urge, as his Majestie acknawledgit spak with his awin mouth, and comandit to be sett doun in actis, being present in the Generall Assemblie holdin at Dundie, in the monethe of May 1597, session 7, annent the Arti-

[1] Deposition. [2] Needed.

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cles, and ordaineing that no Conventioune of Pastoris be without his Majestie's consent acknawledgit. His Majestie's consent is declairit to be extendit to all and quhatsumevir, from either Generall Assemblie or speciall, permittit and authorisit be his Majestie's lawis, according as they [have the] warrand of the Word of God, being the maist autentik forme of consent that a king can give: And nixt, be his Majestie's awin presens in the Generall Assemblie holdin at Holirudhous, in November immediatly befoir his Majestie's progresse in the South, quhair his Majestie gave his voitt first of all in that Assemblie, that the nixt Assemblie sould be keipit at Aberdein the last Tuysday of July 1604; and albeit that appoyntit Assemblie held not, yit it wes prorogat be his Majestie's consent be a Lettre subscryvit with his Majestie's Commissiouner, the Laird of Lawristoun, and Mr Patrik Galloway, last Moderatour, continowit to the first Tuysday of July 1605; according to the quhilk appoyntment, the Presbyteries coming on warrand of the Word of God, and lawis foirmentiounit, sent thair Commissiouneris, and keipit day and place: But thai insist and reassoun that that day wes dischairgit be ane uthir Lettre sent to the Presbyterie from the said Commissiouner, not that day, viz., the 2d of July, but the 5th, wes dischairgit; as the samyn extant among the Presbyteries yitt beiris: Allwayis,[1] say they, the meineing wes to dischairge that Assemblie. True, but wes it lawfull and duetifull to the Ministeres of Chryst Jesus, quho hes thair calling, office, and all pairtis thairoff from Chryst allennerly,[2] and mone[3] give answer and accompt thairof to him upoun thair uttirmost, upon an alledgit dischairge, be ane Article sent from the King dischairging the Generall Assemblie at so necessar a tyme, it being warrandit be so many and invincibill reassounes and warrandis as ar brought furth heirtofoir, to desert and leive the same, undir the signe and pretence of I watt not quhat obedience to a light Lettre, not of the Kingis, bot of sic a Commissiouner; and iff thai obeyit the Lettre, quhat warrand could it haive bein to thame, quhen either Chryst or the Chrystiane [Kirk?] sould haiff callit thame to accompt and

[1] Notwithstanding, nevertheless. [2] Alone, solely. [3] Must.

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dischairge so expresslie, at so necessar a tyme, requyrit of thame? Add heirunto, that the Lettre of the Commissiouner and last Moderatour conteinit no certaine day quhairunto the said Assemblie sould be prorogat; so that it is evidently importit a casting lous and deserting, yea, the tyneing[1] of the tittle of the possessioun of our Assemblie, then the quhilk rycht, quhat could be moir dangerous to the fridome and libertie of Chrystis Kirk, at sic a tyme, namely, at the Treatie of the Unioune, quhen all the Estaitis of the realme, and every frieholder, wer zealous and cairfull for thair rychtis and possessiounes? I am suir thair is not ane in Scotland that hes the rycht, title, and possessioune of ane cow-hous or a caill-yaird, that wald so easily haiff skippit from the samyn, or could haiff done les for the keiping of thair possessioune, than thais Ministeres of Jesus Chryst did for the rycht and tytle of his kingdome within Scotland. O fy for schame! that Christiane men, zealous Ministeres, sould lett so lycht and esteim so lyttle of the fridome, and liberty, and possessioun of the Kirk and kingdome of Jesus Chryst, plantit and peacabilly estaibilischit so notabilly, and so longe continowit, within the realme of Scotland; yit they continowit to reassoun againes the lawfullnes of thair proceidingis! Lett it be so, that the day mycht haiff bein keipit, yit thai sould not haive sua usit ane Assemblie, and appoyntit ane tyme for ane uthir, without the consent of the Kingis Majestie's Commissiouner.

"Namelie, the said Commissiouner, dischairgeing thame baith by a missive Lettre from the Counsel, and Letteris Patentis proclamed: Ansuer, thair wes no proclaimeing of Lettres: This is a manifest forgit lie and untruth, cleirly knawin; and how soone they wer chairgit thai gaiff obedience, and dissolvit, for eschewing of offence and obedience to man; yea, evin indangering thamselvis ouir far in offence and dissobedience to God, in omitting sua necessar a duetie as said is; and to the Counsellis Lettres it continowit a counsell, quhilk is no command, to desert and leive the Assemblie; ane thing so unlawfull, that iff thai had followit it, thai could not haiff bein answerabill, nethir to Chryst, nor to the King, nor to the

[1] Losing.

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Kirk thaireftir, being chairgit thairfoir at ony tyme, for the reassounes befoir alledgit. And farther, quhat the meineing of the lawis that the Kingis Commissiouner sould cohonestat, and fortifie, and foorder the Assemblie, the foirnameit Commissiouner, Lawristoun, expresslie and purposelie to hinder that Assemblie, and oppoune himself thairunto, so that he wes not Commissiouner to the Assemblie, bot againes the same; and so, all alyk ar worse as iff thai had not bein in the toune; and, thairfoir, be the plain meineing off the act, it wes lesume and lawfull to that Assemblie conveinit to nominat tyme and place for the nixt Assemblie. They did nothing, thairfoir, bot that quhilk boith off necessitie and duetie it behovit thame to doe, or els betray the caus of Chryst, or losse the fridome and libertie of his Kirk and kingdome peciabilly, and without interruptioune possessit in Scotland thes 42 yeiris bygaine; as we haiff now, in the nixt point of probatioune, to verifie be the continowall custome, and possessioune, and constitutioun of our Kirk, since the Reformatioune of Religioune within the realme of Scotland.

"III. And becaus that poynt is evident aneucht, be the Buikes off the Generall Assemblie and sum ancient Fathiris of the Ministerie, quho ar yit on lyff, I find it sufficient to sett it doune in the generall assertioune, that from the yeir of our Lord 1560, the 25 day of December, quhen, with the Parliament of the realme, the Generall Assemblie of the Kirk satt doune at Edinbruche first, for estabilisching of Religioun, and setling the Reformit estait of the Kirke, unto the yeir 1603, in the begining of Apryle, [quhen] his Majestie pairtit from Scotland to tak possessioun in the kingdome of Ingland, the continowall custome of the Kirk of Scotland approvit and reverenced the supreme Magistratis and estaitis of the realme, wes to convein in their Generall Assemblie tuyse a yeir, and sume tyme thryce; I say, almost becaus of that grytt ecclipses in the yeir 1584 and [15]85, be violent injurie of that tyme, and becaus of the prorogatioune and useing of the Assemblie, so by Lettres and proclamatiounes, from tyme to tyme, and place to place,

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eftir 1596; yit, in all thais yeiris and Assemblies of our Kirk, the custome wes, that in the end of the Assemblie presentlie keipit, the place and tyme of the nixt Assemblie succeiding wes agrieit and determineit upoune; the quhilk wes keipeit without interruptioune, upoune the warrand that Jesus hes givin to his Kirk to convein, without licence sought or givin be ony Magistrat or Prince, uthir then the commoun and approvin custome befoir the lawe, and eftir set doun for the ratificatioun thairoff in the parliament befoir cited, *anno* 1592. This to be true, since the 1574, above ane hundred persounes of the Ministerie, and ane thousand uthir gentillmen in the land, can weill remember and testifie. Quhat wes befoir that, evin since the beginning, lett us heir out of the Admonitioun of the Generall Assemblie conveinit at Edinbruche, in the moneth of Marche 1573, direct in wrytt to the Erle of Mortoun, Regent, and to the Lordis of Counsel and Estait, beiring this narratioune:

"'It is knawin to your Grace, that since the tyme that God blissit the countrie with the Evangel, the haill Kirk most godly appoyntit, and the Parliament be actis authorizit, that tua godly Assemblies of the haill Generall Kirk of the realme souldbe evirilk[1] yeir, alsweill of all memberis of all estaitis as of the Ministeres; the quhilk Assemblie hes bein, since the first ordinance, continowallie keipit in sic sort, that the most nobillest and hightest hes joynit thame selvis, be thair awin presens in thais Assemblies, as memberis of ane body; concurring, voiting, and authoriseing all thingis, thair proceidingis, with thair Britherine.'

"IV. The Fourth and last poynt of the Appollogie wes annent The Kingis Confessioun of Faith, (as it was callit,) notoriously publischit in Latine by Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus, the noble poster of newis athort the world, upon occasioun of a sute maid by the French Kirk, at Loundoun, to his Majestie for the continowing of thair priviledges, at his Hienes' entry in Londoun; at quhilk tyme his Majestie, assureing thame of his guid affectioune towardis the true

[1] Each, every.

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Religioune maid mentioune in the said Confessioune, as ane undoubtit witnes of the same; and, thairfoir, the said Mercurius setis doune in Latine, as it is also extant in French, Dutch, and all uthir commoune langwedgis in Europe.

"Quhilk Confessioun, as they alledgit, did furnisch ane ungainstandabill argument for the lawfullnes of the said Assemblie haldin at Abirdein, closeing the mouth of all guid memberis of the Kirk and subjectis of the realme of Scotland from speiking againes the same, and binding thame be all dewtie and conscience to stand for it, unles thai wald declaire thame selves apostatis and perjurit in the sycht of God and the haill world: For quhy it is all veritie that the Kingis Majestie him selff, with the haill Ministerie, Counsellouris, Nobilitie, Estaitis, and subjectis of the kingdome, hes solemnely subscryvit and sworne thais wordis following of that Confessioune:

"'To the quhilk Faith and Relligioune we (the trew Reformit Kirk of Scotland immediatlie mentionit befoir) joyne our selves willinglie in Doctrine, Faith, Religione, and Discipline, and in the use of the Holy Sacraments, as lyvely memberis of the samyne, in Chryst our Heid; promiseing and sweiring, by the great name of our Lord God, that we sall continowe in the obedience of the Doctrine and Discipline of this Kirk, and sall defend the same, according to our vocatioune and power, all the dayes of our lyff, undir the paine conteined in the law, and danger boith of bodie and saulle in the day of Godis feirfull Judgement.' And eftir a few lynes it followis:

"'We, willing to tak away all suspitioune of hypocrisie and doubill-dealling with God and his Kirk, protestis and callis the Searcher of all heartis to wittnes that our heartis and myndis doe fully agrie unto this our Consent, Promeise, and Confessioune, Oath, and Subscriptioune, so that we are not movit with any worldly respect, but are persuadit in our conscience, only throw the knawledge and love of Godis trew Religioune, printed in our heartis by the Holie Spirit, as we sall answer to him in that day quhen the secreitis of all heartis salbe disclosit.'

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"'Now, take heed, I pray yow,' sayeth the Appollogie-maker, 'at quhat tyme wes this Confessioune publischit by auctoritie, and commanded to be sworne and subscryvit, and that solemnely, eftir his Majestie and his haill Household[1] goeing befoir, he doeing the same?'[2] It wes evin subscryvit quhen the Kingis Minister, Mr Johnne Craige, and his Majestie's Commissiouner for the tyme, the Laird of Capringtoune, to the Generall Assemblie halden at Glasgow, in the moneth of Aprile, in the year 1581, at the quhilk Assembly the Buik of the Policie and Discipline of the Kirk, soe many yeires befoir, in so many Assemblies travellit unto, perfytit and censurit thairto by the Kingis Majestie and Counsell, eftir the Generall Assembly haldin at Stirlinge, by directioun of the samyn, in the yeir 1575, gratiously and weill acceptit, wes approvin, and ordained to be registrat in the Buikis of the Generall Assemblie, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam;* lykas at the same Assemblie, by his Majestie's said Commissiouner approving the Discipline concludit in the said Buik of Policie, wes presented from his Majestie a Plat[3] of the Presbyteries throughout the haill realme, craiveing Commissiouneris from the said Assemblie to be directit with such as his Majestie sould appoynt for planting of the said Presbyteries in everie Province; the quhilk wes done: And sieing that Bisschoppis wer utterlie abolischit in the Assemblie haldin at Dundie the yeir preceiding, his Majestie desyrit to know how thair place sould be supplieit at Parliament; as at mair lenth is conteined in the Buikis of the Generall Assemblie, and namelie the Register of the said Assemblie at Glasgow.

"This cleireth sufficientlie quhat wes then the Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, nameit and mentiouned in the said Confessioun of Faith; soe that, far from all dout or questioune, our Generall Assemblies wes then most florisching and frequent, full of reverence, grace, gravetie, and auctoritie, the fridome and libertie quhairoff wes the cheiff heid and bullwark of all the Discipline of our Kirk;

[1] Univ. MS. "Counsel." [2] Adv. MSS. "be guid example had done the samyne." [3] *Ib.* "of the place."

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quhilk once to impair or brangle, wes indeid the overthrow of our Kirk and Religioune: And this wes so reverencit, so sworne, and subscryvit, [yea, and publischit in print of new againe, and ordained to be of new sworne and subscryvit,[1]] in a Generall Band in the yeir 1590, befoir the obteining of the ratificatioune in Parliament in the yeir 1592.

"This, then, being the discipline sworne and subscryvit, dar any of the sweireris and subscryveris cum in the contrair thairoff, or dar the faithfull Ministeres of Chryst, for the use and practiseing of it, unles thai would prove and profess thame selves apostatis, and perjurit, and mensworne? Yea, or can they refuse to obey or defend the samyne, according to thair vocatioune and power, all the dayis of thair lyff, sieing it is and standis upoun the danger of boith saull and body in the day of Godis feirfull Judgement, as the foir sett doun tennour of thair aith beires? No, I am assurit that the Kingis Majestie himselff, (quhom God preserve, and mak weill, and long to regne and live,) his honorabill Counsell, and all his guid Chrystiane subjectis, quhen they haiff weyit[2] this matter, and laid it to heart, wilbe waiknit[3] and moveit to remember thair oathe, they will feir and trembill that the gryt name Jehovah, the Lord God, interpounes and beiris witnes in that matter of so high and gryt importance; and, finding his servants to haif done nothing in the contraire, but according thairto, as we haiff sufficientlie schawin in the poynts preceeding, will sie thame honorit and rewardit as faithfull Pastoris of the Kirk, and not revillit and punischit as malefactoris. Off this haill discours also, it is most evident that thais ar far deciveit, quha thinkis we haiff the power and auctoritie of our Assemblies from the King, and his lawis, as the cheiff warrand and grund thairoff; nay, our meittingis in our Assemblies is ane essentiall poynt of the office of the Ministerie of Chryst Jesus, quhilk Ministerie we haiff naither in full nor in the pairt of any earthelie king, but of him quho is King of kings, Lord of lords; but forsuameikle

[1] Omitted in Univ. MS. [2] Weighed. [3] Awakened.

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as God hes ordained kingis, queenes, and princes, to be nurischeris, manteineris, and defenderis of his Kirk, as the speciall end quhairby they haiff ressavit thair auctoritie and preheminencie, and for quhois saik thai ar boith sett upe and cast doune by God: Thairfoir it is, that in all reverent submissioune the Kirk craives the benefit of the mantinence and lawis for the honour of Chryst his anoyntit King, upon his holy montaine, the quhilk iff they duetifully bestow, thai sall not doe it for nought, for the Lord will honour thame quho honouris him; if uthirwayis, he will caus thame knaw that he maid thame up and can cast thame doun againe, and, thairfoir, in all reverence, to seek[1] it; and, saveing quhatsoevir incres the guid Britherin may incur[2] thairby, in all reassoune. Thai haiff evir bein obedient in leving in the duetie warrand[3] and commandit be Chryst, quhilk no man sould or may controvein, and not holding out of the said Assemblie for manadgeing and effectuating the necessare effaires of the Kirk, quhairfoir it wes appoyntit, rather then rebellious and contemptuous againes the King, quhois estimatioune, honor, and obedience, must stand with Chryst and his holy Ministerie of the Kirk, and not againes the same.

"In end, thus it wes concludit, that sieing it wes sua manifest of the premisses that the Britherin, Commissiouneris of the Presbyteries of the Kirk of Scotland, quhilk Presbyteries, iff thair had bein any fault, sould haiff bein punischit, and not they conveened at the last Generall Assemblie at Abirdein, had sua evident and strong reassounes and warrantis for thame of the Word of God, lawis and customes of the realme, and constitutiounes of the Kirk, since the beginning of that nobill and famous Confessioun of Faith, and that thair wes so just caus of feir of lossing of the libertie of the Generall Assemblie; for aither there can remaine no doubt in the heart of any good Christiane, bot that they have [done?] honest, lawfullie, and weill, and if so, they must needs have done wisely allsoe. For it is speciall wisdome even for kingis and princes to serve the Lord even with fear, and to kiss his Sone with humble

[1] Univ. MS. "speik." [2] Adv. MSS. "receave." [3] Warranted.

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obedience, lest he be angrie, and they perische in the way, quho for inobedience and rebellion his wrath is kindled, Psalm ii. 10, 11, 12. So, what obedience, faith in the Sone of God, blessednes and wisdome to preserve that the treasure of the Gospell of grace and life, to keep that precious pearle which lightens the eyes and quickens the heart, and to stand for the honor of Christ, the King, and the liberties and fridome of his kingdome, and againes all such as seik to beir doune and deface[1] the same, or to usurp and incroch thairupoun; thair to suffir with him, that thai may regne with him, is grytter wysdome then to conqueis all the prelaceis and kingdomes upon the earth. Iff Chryst, the wysdome of the Father, be to be belivit, sayeth, Quhat availeth it a man to wine the haill world and tyne his saull?—and this wilbe fund. Quhat salbe said to the wyse worldlingis foole, 'This nycht also sall thai tak away thy saulle from thee?' Also, 'I knaw yow not; depairt from me, ye cursit of my Father, unto unquanchabill fyre prepairit for the divill and his angellis!' Quhat availis it for wisdomis commendatione? Will it be then mair to haiff feirit and obeyit man nor[2] God? And that is all the folie, forsuith, that thais wyse[3] Breitherine can be accusit off.

"In end, thairfoir, iff thai haiff donne both wyselie and lawfullie, let thair Judges tak heid how thai judge, least condemneing the innocent, yea, the rychteous, thai be abominatioune befoir God, the great and feirful Judge, let your persewaris be effrayed[4] least they feight not againes God; least he prevaill againes thame, and cutt thame in cullopis![5] Let thair fellow Britherine be true, just, and honest, and frank with thame in the caus, as they wald be pairtakeris with thame in the kingdome, and least thai heir that dome, 'Tak the unthankfull[6] servant, bind him hand and foot, and cast him in the kingdome[7] of uttir darknes,'—and that wilbe a blacker nes or nest[8] quhairin our guid and honest Britherine now lye! Let

[1] Adv. MSS. "defame." [2] Than. [3] Adv. MSS. "good and faithful." [4] *Ib.* "let persecutors be afraid." [5] *Ib.* "collops," in pieces. [6] *Ib.* "unfaithfull." [7] *Ib.* "dungeon." [8] A play on the Castle of Blackness, where their brethren, the Ministers, were then closely imprisoned.

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thame, now, that thus stryk and imprissoune thair fellow servandis, and sitt doun and eit and drink with the drunkine, feir for the cuming of that great Lord to discomfeis judgment, and cutt tham in tuo: Let all Christianes consider quhat Chrystiane compassioune and charitabill duetie craves towardis the afflicted Brethrine, but namlie to Chryst him selff, in his sufferinges, as they would wish to hear that most joyfull call, 'Come, ye blissit of my Father; for quhen I was in prissoun ye visitet me!' Let the guid and faithfull Ministeres, presentlie imprissouneit, for thair incorragment and comforte, heir and meditat thais thingis, quhilk He quho hes the sevin starris in his rycht hand, and walkes in the middes of the sevin goldine candilestickis, quho is the First and the Last, quho wes deid, and is now alive for evir moir, amen, and sayis, 'I knaw thy workis, and thy tribulatioune, [and patience, and povertie; bot thow art taught,[1] and I know the blasphemie of them quho say they are Jews, and are not, bot are of the synagogue of Satan. Fear not for these things thow art to suffer; behold, it shall come to pass, that the devill shall cast some of yow into prisone that ye may be tryed; and ye shall have tribulatione[2]] ten dayis. Be thow faithfull unto the deathe, and I will give ye the croune of lyff. Come, come [quickly,] Lord Jesus. Amen.'"

The thrid day of October wes directit from Perthe a lybellit summonds, at the instance of the King's Advocat, againes the prissouneris of Blaknes, and the rest in thair prissounes of Dumbartan, Stirling, and Doune,[3] chairgeing thame personally to compear befoir the Lordis of Secreit Counsel at Edinbruche the 24 day of October instant, to heir and sie it be found and declarit that they haiff verie contemptuously and seditiouslie conveinit and assemblit tham selves, and proceidit in thair said actioune, the tyme foirsaid;

[1] The authorised version, "rich." [2] Omitted in Univ. MS. This is another instance of the carelessness with which such transcripts were formerly made. [3] Adv. MSS. "Dundie."

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and, thairfoir, the said Assemblie, and approbatioune thairof, decernit and declairit unlawfull, and so to be reput, holding, and esteimit in all tymes cumeing; and thai to be punischit in thair persones and guidis for thair unlawfull conveining, holding, and appoynting of the samyne. In the meantyme, persaifing that it wes spokin plainelie, and evill-takin with, by all the Ministeris, that the Generall Assemblies wer to be uttirly ovirthrowin, and nevir a frie one to be permittit againe, it wes thought meitt that a Generall Assemblie sould be appoyntit and proclaimed be the Kingis Majestie to tak away and remove that offence, and yit to keip his rycht, as thought no Assemblie wer lawfull, or could be keipit without his appointment or ordinance. The day wes appoyntit to be the last Tuysday of July, but in quhat yeir, nevir a word; and sua the Greik Calendis and Englische proclamatioune, in matter and langwedge, givin at Hamptoun Court, and printed at Edinburghe by Robert Charteres.

The Britherine from all their wardes and prissounes, compeiring befoir the Counsell at Edinbruche the 24 of October,[1] gaiv in first thair Supplicatioune to the Counsell, as followis:

"THE SUPPLICATIOUN OF THE MINISTERIS, IN WARD, TO THE LORDIS OF SECREIT COUNSELL.

"My Lordis off Secreit Counsell, unto your Lordschipis humblie meines and schawis,[2] We, the Ministeres of the Gospell of Jesus Chryst, quho hes bein callit befoir your Lordschipis, and now imprissouneit by the space of threttein weekis, for conveineing in our Generall Assemblie, haldin at Aberdein the last Tuysday of July last by past: That forsuameikle as we are chairgit, *de novo*, to compeir personallie befoir your Lordschipis at Edinbruche, the 24 of October instant, to heire and sie it found and declairit, that we haiff very contemptuouslie and seditiouslie conveinit and assemblit

[1] Adv. MSS. erroneously "July."

[2] Complain and shew.

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ourselffis, and proceidit in our actiounes in the said Assemblie; and, thairfoir, the samyn Assemblie, and approbatioune thairoff, decernit and declairit unlawfull; as in the summoundis execut againes us thairannent at mair lenth is conteineit. Quhilk forme of summoundis and proceidingis befoir your Lordschipis againes us, is altogidder prejudiciall to the authorized authoritie of the Kirk of Scotland, and contrair to the laudabill order observit within this realme: Because it is of veritie that, by the Word of God, Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, actis of Parliament maid in favouris of the samyn, and practeis since the Reformatioune of Religioune, that all spirituall matteris anent Doctrine and Discipline hes bein and aught to be cognoscit and judgit by the Kirk allennirlie, as the maist competent Judge thairoff, as a matter spirituall: And trew it is, that the lawfullnes, approbatioune, and dissallowance of a Generall Assemblie, and the proceidingis thairoff, is a matter spirituall; the Generall Assemblie following hes allowit ever, or disallowit, as they haiff found just occasioun or cause, and the Assemblie's proceidingis and thingis done or allowit thairin, as it is evident in the Generall Assemblie holdin at Dundie in the year 1597, quhilk declairit and allowit the preceiding Assemblie holdin at Perthe, and proceidingis thairoff, to be lawfull, his Majestie being present at baith: 2. Because it is expresselie sett doun in his Majestie's lait proclamatioune annent the Generall Assemblie to be holdin at Dundie the last Tuysday of July, that his Majestie expectit reparatioune of dissorderis, that iff thair be any thrie of your Lordschipis sall proceid againes us, for the caus above specifeit, your Lordschipis may give occasioune to confound the Ecclesiasticall and Civill Jurisdictioune, quhilk hiddertill hes bein and are by lawis and practeis happelie distinguischit, to the great peice and unitie of this realme, praisit be the name of God thairfoir! And iff we haiff ony wayis transgressit againes any civill lawis, we offir our selvis maist willingly to be judgit and tryit conforme to the order and forme practeisit amongis his Majestie's subjectis within this realme, the dewtie allwayis, and the transgressioune of our office, being remittit to the Judge Ordiner. Heirfoir we most humblie beseik

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your Lordschipis maist earnestlie, in the name of Jesus Chryst, quho sall judge quick and deid, to remitt the said caus and tryall thairoff to the said Generall Assemblie, as only Judge competent thairto, and to dimitt us in peice, that we may attend on our callingis: According to all equitie and reassoune, and your Lordschipis answer heirunto we maist earnestlie and humbilly beseik; and so meikle the mair, becaus we haiff givin unto your Lordschipis diverse Supplicatiounes hereanent of before, and hes ressavit no answer hithirtill as yit."

This Supplicatioune, being givin [in] and read, wes aluttirlie[1] rejectit and refuissit; and the Britherine urgit to answer to the libell, by the Kingis Advocat, his accusar; and, thairfoir, thai wer constrainit to refuse the Judicatorie,[2] formally, and gaiff in the Declynatore following, undir all thair handis:

THE DECLYNATOURE.

"My Lordis of Secreit Counsell, unto your Lordschipis: Pleas your Lordschipis, the approbatioune and allowance of ane Generall Assemblie hes bein and sould be a matter and caus spirituall, and allwayis cognoscit and judgeit by the Kirk, as Judge thairoff competent, within this realme. And sieing we are callit befoir your Lordschipis, to heire and sie it to be fund and declairit that we haiff verie seditiousely and contemptuouselie convenit and assemblit ourselffis in a Generall Assemblie at Abirdein, &c.; and, thairfoir, the said Assemblies, and the approbatioune thairof, to be declarit and decernit unlawfull, as at mair lenth is conteinit in the said summoundis execute againes us thairannent, We, in consideratioune of the premisses, and other reassounes to be givin in by us, hes just caus to declyne your Lordschipis Judgment, as nowayis competent in the caus above specifeit; and by thais presentis, we doe *simpli-*

[1] Altogether. [2] Decline the jurisdiction of the Privy Council.

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citer declyne the same, sieing we are maist willing to submitt our selff to the tryall of the Generall Assemblie, quhilk is only Judge competent, by thir presentis, subscryvit with our handis as followis, the 24 of October 1605.

"Mr Johne Forbes.	Mr Charles Ferme.[1]
Mr Johne Welsche.	Mr Johne Monroe.
Mr Robert Durie.	Mr James Irving.[2]
Mr Andrew Duncane.	Mr Wm. Forbes.
Mr Alex. Strauchane.	Mr Johne Rosse.
Mr Johne Scharpe.	Mr Robert Youngsone.
Mr James Gregg.	Mr Nathan Inglishe."[3]

Nevirtheles of this Declynatoure, the Counsell findis thame selffis Judgis, and urgis thame to answer to the lybell. The Britherine, undir protestatioune, and adhering allwayis to thair Declynatoure, answeris at lenth by wrytt, proveing the lawfullnes of thair Assemblie, purging thame of all contempt and seditioun, and offiring them to prove the indorsatioune and executioune of the chairge givin in againes thame be the Kingis Commissiouner, the Laird of Lawristoune. Notwithstanding thairoff, the Counsell givis out sentance againes the Assembly, and thame quho wer the holderis thairof, conforme to the summondis, and remittis the prissouneris to thair wairding-places.

In this meintyme, thair wes apprehendit a famous excommunicat, foirfaultit, and perverting Papist, namit Mr Gilbert Broome, Abbot of New Abbay, quho, evir since the Reformatioune of Religioun, had conteinit in ignorance and idolatrie allmost the haill South-west pairtis of Scotland, and had bein continowallie occupyit in practiseing againes the Religioune. This man, being [bot one night][4] keipit in Blaknes, fellow-prissouner with the Britherine of the Ministerie, wes transportit to the Castell of Edinbruche, quhair

[1] Fairholme. [2] Adv. MSS., erroneously, "Garbane." [3] Inglis.
[4] Not in Univ. MS.

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he wes liberallie intertained upoun the Kingis expensses, and ane of his speciall freindis licensed to com and goe to him at his plesoure; and, in end, haiffing all his guidis restorit to him, evin his idolatrous relictis, crosses, Agnus Dei, &c., wes set at libertie, and permitted to imbarque and goe to France, not without great suspitioun, and appearing to say messe in Edinbruche, and greatly feared and supported to be reall; for the nicht befoir his departoure, boith his messe-clothes and chellis,[1] &c., wes fund and takin by the Baillies. This wes very evill-takin off by all guid men, as seming to be done in despyt of the Ministeris deteinit so long in that foull hous and dungeoun of Blacknes, upon thair own excessive costis and expenssis.

The Parliament of England wes to sitt downe the 9 of November, the year of God 1605; a few dayes befoir the quhilk wes detectit ane horribill Conspiracie of Catholict Papistis, quho had undermyndit the Parliament Hous, and had laid in ane hudge quantitie of gunpowder, haiffing ane of thair number, named Gwy Faux, reddilie attending with a sett traine and prepairit lount[2] and match, to haiff blawin all the Hous in the aire, immediatly eftir the King, Quein, Prince, and Nobillis, with the haill Estaitis, had bein conveinit to heir the Kingis oratioune, the first day of the Parliament. The newis of this movit all guid men to think that the King wald haiff left off the persuit of the puire Ministeris in boith the realmes, and requyring thair prayeris and praiseing of God in thair Congregatiounes, and amongis thair flockis, for so gryt a deliverance: But the effect thairof declairit the contrairie; for not only wes thair no reliveing, but a insisting moir eagerlie and fiercelie, boith be pen and tungue, saying, The Papistis wes seiking his lyff, indeid, but the Ministeris wes seiking his Crowne, deirer to him nor his lyff! And so, expresse chairge wes sent home to the Counsell, namely, to the Chanceler, Secretar, Advocat, Comptroller, Officeris of the Estaite, to put the Ministeris to ane asyse or jurie upon ane dittay

[1] Chalice, communion cup.

[2] Match of slow fire.

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of treassoune, because of the Declynatoure of the quhilk, these foirnamit Counselleris, directit, for feir of inabilitie to effectuat so hard a matter, as to dress a Judge and assysse with all thingis neidfull to gett thame convictit, and brought undir the compas of the law; and, thairfoir, pairtlie for that and pairtlie for the Kingis occupatiounes annent the conspiracie, the matter tuik ane delay till the first moneth of the new yeir, 1606.

M.DC.VI.

The first newis we heard, in the new yeir, wes the comming doune from Court of tuo great Counselleris, to witt, the Erles of Marr and Dumbar. Thair home-comeing was thought to be for great matteris; but all, in end, tendit to put the Ministeres warded in Blacknes to ane assyse, quhilk wes done on the Friday,[1] the tenth of Januar.

The Erle of Dumbar sent for ane of the Ministeres of his best and antient accquantance, to quhom he regraitit heavilie his imployment and present service he wes about; and, thairfoir, requeisted most earnestlie the said Minister to tak the paines as to goe and deall with the prissouneris of Blacknes, and to sie iff thai wald condiscend, and it wer[2] to never so lycht a confessioun of fault, and coming in the Kingis will thairfoir; and he sould imploy his credit to the uttirmost for pleasing the King and paciefieing him. The Minister, glaid to haive the occasioun to talk with his Britherine, and sie how God wrought with thame, being wairnit that thai were to be put to ane assyse, past to the Blacknes, and all that nycht commouned with the prissouners, and leivit no argument, that he could heir or invent, unusit, to assay thair constancie; but thai stuid firme as a rock, breking and repulseing all the waves that Boreas could blow out of the sea againes thame: And so, eftir thair most comfortabill excercise of the Word and prayer, went to bed; but being on thair morneing sleipe, (haiffing put off muche of the nicht with guid excercise of reassouneing, reiding, and prayer,) thai ar awakened with

[1] Adv. MSS. "Thursday."

[2] If it were.

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the sound of a trumpet of the Guard, cum from Linlithgow to convoy the prissouneris befoir the Counsell, quhilk the Livetennent of the Guard said wald sitt doun befoir day-lycht, and thairfoir behoveit to mak haste. Thai made ready, and callit to God, and so come to Linlythgow by the sunne-riseing, and wer brought the hie-way to the Palace, quhair the Counsell wes most full and frequent sitting. The Erle of Lithgow, quho keipit hous in the Palace, and quhois wyf wes ane obstinat Papist, ressavit thame verie courteousely, and caussit thame be convoyit into ane chalmer; quhair, eftir guid intertainement, thair assemblit a guid number of the Ministerie from all pairtis, and wer permittit to call to God, and to consult togidder with the prissouneris.

Mr Johne Forbes, Moderator of the Presbyterie of Abirdeine, being Moderator, according to his office, said, "Indeed, thair hes been money sessiounes of Generall Assemblies rarer then this wes." Thair wes a great deiling, by dyverse Counselleres and utheris, usit to break thame, quhy, and in quhat reassoune; but all in vaine.

Thaireftir the Counsell directit expresselie the Lordis of Newbottill, Quhittinghame, Blantyre, the Lord Little Justice,[1] to reassoune with the Ministeres conveinit, that thai mycht bring the Ministeres, prissouneris, to ane submissioune, but in vaine. Then they sent the same again, with diverse utheris, and namely the Advocat, to accquant us with the proces, and assure us that it wald proceid to thair convictioune; thairfoir, and the said Advocat, with diverse utheris men of law, that professit gryt freindschippe and favoure to the Ministeris, [and possessit the samyne,][2] sic as Mr Thomas Craig, Mr William Oliphant, were instant[3] with the Breither to pas from the Declinatour, *pro loco et tempore;* assuring thame that it wald be no wayis prejudiciall to the Kirk, thair caus, or thameselffis, to use it againe quhen they pleassit; and so, iff thai wald pas from the Assemblie and Declinatoure, the Counsell wald pas from all the proces and present persuit, and the prissouneris sould goe frie. This movit many of the Bretherin present, haifing a grytter cair,

[1] The Justice-depute. [2] Adv. MSS. [3] *Ib.* "earnest."

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and being in a greitter feir for the present, to be put in perrill and danger of thair lyvis nor[1] the prissouneris thameselffis, quho wer most resolvit; and sua we craifit a space to consult togider, that the Counsell mycht haiff ane answer.

Thair wes gryt reassouneing to and fro amonges us, and the matter was thought to be of sua gryt importance concerneing the haill Kirk, that it wes hard for thame quho wer thair to jeopard[2] it; and, thairfoir, thought it meit to direct of that number certaine to the Counsell to crave a tyme to communicat[3] with the Presbyteries of the Province; and that, efter advyce, resolute answer mycht be givin to the Counsell. So halff ane dussane of the Britherine past to the Counsell, quhilk thai fand sitting verie orderely and magnificly in the Chappell of the Palice; and eftir proponeing of the matter they wer removit, and within a schort spaice callit in againe, and ressavit a plaine *Nolumus*. The quhilk being repeittit to the Breitherine, the Moderator, Mr Johne Forbes, Mr Johne Welsche, with the rest of the prissouneris, with gryt confidence, said, That thai saw that the Lord had callit thame that day to give ane testimonie of the libertie of the kingdome of Jesus Chryst, and to stand to his Croun againes the usurpatioune and the pryd of men: Quhairat thai wer not affrayed, but exceiding glad and coragious; only besought the Britherine to give thame thair advyce that thai hurt not the caus, haiffing no respect to any thing that could befall thame, in compaire of that. The Britherine, sieing thair constancie, courage, and resolutioun, glorified God; and quhill as thai wer confirmeing thame by thair uniforme assent and prayer, it wes schawin thame by the Livetennent of the Guard that the Judge, assistit by the haill Counsell, wes sett in the Tolbuithe, the place of publict judgment of the town, attending the prissouneris presenting.

Thus, the haill Britherine accompanieit the prissouneris to the Judgement-hous, quhair the prissouneris of Blacknes, being callit, enterit within the barr upon the pannell, quhair the Justice Clerk-

[1] Than. [2] Hazard, risk. [3] Univ. MS. "convocat."

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deput schew thame that thai wer indyttit thair for treassouu committit againes the Kingis Majestie, and so red thair libellit dittay; and being inquyrit, Quhat advocat thai wald haiff to speik for thame? they desyrit Mr Thomas Craig and Mr Williame Oliphant; quho being callit for, it wes reportit that thai wald not plead for thame: Thairfoir, it behovith thame to tak sic as wald, to witt, Mr Thomas Gray, ane old man, weill-willing, but not skillfull, and ane uther young man, quho nevir befoir pleadit any caus befoir the Justice, yit provit notably weill, as moved by God for that effect; in whose actione nothing wes missed that the best could have done. This was Mr Thomas Hope, quho conquisit to himself that day the estimatioune both of a guid man and of a guid advocat. Mr Thomas Hammiltoun, the Kingis Advocat, in accusing, kythed[1] gryt sophistrie, craft, and evill-will, schrewdlie convoyit with eloquence, boith in oratioun and actioune. The substance of his accusatioune wes concludit in this syllogisme:

"Quhosoevir, in quhatsoevir caus, declynis the Kingis and Counsellis Judicatour, incurris the guiltines and paine of treassoun: Bot thais upoun the pannall hes treassonabillie declynit the King and Counsellis Judicatorie: *Ergo*, thai haive incurrit the guiltines and paine of treassoun."

The propositioune he provit by the actis of parliament haldin at Edinbruche in May 1578.[2] To the quhilk it wes answerit: 1. That the mynd of the act wes not to mak all declinatouris guiltie of treassoun; for it is acknawledgit most lawfull and orderlie done, to declyne the Secreit Counsell in civill matteris or criminall actiounes, as not Judgis competent, and draw thame to the Sessioune, Shereffis, and Justices; and sua maist lawfull in matteris ecclesiastick, to declyne the same Counsell, and cleave to the Generall Assemblie, and Inferior Synodis and Presbyteries: 2*dly*, That act and the haill force thairof wes abrogatt and takin away, and repellit expresselie, by a posterior act in the parliament haldin at Edinbruche in the yeir 1592, in sua far as concernes matteres of heresie, doctrine,

[1] Showed, manifested.

[2] Adv. MSS. "1584."

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sacramentis, excommunicatioune, or discipline of the Kirk: Bot sua it is to judge of the lawfullnes or unlawfullnes thairof is a speciall poynt of discipline; yea, that quhilk keipit Doctrine, Sacramentis, and Discipline, and all in order, and quhilk keipit all uncorruptit. 3*dly*, That the act buire the incurring of the paine of treassoune, quhilk paine can never be inflictit unles the fault be fund treassounabill be law; but so it is that thair is no law defyneing the declynatour of ane incompatiabill Judge to be treassoune. After long reassouneing of the Advocatis *ultro citroque*[1] upon this poynt, the Judge gois to ane interlocutor, quhilk wes dumbe and tacit, asking every ane of the Counsell assistinglie and secreitlie, in thair ears, thair judgment;[2] and thaireftir pronunces, by the uniforme consent of the haill Counsell and Lordis thair present assisting him, the propositioune wes fund relevant, and the ansueris maid repellit. At the pronunceing quhairoff, the Erle of Marr and two Lordis with him, viz., Halyrudehous and the Collector, Mr Johne Prestoune, answeris him, "Say not all, my Lord; for thair ar heir that ar not, nor nevir wilbe, of that judgment!"

So it com to the assumptioune, quhilk the Advocat said was evident be the Declinator, givin in and subscryvit with thair handis, and red; merkand, that they treassounabilly declynit the King and Counsellis Judicatour.[3] To the quhilk the pannall maid answer, That thai had not declynit the Kingis Majestie's Judicatore, but the Counselis only; that thai wer evir, and wald be glaidlie content to be judgit be his Majestie and the Generall Assemblie, or his Majestie, being mor with the Generall Assemblie; and had evir professit and had offerit thamselvis, lykeas presentlie they offer and professe thamselvis, in their bodies and guidis, and quhat they had, to be in no othir rank or conditioune then any uthir subject; but, in all humilitie, to be judgit, and submitt thamselves, according to the lawis and commone ordour of the realme; craifing no immunitie or priviledge, as Papistis doe, only that, according to the Word of

[1] From one side to the other, backwards and forwards. [2] "In that judgement." Univ. MS. [3] Adv. MSS. "whilk was declared, that they had declyned the King's Councill Judicature, and the King, treasonablie."

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God and lawis of the realme, they had distinguischit the civill and ecclesiasticall jurisdictioun, and so had evir keipit tham distinct in all quyetnes and guid order: The matteres of the Kirk may be judgit and cognosced by the Kirk in hir Assemblies, the quhilk wes alseweill ratified and confirmit by the lawis of the realme as any uthir Judicatore wes. Nixt, quhairas he assumit treasounabillie, that wes evill logick and sophistrie, assumeing moir nor wes propouned; seeing, neither the propositioun nor alleadgit act for proveing thairoff conteinit that word "treasonabillie declynis." 3*dly*, Naither wald he be abill to prove that Declinatore treasonabill. And, last, the pannell desyrit to mak a declaratioun upon thair owne Declynatore, quhilk wes then grantit to thame, evin to dytt the same to the Clarke at thair awin pleasure; lyk as the haill reassouneing, in effect, and proces, wes sett downe and dyttit[1] by the Advocatis *hinc inde*.

Thaireftir the Judge and Syse or Jurie wes callit; againes the quhilk thair wes no exceptioune usit, because they wer all uncertain[2] to the pannell and their advocattis; yit thair wes gryt feir of caus, as they knew thaireftir; for sum of thame wes debosched horneris,[3] as wes the Laird of Craigihall, Chancellour of that Assyse; uthiris knawin Papistis, as Mark Swintoun and[4] Innerkeithing; and sume had suitis at Court, the Lairds of Caridine and Polwart; utheris mein men, easilie conduceit or terrified; but, as it is said, they wer unknawin, and nevir heard off befoir they wer presently nominat. Eftir thair oath takine solemnelie, conforme to the order, the Advocate did informe, perswad thame, and terrifie thame very shrewdlie, that the Judge had alreadie provine the propositioune of thair accusatioune, that it wes treassoune to declyne the King and Counselis judgment; so, only the second part remainit for thame to judge upoun it and finde, to witt, iff the prissouneris quho wer thair present on the pannellis had declynit, quhilk was ane easie thing to be judgit and decernit, in sa far as thair Declinatoure, undir thair awin

[1] Adv. MSS. "dictat." [2] *Ib.* "unknown." [3] Persons denounced at the King's horn. The Adv. MSS. reads "whorers." [4] *Ib.* "of."

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handis, wes thair present befoir the Judge; unto the quhilk they thameselvis stood so, that of all rycht, necessitie, and duetie, thai behovit to fyle[1] thame; and iff thai did not so, he wald protest againes thame for errour wilfullie committit, and so thair lyff, landis, and guidis, to fall in the Kingis handis.

On the uthir pairt, the Advocat for thais of the pannell dischairgit ane honest duetie, warneing the Assysse, weightilie, to remember the defences usit; quhilk he resumit schortlie and plainlie, that thai sould judge equitabillie, rychtlie, and trewlie, and not efter alledgit lawis, not onlie repellit and abrogat in that pairt, but also odious, maid in a violent tyme, and not weill groundit; againes the quhilk, at the verie tyme of thair proclameing at the mercat-crosse of Edinbruche, Mrs Robert Pont and Walter Balcanquall, Ministeris, in name of the haill Kirk, by publict dissassenting, tuike instrumentis and documentis of thair dissassenting, in the handis of Mr George Nicolsoune,[2] nottar-publict, that thai sould feir the great and rychteous God, and his Sonne Jesus Chryst, quho salbe the great Judge of the world; and, finallie, to remember thair conscience and thair honor and estimatione in the contrie and Kirk of God, in the Ministerie quhairof these Ministeris had servit many yeiris with great approbatioune and prais of all. To the quhilk also thais upon the pannell, namelie, Mr Johnne Forbes and Mr Johnne Welsche, to quhom the rest gave the place of speich, spake very powerfully and unveighingly.

Mr Johnne Forbes rememberit thame of the Confessioun of Faith, quhairin the Discipline, Jurisdictione, and haill Order of the Kirk, wes conteinit, quhilk the King, his Councill, and haill Nobilitie, and honourable Estates of the land, had sworne and subscryvit, and by the publict chairge givine to all the Ministeris of the land, hes causit the gentillmen and every parischiner of the parische to sweire and subscryve; the quhilk also, by Solemne Covenant, the King himselff, Estaites, and all rankis of the realme, had received and renewit. "Now," sayis he, "tak heid, that ye, gentillmen, haiffing the re-

[1] Find them guilty.

[2] Adv. MSS. "Mackiesone."

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putatioune of guid Christianes, be not notabillie perjurit, in decerneing that it be treassoune againes us, for pleising or feir of any man, quhilk ye haiff sworne and subscryvit to profess, mantein, and defend to your uttirmost!" And, thairwithall, taking the same Confessioun of Faith in print out of his pockett, the oath quhairof is maist feirfullie conceivit, he red the same distinctlie and moveinglie; and thaireftir directit his speich to the Nobillmen and Counselleres thair presentlie sitting in judgement, he gaive thame ane maist grave admonitioune, with horribill threateningis, and appellinge the Erle of Dumbar in particular, abjureis him to report the admonitioune, quhilk, of necessarie urgent duetie, it behoveth him to direct to the Kingis Majestie. So, at great lenth, he recompteit the historie of the Oath and Covenant quhilk Josua and the people maid with the Gibeonitis; the quhilk, becaus that Saul, King of Issrael, did brek and violat, longe eftir his death the Lord forgott it not, but plagued the land in the days of David, till the haill sonnes and posteritie of Saull wer takine and hangit up befoir the sone, and so he and his alluttirly rootit out. The quhilk, maist pithilie reassouneing from les to moir, he applyit to the King; and thairon, directing the admonitioun and threitneing most terribill, maide all the heireris astonischit, and their hairis to stand!

So the Assyse past out of the place of judgment and enterit in ane hous below; quhair they remainit inclosit with the Justice Clarke above sex houris, great contradictioun being betuix the Assyseris; and, in end, be the cleire and earnest reassouneing of Johnne Liveingstoune of Dunipace, in favouris of the prissouneris on the pannell, all wer about once to absolve thame: Quhilk being espeyit, thair wes great dealing usit with the Assysseris, in particular, by promises and threatenings; and especially by this argument, that thair wes no harme nor dangeris of death meined againes thais Ministeris, but only that the King behovit to be pleasourit in the matter, and then all sould goe weill. Nevertheles, in end, six of the gentilmen, Assysseris, absolvit *simpliciter*, and the uthir nyne wer induceit to fyle;[1] and so the Chancelloure of the Syse,[2] com-

[1] Find guilty.

[2] The foreman of the assize or jury.

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peiring in judgement, pronunceit that the Assyse, be moniest voitis,[1] did fyle thame. Quhairupon the Laird of Dunipace, as befoir he went doune, so then he spak furth plainelie, that he absolvit and clengit[2] thame as cleine, not only of all treassoun, but also honnest Ministeres of Christ, and guid subjectis to the King.

The Judge, continowing the sentence doome to the tyme that his Majestie's will and pleasoure sould be knawin, ordainit the prissouneris, attentit[3] and convict, to be returneit to thair waird and straitlie keipit, that no man sould be admittit to thame.[4] Nivertheles, the Britherine imbracit ane ane-uthir, and thankit God for his present assisting with thame in the haill actioune, and convoying with thame to thair Palice chamber; and as the Britherine of the Ministerie present returnit from the Palice to thair ludgingis, ten houris in the night soundit; and the peiple said, "Certainely this wes a worke of darknes, to mak Chrystis faithfull Ministeres tratouris to the King! God grant he be niver in greater dangeris nor off sic traitouris!"[5]

On the morne, diverse of the Britherine of the Ministerie convoyed them back againe to the Blacknes; quhair, with thankisgivingis, prayeris, and many teiris, thai left thame glader and mair confirmit in the caus nor evir befoir; rejoyceing greatlie that God, be this actioun, had cleirit the caus to the knawledge and conscience of all men, moir nor off befoir, and that he had honorit his servantis with a plaine and constant testimonie givin thairunto.

The Synodis throughout the realme wes, by the Kingis directioune, appoyntit all to be conveinit and haldine within the moneth of Februare nixt; quhair answeris wer to be givine in to certaine Articles proponit be his Majestie. They follow, as they wer givin out:—

[1] Majority of votes. [2] Acquitted; found *clean* or innocent. [3] Attainted.
[4] Adv. MSS. "have access to speak to them." [5] Than of such traitors.

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ARTICLES TO BE PROPONEIT TO THE SYNODIS OF THE PROVINCES FROM THE KINGIS MAJESTIE.

"That nothing be alterit that wes done in the Generall Assemblies quhairat his Majestie wes present thairin.

"That Bisschopis sall have full jurisdictioun ovir the Ministeris, undir his Majestie.

"That the Commissioneris of the Generall Assemblie be not alterit.

"That thair be no appellatioune from thame to the Generall Assemblie.

"That the King be acknawledgit suprem reuler of the Kirk undir Christ; and that from him the power of Ministeris assembling and spirituall meitingis doe lawfully flow."

These inflamit a certaine Brother of the Synod of Fyff,[1] being undir Godis scharpe correcting hand, out of the midis of his paines, to wryt to the Synod, conveinit at Couper, as follows:

[MR JAMES MELVILL'S LETTER TO THE SYNOD OF FIFE.]

Stand fast in the libertie quhairwith Chryst hes maid us frie, and be not intanglit againe with the yocke of bondage.[2]

"I had niver so great a desyre to be with yow in a Synodall Assemblie, deir Britherine, and wes niver withhaldin with stronger cordis of seiknes, sairnes, and manifald inabilities, to my great and hevie regrait: For quhen I percive my miserabill dayis to consume in vanitie and vexatioune, Alace! said I, sall I not be refreschit in the Assemblies of the Lordis servantis, and in the presens and

[1] The Author here alludes to himself, in his usual modest and unpretending manner. He has not, throughout the course of this Continuation, spoken of himself in the first person; and it is by no means improbable that the fear of future annoyance, to himself or his family, induced him to write with such extreme reserve. [2] Gal. iv. 1.

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lycht of his countinance? Sall I not sie thame conveinit, and fencit in the name of Jehovah,[1] (in quhom all the hous of Israell is lettin to knaw, for a suertie, that the Lord hes maid him boith Lord and Chryst!) with prayer and invocatioune, with precheing, holie, solid, armed, and grave eloquence of that hevinlie vertue of God, concerneing the rueling of Discipline, Ordering, and Governement of the Kirk; so cleir in Scripture, and so plaine in storie; so allowit and lovit of all wrytteris, anchient and moderne; so profitabill for unitie and sinceritie againes all sortis of heresies, schismes, and confusiounes in our fourtie-six yeiris experience; the lyff of our soulis; the glorie of the Kirk and kingdom; in sua far as it is the meinis to reteine Jesus Chryst, by the force of his Comforter, to be resident amongis us,[2] the gall of our enemies; and as uttered so ressavit by all godly approbatiounes and applauses of our affectiounes, studie and zeall, and with your[3] indeavoure to keip and maintaine the same; yea, even zealous least any jott thairoff sould fall in haulting, and so be turnit out of the way. Quhen I remember so mony guid Britherine, all as one man, mycht be for the Lord,[4] in veritie,[5] charitie, wysdome, and moderatioune, cair, feire, fastnes, conscience,[6] [and] guid order, my verie heart brustis for my unthankfullnes, that sould depryve and bereave me of my greitest confort on earth! But all the wayis of the Lord are mercie and truth to thame that love him, and are in his covenant-mercy in forgiveing of sines, and truth in keiping his faithfull promis of grace: So this my absence, according to the order, excerciseit,[7] is but my dwetie as yit not dischairgit.

"I heir [rumors] of a strange gnaverie[8] of Articles to be presentit from his Majestie to all our present services;[9] bot verilie, I neither will, nor can I belive it to be true. Quhat? Is it possibill that a most Chrystiane King, liveing[10] our Kirk and realme in a settlit Religioune and Policie, himselff and all his subjectis standing fast bund to God

[1] Adv. MSS. "Jesus Christ." [2] *Ib.* "to be President, present amongst us." [3] *Ib.* "with open." [4] *Ib.* reads more properly, "meit before the Lord." [5] *Ib.* "unitie." [6] *Ib.* "constancie." [7] *Ib.* "execute." [8] *Ib.* "rumors." "Gnaverie" seems here to imply dexterous shifting, from Lat. *gnavus*. [9] *Ib.* "Synods." [10] Leaving.

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by a most Solemne Covenant, sworne and subscryvit throughout the land, [and after so many promises and protestationes not to be meaned alterationes,[1]] propoune Articles for ranversing[2] and turneing of all upsyd doune? Now, put the cais that sum Commissiouneris will stand up and affirme[3] that thais Articles are from his Majestie, signit with his awin hand, and sett furthe, yit I think that thair is no earnest truth in thame;[4] but sum such wyse and godlie policie, such as wes commended in the Emperour Constant, the father of Constantine the Great, quho, willing to mak a sure proof and tryall of the truth and religioune of his servandis, chairgit thame with plaine Pagannisme, that thai sould professe the samen for thair Religioune, or elis[5] to abandoun his Court, and quyt thame of thair offices; but finding sum redie to foirfault and losse all or[6] they leive thair Religioune, he takis thais for sure servantis and freindis, and rejectis the rest, as sic as could nocht be true to the Emperoure quho wes not true to thair God in thair Religioune. For, thinkis ony man uthirwayis, or that sua wyse and godly a King wald evir propoune to the Synodis of Scotland [thais poyntis of plaine Papistrie, and hes not the pulpits of Scotland,[7]] thais fourtie yeiris bygone, soundit as mychtily[8] againes the Pope's supremacie, againes the Jurisdictioune of a Pastor above a Pastor, againes tyrannie, usurpatioune of the power and libertie of the Kirke, [sould propone plaine poyntis of Papistrie that wes declareing againes all these, and all the pulpitis within the land crying out againes it, as againes[9]] the Antichristianisme errouris; yea, baith pulpitis and scoollis hes bein moir againes that, yea, moir fierce nor againes meritis,[10] messes, and purgatorie! Can this be true and earnest deiling? No[11] possibill, unles they think it to be ane draught of Circe's disch to turne us, *Væ! omnes*, at ane instant from men to swyne, and from preceise Pricheris to renunce our faith at the view off ane Article cam[12] from Court, and becum apostate renegatis.

[1] Omitted in Univ. MS. [2] Overturning. Fr. *renverser*. [3] Adv. MSS. "assume." [4] *Ib.* "to be therein." [5] Else, otherwise. [6] Ere, before. [7] Omitted in Adv. MSS. [8] *Ib.* "some as it might be" [9] Omitted in Univ. MS. [10] Adv. MSS. "maitins." [11] Not. [12] Adv. MSS. "sent."

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"Finalie, deir Britherine, if thair salbe fund any thing in the matter of effect, by quhatsumevir maner buskit[1] or borne upe, my judgement is, not to illud[2] it, but to put it aff to a Generall Assemblie, as pertinent only thairto. *Sed principiis obsta quam fortissime et diligentissime:* For iff it pas without plaine controlment and gainstanding, it wilbe nixt among the Lordis of Articles in Parliament, to be sett doune for a law and a statut, befoir that evir it com to a Generall Assemblie, to advyse and conclud the same; and, thairfoir, give them a plaine *Nolumus, detestamus, execramus, anathematizamus!*

"First, then, I wald we sould doe the duetie of true Pricheris, Watchmen, and Sieris, to speik, wryt, [and] send to mak faithfull warneing and admonitioune, in all humilitie and love dew to them, [in the name of our Chryst to our Chrystiane Kynge: The quhilk being done,[3]] lett every ane prepair himselff for giveing our faithfull and constant testimonie, as it sall please God to chape[4] upon him, and call him out thairto, strenthening our selvis in the word and prayer, and in espeying[5] of the working off God with his awin servandis, our deir Britherine, and, verilie, the tryel sall not haif passit all the Tribes of Israell quhen the Sone off Man sall be manifestit in his glorie! Let Herod and Pontius Pilat goe to;[6] let Lacinius and Julian assay thair witis, and doe all that the hand of God and his counsell hes apoyntit for[7] the tryall of his Kirk; only the Lord look on thair threitneingis, and give them strenth, courage, and fridome, and language and spirit to uttir his truth, and stand to the samyn, not only in pannel and prissoune, bot even at the fyre[8] and at the scaffauld, iff it lyk the world to assay the same, [whereat they have been often warned by the patience of the saints.[9]] And, finaly, my deir Britherine, I wald haiff the Assemblie requeisting Mr Andro Melvill to wrytt to the Kingis Majestie fullie and cleirlie[10] of these Fyve Articles following:

[1] Decked, dressed out, disguised. [2] Elude. [3] Omitted in Adv. MSS.
[4] *Chap;* literally to knock, as at a door. [5] Adv. MSS. "Inspyreing."
[6] *Ib.* "Agree." [7] *Ib.* "Concerning." [8] *Ib.* "Staick." [9] Not in Univ. MS. [10] Adv. MSS. "Plainly."

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"First, That the Ministerie[1] of the Gospell is from Christ allenerlie, quhairof men (evin that beiris office in the Kirk) ar but witnesses.

"2. That it is ane essentiall pairt of the office of the Ministerie to keip the Assemblies, for taking heid to the doctrine and maneris of thameselves mutuallie, and to thair flockis.

"3. Thridlie, that diverse hunderith yeiris befoir thair wes ane Christiane Magistrat, thair wes maist flurisching Churches, quhair wer Pastouris, Doctoris, and Professouris, quho wes at home in thair families, and in utheris pairtis worschipped God togither;[2] and quho keipit many famous, and frequent, and proffitabill Assemblies and Counsellis againes the first heretickis to represse thame.

"4. That the space of threttie-two yeires befoir any expres and full ratificatioune in parliament, the Generall Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland were bettir,[3] fuller, and greitter, and of mair auctoritie nor syne.[4]

"5. That the Gospell of peice brought peice and unitie[5] from deedlie warris in the Yle off Britane, and hes inriched and broucht foirward the same to the present perfectioune; but, unles it be keipeit in sinceritie, and Jesus Chryst suffirit to reigne friely, all the wittis of the world sall not be abill to keip it in unitie[6] and peice.

"Your Brothir, trewlie,[7]

"J[AMES] M[ELVILL."]

As soone as this Lettre wes red in the Synod, the Kingis Commissiouner, Sir David Moray, laitly maid Lord of Scoone, desyrit to haiff it, for it behovit to be sent to the Kingis Majestie; lykas, ressaiveing the same, he did post it away with all diligence, liveing the Assemblie bot a coppie thairof undir his subscriptioun.

The fyftein of this samen moneth of February a Proclamatioune wes maid solemnelie, by sound of trumpet, at the mercat-cross of

[1] Adv. MSS. "Matters." [2] *Ib.* "together in thousands." [3] *Ib.* "both." [4] *Ib.* "they have been since." [5] *Ib.* "veritie." [6] *Ib.* "veritie." [7] Univ. MS. reads "poorely," in allusion to the then feeble state of his health.

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Edinbruche, founded upon tuo actis of parliament, maid *in anno* 1584: One, that none sould speik, in privat nor in publict, againes his Majestie and Counselis proceidingis, undir the paine of death; and ane uther, that none sould declyne his Majestie's judgement,[1] in any [caise or[2]] caus, undir the paine of treasoune; commanding, chairging, and inhibiting all and sindrie persounes, his Majestie's subjectis, of quhatsoevir degrie, qualitie, estait, or conditioune soevir they be, that non of thame presume nor tak upoun hand, [privatlie or publictlie, in sermounes, declamatiounes, or privie conferrences,[3]] to uttir any sclanderous spiches againes the proceidingis of his Majestie's Counsel and Justice, in trying and punisching of the seditious Ministeres, and onnawayis to meddel with that matter, nor in na uther effairis of his Hienes, his Counsel or estait, bygaine, present, or to come, undir the paine of daith; with certificatioune effeirand:[4] Also commanding all Shereffis, Stewartis, Bailies of Regalities, Proveistis, Bailies and Counsellis within Burghis, Nobillmen, Barrounes, and Gentillmen of power in landwaird, that incais they sould heir from pulpit any meddilling with thais matters, to interrupt thais spiches,[5] tak thame doune from pulpit, and put tham in sure firmance, and to dilat all that in privat or publict sould talk of the Counsellis proceidingis, or meddill with the effairis of estait bygaine, present, or to cume; undir the paine, that the heirer and not apprehender or dilator of it, iff it be in his power, be punisched in the samyne degrie and missure as the principall offendaris.

This wes the effect, utterit in moist terribill termes and maner: so that the proclamator thairof, or[6] he com to the mides of the proclamatioun settillit[7] doune spicheles, and with meikle adoe ane uthir wes enterit into his rowme,[8] the peiple marking and crying out for detestatioune. In the meintyme, the prissouneris wer full of comfort and joye, so that they wreit many lettres to thair Britherine that savourit and smellit mychtilie of that oyle of glaidnes and constancie: In witnes quhairof, [amongis mony, followit on ane of the

[1] Viz. the jurisdiction of the King and Council. [2] Not in Univ. MS. [3] Not in Adv. MSS. [4] Corresponding or belonging thereto. [5] Adv. MSS. "preachers." [6] Before, ere. [7] Adv. MSS. "fell." [8] Place.

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schortest, quhen[1]] the Brothir[2] that wes sent unto thame by the Erle of Dunbar befoir thair attenting,[3] had be this same directioun offerit thame pardoun iff thai wald confes ane fault and craiff mercie, and receaved this answer:

"Reverent and deirely belovit Brothir, We haiff bein so fully confortit by your consolatioune and the confort of your love, that we knaw not quhat thankisgiving to randir to God. Surelie[4] our joy hes greitlie abounded since this last day, so that we can not sufficientlie wonder at the riches of his frie grace, that sould haiff voutchsaffit sic a grace[5] upon us as to suffir for his kingdome, in the quhilk thair is joy unspeikabill and glorious; by the quhilk we ar rather in feir that we be not continowit, and sua we robbit of further consolatioune, nor[6] that quhilk it sould increas; desyreing sumtime to finisch our testimonie, by giving the last of our blood unto the same: For thais afflictiones ar so far from discourageing, that the abondant consolatioune thairof hes encouragit us exceedinglie; desyring now to be maid conformabill to the death off our Lord, that we may be maid pairt-takeris of the glorie to be reveillit. God be thankit, in Chryst Jesus, for all his unspeikabill giftes! Surelie thair is great consolatioune to suffir for Chryst and his truth, quhairfor we now suffir, is seillit to us with many seiles; only we would haif the helpe of the prayeres of all the saintis that we faint not in the defence of the Gospell, but that the Lord would assist us in the same.

"It is truth (Brother in Chryst) we dow not[7] expres unto yow the joy that our God hes caussit abound in us, quhairoff, under Him, your love, and fidelitie, and throughtnes for Chryst and his cause, hes bein a great instrument. Let nevir man, for pitie and love to the persoune, misregard the caus; for we haiff fund our love growing towards yow by your counsell. Surelie it is our resolutioune nevir to blott the Lord his cause that way; but as long as the Lord our God sall susteine us, we mynd rather to indure the

[1] Not in Adv. MSS. [2] Adv. MSS. "that Minister." [3] Attainting. Adv. MSS. read "condemning." [4] Adv. MSS. "trewly." [5] *Ib.* "such ane gift." [6] Than. [7] Adv. MSS. "cannot."

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greatest extremitie that flesch and blood can doe, rather then to accept, let be to craive, a remissioune. It is Chrystis caus and truth; and, thairfor, let men ceis to think off thais thingis; yea, that quhilk they doe let thame doe it quicklie. We houpe our God sall strenthene us to the end. [Surelie we ar not solicite, neithir cairfull in the mater. We knaw that our God can deliver us if he will, and iff not, he strenthneing us,[1]] we sall nevir give the leist and meinest apeirance of denyall of that truth for the quhilk we suffir. Sua, assure his Lordschippe that, as we look for that kingdome and glorie, our purpose is not at all to yeild, neithir to that nor any uthir thing that may prejudge his caus, in sua far as our God sall give us grace and wisdome to persevere, or strenth to resist. The God off consolatioune be with you all for ever mair. Amen."

In the moneth off Appryl, the Counsel, finding thair proceedingis againes the Ministerie wes evill thought off, boith within and without the Kingis dominiounes, they publischit in prent a book of the same, intitulat Againes the Ministeres attentit off Treassoune, &c.: For recountering quhairoff, not long eftir com out, in prent, also, ane faithfull report annent thais proceidingis of the Assemblie of the Ministerie at Abirdein on Tuysday the 2 of July 1605; boith the quhilk being extant in prent, we referre the reider to thame.

In the moneth of May thaireftir came hame aught Lettres, closit, directit to aught Ministeres, upon the back thus: "This to our trustie and weilbelovit" such a man, "Minister of Godis Word" in sic a place; the tennour quhairof followis:

"JAMES REX.

"Trustie and weillbelovit, We greit yow hairtlie weill. Our earnest desyre to entertaine that happie peice of the Kirk of our kingdome of Scotland, quhilk, with gryt cair and travell, we left universallie establischit thairin at our removeing hither, quhilk hes

[1] Not in Adv. MSS.

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since from tyme to tyme bein manifestit by our Lettres to the maist pairt of the Synodis of that realme, and to diverse of our Commissioneris by Missives and Instructiounes, alsweill verball as wryttine, and mair perfytlie ratiffied by Lettres writtine to our Counsel with our hand, proporting most cleir testimonies of the firme constancie of our love to all weill-effectit memberes of that bodie; quhilk, by proclamatiounes and imprentit declaratiounes, wes lykewyse solemnely publischit, as the notoritie thairoff could not be unknawin to ony but to sic as throught wilfull senslesnes would nethir heir nor sie: Haiffing, nevirtheles, so lytle prevailit with sume incredulous, wilfull, ingrat, and malicious-disposeit persounes, as sume of thame haiff not foirborne raschlie to contemne and dissobey our auctoritie, and chairges, and our commandementis, and so stubburnelie to persist in thair contumacie, as thair malicious obstinacie hes forcit us to extend gryter rigour againes thame nor our proclamatiounes, alwayis, yit far les then thair offences did deserve; and utheris haiff presumeit in pulpit foolischlie to justifie the obstinat and malicious proceidingis of thair Britherine, and thairfoir to sclander our just commandementis and lawfull proceidingis of our Counsel: As also, the Synodis being requyrit by our Lettres and Commissiouneres directit to thame, to provyd for thair awin pairtis sua far as in them lay, to give us assurance that certaine actis estabilischit in former Assemblies, necessar for the peice and weil of the Kirk, particularlie expressit in our Instructiounes sent to thame, may be ordainit by thame, not to be proponit, intreitit, or altered at the nixt Generall Assemblie, quhilk we knaw to be moir fitt to be ourpassit, or untwitchit, at the same, then that any mentioune sould be maid of thame thairin, lest thairby occasioun sould ryse of distractioun in the Kirk, and offence to our selffis: Yet they so lytle regairdit the earnestnes of our sute, as thair answeres universally tendit to a present delay, without any assurance to us of thair performeing, at the Assemblie, that quhilk for thair awin weil we so earnestlie urgit. Quhairin we finding a more generall oppositioun to our just petitioune then could haiff evir bein expectit in any sic caus, thais thingis, and utheris weightie reassounes, hes movit us

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heartily to will and command yow, all excuisses set apairt, not to faill with diligence to repaire towardis us befoir the fyfteine of September nixt, to the intent we may that day beginne with your selffis and sic uthir of your Britherine as we have knawin to be of guid lairning and experience, and command lykwayis to be heire; at the same tyme to treat with yow of matteres concerneing the peice of our Kirk of Scotland, to mak our constant and unchangeabill favour borne to all the dewtifull memberes of that body, manifestlie knawin to yow, quhairby they may be bund in dewtie and conscience to conforme your selffis to our godly meineing, and to beir true witnessing for justifieing the lawfullnes of all our intentiounes and actiounes, alsweill concerneing the haill Kirk as the particular actiounes and memberis thairof; and that it may be manifest to all the world that we haiff embassed[1] our selvis for givein satisfactioun to all the professouris thairoff further then uthir Princes doe compt beseimeing to thair estait. If thaireftir sum turbulent spiritis be not thairby recallit to thair duetie, but persist maliciousely in unduetifull contempt of us, it may then be worthely judgit that the severitie, quhilk be thair obstinacie we may be forceit to use, sall rathir be violentlie extorted againes our nature, for thair amendement, then willinglie inflictit for thair ovirthraw. Thus, houpeing ye will not fail precisly to keip the foirsaid day appoyntit, as ye tender our service and the weill of the Kirk, We bid yow fair weill. Att our Mansioun in Greinwitch, the 22d of May 1606."

In the monethe of June, at the day appoyntit for the Parliament for to hald at Edinbruch, when all wes conveinit for keipeing of the same, it wes by solemne proclamatioune prorogat to the first of July, to be haldin at Perth. The caus pretendit wes the infectioun of pest in Edinbruche, quhilk wes almost none at all; but the trew caus wes the unmeitnes of the place for the purpose in hand; [viz.,] the setting upe of Bisschopes upon the stage of honour, to ryd in Parliament, and the purchesing of ane taxatioune of

[1] Probably meant for *embarrassed*. Adv. MSS. "straitned."

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four hundreth thousand merkis; boith quhilk wer effectuatit at Perth. Att Edinburgh, then, thais that wer writtine for, to meitt togidder, viz., Mr Andro Melvine, Mr James Melvine, Mr James Balfoure, Mr William Watsoune, Mr William Scot, Mr Johne Carmichaell, Mr Robert Wallace, and Mr Adam Colt. Thai conferrit thair Lettres, and fand thame all one word by word; and calling on God, they advysit quhither they sould goe or find[1] meines to be excuissit. To the last thai all inclynit, becaus they percaiffit no guid to be meinit, nor any profitabill effect to follow; and thairfoir appoyntit sume to speik the Erle of Dumbar; but quhen they had used all moyen and credit, thair wes no remeid but goe they must, or doe worse. The nixt would be a charge to our greater paines and less advantage to the caus; they that stud into the same being blottit with contempt and dissobedience. It wes also schawin us that this wes the advyce[2] of sume of thame that would haif matteres to goe bettir, and procurit againes Bischoppis and Commissiouneris knawledge and will. Thairfoir, as thai loved the weill of the Kirk in commoune, and of the Britherine in prissoune, thai sould not faille to goe; sua they resolvit first to keip the Parliament at Perth, and thaireftir mak for thair journey.

At this Parliament at Perthe, the Britherine Commissioneris from all the Presbytries of all pairtis of the realme wer frequentlie[3] conveined; and howbeit the Bischoppis haiffing in suit at the Councill to haiff them dischairgit the Parliament by proclamation, it wes not thought meit that they conveinit ordinally by thamselvis, and callit unto God, and advyseit togidder; and perceveing that the Episcopall purpose wes dressit and determined, thai agrieit all in ane, that a Protestatioune sould be in redines, with a number of Reassounes quhy Bischoppis sould not be sett up at that Parliament. Thais they thought guid and meitt to be offirit first by the Commissiouneris of the Generall Assemblie, quhose duetie it wes ordinarly to deal in the commoun matteris of the Kirk at Parlia-

[1] Adv. MSS. "use." [2] *Ib.* "a devyce." [3] Numerously.

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ment, and from no uthir would thai ressaive any thing. The Commissiouneris, quhen they understood that the Lords of the Articles wer about the Episcopall duetie and dignitie, desired to be hard, but wer refusseit. Then thai gaiff in thair Protestatioune in wryt, making mentioune thairin of thair argumentis; but in vaine. All wes repellit,[1] the Chancellour saying that sua thai wer commandit. Thairfoir, it was thought meitt that a coppie thairof, with tuo of the Britherine, sould be directit to every ane of the Estaitis quhair thai continowit; severallie exhorting every ane of them, in the name of God, to wey and consider the same, and stand for the caus of Chryst againes the corruptiounes of such tymes: Quho, quhen togidder, they wer acceptit weill, and promissit frielie;[2] but thair Commissiouneris for the maist pairt wer ane way or other maid for the purpose. Thair restit, then, only a Protestatioune in the oppin Parliament, to be maid the last and most solemne day: Quhilk Mr Andro Melvill, with sume utheris with him, resolvit to doe; quho hardly getting in, how soone he stuid up in oppin sycht he wes espeyit and sent to, and commandit to depairt; quhilk, nevertheless, he did not, till he had maid all that saw and hard him to understand his purpose.

The day befoir the Parliament first Ryding, Mr Williame Couper maid ane excellent powerfull sermoune, to the gryt confort and contentment of all the godly, but nethir he nor his collegue, Mr Johne Malcolme, nor none of that sort, wer sufferit to come thair againe; for ane express directioune came from that Court annent thais that sould preiche: So Mr Andro Lambe preichit the nixt day; of quhom the Inglischmen present said, that "The lamb had provin ane old scheipe that daye, and wes of all counted unfitt for sic ane audience." Mr Patrick Galloway preichit on the Sabbath, quho tauld the Bisschoppis and all plainly, that the Kingis mynd wes not to sett upe Bisschoppis boordis in Parliament, to be Lordis over the Kirk, and above thair Britherine, or to have any authoritie in the Government of the Kirk, over or above the

[1] Adv. MSS. "rejectit." [2] *Ib.* "fairlie."

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Britherine; and, thairfor, to prevent such corruptioune, wes ordainit be his Majestie and the Generall Assemblie, to the quhilk Cautiounes the Bisschoppis had sworne and subscryvit, and sould be esteimit schamefully perjurit[1] iff they contraveinit the same.

Quhairupone the Commissiouneris of the Presbyteries offirit to prooffe befoir the Commissiouneris of the Generall Assemblie, (being at thair instant desyre conveinit in the Kirk,) that the Bisschoppes had brokine all the Caveatis, boith in thair entrie to thair Bisschoprickis, and behaviour since thair entering; but the Commissiouneris refuissit to be judgit in that matter, referring the same to the Generall Assemblie to be holdine at Dundie the last Tuysday of that instant July: Bot this Assemblie wes disschargit at the ryseing of the Parliament by oppine proclamatioune, and prorogat to ane uthir yeir. They wer instant, at the last, that the Cautiones sould be insert in the act of Parliament to be maid in favouris of the Bisschoppes, the quhilk the whole Commissiouneris of the Generall Assemblie thought maist neidfull and necessar;[2] yea, and mony of the Bisschoppis too, becaus it wes so ordainit and aggrieit upoun by the King and Generall Assemblie at Montros; and sua ane of the Cautiounes did expressely contein and beir: But notwithstanding that it wes earnestlie sought and urgit by the same reassounes by the same Commissiouneris at the handis of the Lordis of Articles, it could not be grantit.

Mr Johne Spotiswoode, Bisschoppe of Glasgow, againes quhom wes produceit his awin fatheris testimonie in a Generall Assemblie, that a civill functioune wes nowayes competent with the office of the Ministerie, maid the exhortatioun in the Parliament House, directing the maist pairt of his speiche againes the estabilischit discipline. Him, thairfoir, the Britherine of the Presbyteries conveinit befoir the Commissiouneris of the Generall Assemblie, quho, as of befoir, refuissit to judge him.

The first day of the Ryding in Parliament, betuix the Erles and the Lordis raid the Bisschoppes, all in silk and velvet fuit-mantelles,

[1] Adv. MSS. "shamless perjured persones." [2] *Ib.* "reasonable."

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by paires, tuo and tuo, and Saint Androis, the great Metropolitanne, alone by him selff, and ane of the Ministeres of no small quantitie,[1] named Arthur Futhey, with his capp at his knie, walkit at his stirrope alongst the streit. But the second day, for not haiffing thair awin place as the Papist Bisschoppis of auld had, unto quhois place and dignitie they wer now restorit fully in judgment,[2] quhilk wes befoir the Erles, nixt eftir the Marquesses, thai would not ryde at all, but went to the House of Parliament quyetlie on fuit. This maid the Nobillmen to tak up thair presumeing honour, and detest[3] thame as soone as they had maid thame and sett thame up, perceiving that thair upelyfting[4] wes thair awin douncasting: And this Parliament was effectuatit, indeid, besyde the Kingis authoritie and earnestes, upon compleit and mutuall stipulatioune betwix the Lordis and the Bisschoppis, that the ane sould voit to the confirmeing[5] of the seventeine new erectiounes of Spirituall Prælacies in Temporall Lordschipes; and the uthir, to the confirmatioune and setting up *in integrum* of the old Papistical Bisschoprickis to their Lordschipes: And this wes the first fruites of thais Bisschoprickis, the vindicateing, forsuith, of the Kirk from povertie, and drawing the liveing thairof out of the handis of Nobillmen, quho had possessed thame selfes thairwith.

The Commissiouneris from the Presbyteries also dealt earnestlie with the Commissiouneris of the Generall Assemblie to give in the Supplicatioune of the Imprissounit Britherine, and of Mr Robert Bruce, confynit at Innernes; but they refuissit so to doe, alledging that it wald rathir hurt nor help thame. Yet, lest the publisching of the Buik of the Counsel sould haiff decived ony, thai sent a coppie of the said Supplicatioune, togider with schort Instructiounes of all the proceidingis of thair caus, unto every ane of the Estaitis severallie, quho said they wer sufficiently confirmit in[6] the truth of thair caus, bot could not helpe thame.

Finallie, thair wes thrie notabill thingis done in that Parliament,

[1] Adv. MSS. read "qualitie," but it seems evident the Author meant this as a pleasantry, in allusion to his great bulk. [2] *Ib.* "*in integrum.*" [3] *Ib.* "to cast at." [4] *Ib.* "upcast." [5] *Ib.* "establishing." [6] *Ib.* "informit of."

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and such as wes never lookit to haiff bein brought to pas, no not in presens of a King, let be in absence: First, The setting up of Bisschoppes of new in thair haill liveingis, rentes, and priveledgis, conforme to thais of old in tyme of Papistrie: 2. Seventein Kirk Prelacies erectit in Temporall Lordschipis: 3. Ane Taxatioune upon the realme of four hundred thousand merkis. And this wes called the Rid[1] Parliament, quhilk in old prophecies wes talkit many yeiris agoe, as the commoune speiking wes, then sould be keipit in Perth or Saint Johnestoune, becaus all the Nobillmen and Officeres of estait com ryding thairto, and satt thairin with rid gownes and hoodis, eftir the maner of England, for ane new solemnitie; quhilk many did interpret a toakine of the rid fyre of Godis wraith to be kendelit, boith upone Kirk and countrie; and ane did affix thais Verses:

Quhen Constantine sett up Sylvestir hie,
On civill state[2] of his impyre of Roome,
This voyce from heavine then soundit michtilie:
"Now poysoune is pourit out on Christendome!"
Great James of Britanne, quhy didst thow sa,
That spiritual poysoune sould thai peiple slay?

FOLLOWIS THE PROTESTATIOUNE, WITH A DETESSORIT[3] OF REASSOUNES QUHY THIS NEW SORT OF BISSCHOPES SOULD NOT BE SETT UP IN SCOTLAND.

"To the Kingis maist excellent Majestie, and maist nobil and religious Estaitis of this present Parliament, holdine at Perthe in July 1606. In the moneth of August, seing that thair wes no remeid but the Britherine written for must goe or doe worse, they did communicat with thair Presbyteries and Sessiounes, quho counsellit thame to obey, but wald give no commissioune, in cais

[1] Red, scarlet. [2] Adv. MSS. "seat." [3] *Ib.* "number."

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they had bein urgit to disputatioune, or giveing of opinioun in materis proponed to thame. Thair wes in that number thrie out of the Presbytrie of Saint Androis, Mr Andro Melvin, James Melvin, and Mr Johnne Carmichell, quho, taking leive of thair Presbyterie, maid a Petitioun, and obteinit the samyne; the whilk, in cais of exceptioun againes it by sum perjurit backslyderes, I will sett the matter doun, in the verie forme, word by word, as they had it under the Clerk of the Presbyterie's hand, at the expres command of the same:

"*At Saint Androis, this* 7 *of August*, 1606.

"The quhilk day, after the incalling[1] of the name of God, Mr Andro Melvine and James Melvine, being to tak jurney toward his Majestie, with Mr Johne Carmichaell, according to his Majestie's Lettres, desyrit to haiff the extract of all the actis maid or subscryvit heirtofoir usit in the Presbyterie, annent the Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, with consent of the haill Britherine in the Presbyterie, [and in speciall, the act of the Presbyterie of the 2 of August, 1604, annent the haill Britherine of the Presbyteries,[2]] subscriptiounes of Confessiounes of Faith, publickly authorisit be his Majestie: Quhilk desyre being fund reassonabill be the Presbyterie, and the speciall act foirsaid being publictlie red in the audience of the haill Presbytrie fully convenit, without any oppositioune of any persoune of the samyn, the Presbyterie ordainit the extract of the foresaid act, togider with all uthir actis in generall or particular, to be givine to the Britherine foirsaid, auctentickly subscryvit by the Clark. *Extractum*," &c.

"Mr Robert Roche,[3] Clerk.

"At command of the said Presbyterie of Sanct Androis."

"*At Sanct Androis, the* 2 *of August*, 1604.

"The quhilk day, after the incalling on the name of God, the haill Britherine being lawfully convenit, the Confessioune of Faith authoriseit in the Kirk of Scotland wes publictlie red in the au-

[1] Invocation. [2] Omitted in Adv. MSS. [3] Adv. MSS. "Rollock."

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dience of all, togider with the actis of parliament holdine at Edinburgh *anno* 1592, for explanatioune of the present[1] Discipline generally authoriseit in the said Confessioune of Faith, quhilk be the foirsaid actis of parliament ratifiet and confirmit, and namely in the Liberties of the Generall Assemblies, and everie year's Synodall Assemblies, and particulare Presbytries and Sessiounes of the Kirk, were to renew the samyne, dirogating from all actis maid of befoir in prejudice of the same; and declareing the present Discipline usit in the Kirk of Scotland, and approvine in the actis foirsaid, to be the only just, godly, and lawfull Discipline in all tymes cumming; as is at maire lenth conteined in the actis of parliament foirsaid: Quhilk Actis and Confessioun of Faith, being ryplie advysit and considered, wes publictly subscryveit with uniforme consent of the haill Britherine, to testifie thair harmonie and hairtly aggriement in all thingis, boith concerneing Doctrine and Discipline; promiseing solemnely to defend the samyne allwayis, according to thair callingis, and nevir to com in the contrare, according to the great oath sett doune in the foirsaid Confessioune of Faith. In witnes quhairoff, first the Moderator subscryvit, then Mr George Glaidstaines, Minister at Sanct Androis, Mr Robert Wilkie, Collector;[2] and so everie man as they satt in thair places, as is contenit in the said principall, subscryvit particularly with all the Britherine thair handis. *Extractum*," &c.

(*Sic subscribitur*,) "MR ROBERT ROCHE,[3]
"At command of the Presbyterie."

["I had Mr George Gladstaines' awne hand-write and subscriptione-mannual to the Confessione before my eyes; the writeing heirof, in this hand, letter by letter, "MR GEORGE GLADSTANES."[4]]

[1] Adv. MSS. "Presbyterians." [2] *Ib.* "Rector." [3] *Ib.* "Rollock."
[4] Not in Univ. MS. In the original MS. there had doubtless been a *fac-simile* of Mr George Gladstanes' signature. The transcriber, however, does not attempt such exactness.

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"*Saint Androis, the* 10 *of Januare,* 1605.

"The quhilk day, eftir the returne of Mr George Glaidstaines[1] out of England, declaired in presens of the haill Britheren of the Presbyterie, that as he depairtit a Brother, so he returnit, usurping no superioritie over thame, but to haiff ane simple vote as the rest; promiseing to behaiff himselff in alse great humilitie and greatter then evir befoir: And quhairas he depairtit, not advertiseing the Presbyterie, he desyrit that thai sould not be offendit thairwith, becaus the commoditie of jurnay so requirit that he sould not advertise thame. Of the quhilk declaratioune and excuse the Presbyterie acceptit weill. *Extractum,*" &c.

"Mr Robert Roche,[2] Clark,

"At the command of the Presbyterie of Sanct Androis."

This Mr George Glaidstaines, eftir he had desertit two[3] flockis, and two Bischoprickis, and sworne he sould niver be Bisschope of Saint Androis, becaus his predicessoris thairin had so evill success, and wer so evill-haitit, yit evin at this tyme he came home Bisschoppe of Saint Androis: And quhen ony gentilman of his familiaris, and utheris that had hope of his advanceing and gaine by him, wald ask him, Howe he could so jouk[4] and beir with the Ministeres and Presbyterie, that not only wald not acknowledge but controll him? He wes accustomit to answer, "Hold your toungue! We sall steill thame aff thair feit!"

But this by the way, leiveing the man to be painted out in his Legend,[5] as his predecessoris wes, we returne to sett tham, the foirnameit Britherine, on thair journay, quhairoff four embarkit the 15 of August, and come to Londoun the 25 of the same, by Yarmuith, Norwische, Thelfurd,[6] New-markit, Brakum, Bartillay,[7] and

[1] He had, in the meantime, been regularly consecrated Archbishop of St Andrews. [2] Adv. MSS. "Rollock." [3] *Ib.* "4." [4] Condescend, literally to *crouch* or *stoop;* as in the proverbial expression, "jouk and let the jaw gang by." [5] The satirical Poem, "The Legend of the Bischop of St Androis." [6] Adv. MSS. "Hereford." [7] *Ib.* Bambury, Barkway. All the MSS. are often equally unintelligible in the names of these and other places and persons.

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Ward. The other four com by land about the end of the same moneth. At thair coming, thai wer kyndly visited by diverse of the guid Britherine of the Ministerie of Londoun, and thairabout: Also the tuo Archbisschoppes of Canterburie and York sent and intreitit thame to com to thair housses; but thair answer wes, they had not as yit seine the Kingis Majestie, quho sent for thame, and till then thai would salut no uthir. Mr Alexander Hay, the Scotisch Secreatere, com to tham from[1] Westminster, directit from his Majestie, being yit unreturnit from his summer Progress, and schew thame it wes his Majestie's will and pleasoure that we sould stay at Westminster all till the twenty off September; bot thai, not thinking that a sufficient warrand, directit Mr William Scot to the King, with Mr Allexander Hay, by quhom they ressavit the samyne answer.

The word went, in the meintyme, that the earand quhairfoir they wer sent wes to disput with the Bisschoppes upon the heidis of our Discipline, concerneing the quhilk we ressavit many weill-writtine Lettres from our Britherine out of Scotland; quhairfoir we resolvit upon the mattir, and sett doune schortly Reassounes quhy nethir we would nor could reassoune: First, because in sua doeing, we sould schaw ourselves unjust, unfaithfull, arrogant, foolisch, and impious. Unjust, in doeing sic a wrong to the Kirk of God establischit in Scotland, in this place, to cast in questioune the Discipline thairof: Unfaithfull, in dealing[2] with the effaires of the Kirk without commissioun and warrand thairfra: Foolische, in taking on us sic weightie a cause raschely, without lawfull wairneing and preparatioune: Arrogant, in presumeing suameikle of our selves as off-hand to deall in such a matter, being but a few of the waikest memberes of that body, quhairunto the caus properly perteines: Impious, iff sua we sould tempte God, wanting both calling and meanes.

Nixt, we could haiff no partie adversare to contend withall in the caus of the Kirke of Scotland; they can nor ought not in this

[1] Adv. MSS. "to us at." [2] *Ib.* "medleing."

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place: For iff ony heir wald disputt of the Englisch Kirk, thai may find a partie amongst thameselffis, and neidit not to provoke us; and if any of Scotland, they can not nor aught not to be hard, sieing thai haiff all subscryvit of new, lately, by all the memberes, and also teichit, sworne, and professit the Discipline and Govemement estabilischit in the Kirk of Scotland. And, indeed, we had with us "The Kingis Confessioune," subscryvit of new, lately, by all the memberes of the Presbyterie of Saint Androis, and that namely for Mr George Glaidstains' caus, in cais he or uthir quho wer sent for, and did come hither, wald haiff takine in hand the reassouning: Bot the truth wes, we hard nothing at any tyme propounit tending to sic a purpose. The Britherine attentit[1] and lyeing in prissoune did wryt to us mony guid Lettres; and all to the effect continowit[2] in this following, quhilk salbe sufficient to be put in heir:

"TO THAIR REVERENT AND WELBELOVIT BRITHERINE, MR ANDRO AND JAMES MELVINE, WITH THE REST OF THAIR FELLOW-BRITHERINE THAIR.

"Reverent and deirly belovit Britherine, The earnest care and solicitud that we haiff allwayis of yow, altogider, with the assurance quhairin we ar dayly confirmit, that he quho hes sent yow, and evir hithertill hes beine with yow, and keipit yow blameles evin to this verie tyme, and making yow lychtis and lampes to schyne befoir the rest of your Britherine, will now also caus yow in this last and maist publict testimonie quhairunto he hes callit yow, be with yow. Thais thingis, I say, will not suffir ws to lett any occasioune of wrytting to yow pas away without sum testimonie of our remembrance of yow, with all the strenth the Lord hes bestowit on us; not that ye neid to be incouragit, strenthened, and confirmed by us, bot that heirin we doe eas ourselffis, but disburd-

[1] Attainted.

[2] Adv. MSS. "contained."

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ning our heartis of that love that we beir unto yow, the faithfull servauntis of the maist hight God, now wailit out[1] and chosine from among all the rest of your Britherine, to beir witnes of Chryst, not only befoir Cæsare, but as it wer befoir the haill world. For quhois eyis ar not on yow? Quhois heartis ar not attentive, in expecting baith the actioun and the event? Your Britherine at home, the Kirkis abrod, and your enimies baith heir and every quhair! Now is the tyme He hes callit yow to beir witnes of his glorious and frie Monarchie, the quhilk, as it is the last of his offices, so it is the last put at, and as it is the end of the uthir tuo, and sua mair glorious, sua is the testimony thairof mair glorious to God, mair honorabill to his Sone, and salbe mair confortabill to yow nor the testimonie either of his Propheticall [office] or Priesthood. In this respect and consideratioune, ane thing, deir Britherine, we dare say be experience, and our God is witnes that we lie not, that unspeikabill is the joye in the full and frie testimonies of Christis Royall auctoritie; unspeikabill is the joye of the suffering for his kingdome; so that we know not that if a man sould have so much joye in suffering for prophesie or priesthood, as he sall have now, and at this tyme of suffering for his kingdom, becaus that is now speciallie oppugnit. We haiff nevir had sic joye in preiching of it as we haiff had in suffering for it; for it is so that we ar evin glaid quhen the sufferingis ar multiplied, our deirest Britherine, because that we knaw the peice and joye salbe proportionatlie multiplied: And our deir Brither, that quhilk we spak befoir in knawlage, we now speik by experience, that the kingdome of God standis in peice and joye. Remember that commissioune givin to Jerimie, 'Speik all that I command yow, and be not affrayit of their face, leist I destroye thee befoir thame, and I will mak thee a brazen wall,' &c.: And that in another place, 'Turne not thow unto thame, but let thame turne unto yow:' And that of Micha, 'I am fillit with vertue from the Spirit of the Lord.' *Judicio et potentia, &c.* Chryst sall regne, and all his enimies salbe

[1] Adv. MSS. "marked." *Wailit* signifies carefully picked or selected.

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strampit under fitt; and, indeid, they ar enimies unto him, quho will not suffir for to have him reigning, and to be King, alseweill as to be a Prophet and Priest. But, our deire Britherine, we ar perswadit his grace sall beir yow out with all confidence to witnes a guid confessioune befoir your adversaries. He that hes evir bein hitherto with yow will not leive yow now. The greatest confort yow can bring unto us is the regairding of the caus, without respecting of our persounes, or any thing we can suffer for the same, in the fridome of the kingdome of Chryst. Our fridome standis not a jot, Britherine, for us, nor for any libertie or benefit can be brought to us. We will not trubill yow with farder, for we knaw it is needles. The God of wisdome, peice, and strenth, be with yow all for evir. From Edinbruche Castell, the 3d of September 1606.

"Your Britherine, JOHNE WELSCHE.
"JOHNE FORBES," &c.

This Lettre, with diverse uthiris from thame, wes written boith in generall, from Blacknes, Edinbruche, Stirling, and Dundie; and in particular, from sundrye of thame, togither with a Supplicatioune sent to the Kingis Majestie from thame, earnestlie desyring us to present the same with the Informatiounes sent be thame to the Parliament mentiounit befoir, maid us, being meikle movit to admire the gift of constancie givin unto thame by Chryst; and sua, casting off the cair of thair persounes to haiff respect to the caus only, and yit to tak guid heid that we damned not uthir actiounes and proceidingis. The Supplicatioune followis, quhilk wes put in the Kingis hand, as the narratioune following will record:

[SUPPLICATION OF THE IMPRISONED MINISTERS TO THE KING.]

"Please your sacred Majestie, Giff thair wer no moir, dread Soveraine, but the estait of our desolat families and our awin, for the maist pairt circuit in our wardis without,[1] in the present devouring

[1] Adv. MSS. "circled in their own wardes, in."

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plague of pestilence, quhilk is sic that we can hardly thinke that iff we were throughtlie knawin to your Majestie, it could not but oppin the bowelis of your Heines' pitie and compassioune towardis us, quhairinto, nixt to our God, we haiff recourse for releiff: We sould not haiff importunat your Majestie heirin forder, but had keipit silence, and restit in the guid pleasure of our God, quho is mercifull, patiently awaiting for the gracious appoyntit tyme of our delyverie, in oppineing your Majestie's eares and heart to haiff hard and reguardit with commiseratioune the distres of your Majestie's pure, innocent, and obedient servantis and subjectis, the servantis of Jesus Chryst, quhom he hes accomptit worthie to be put in his service; haiffing learnit to be contentit, with meiknes and humbilnes of mynd, not only to haiff sufferit reproches, povertie, hunger, [and] imprissounement, for his saik, bot also in the power of his grace allenerly, to lay doune our lyfes in defence of the Gospell and Kingdome quhairunto he hes callit us; and for the quhilk, with dewtifull patience, we haif sufferit thais tuelve or threttine monethis[1] imprissounement. But the fearcenes of Godis wraith burneing so hightly, not only in uthiris pairtis of your Majestie's kingdome, but also and speciallie in thais places and Congregatiounes amongis quhom, undir your Majestie's protectioune, we haif heirtofoir and now lykwyse sould practeise our Ministerie, quhairby not only the destroyeing angel with his drawin sword is hewing doune day and nicht continowally, and caussing the carcases to fall, and that in sic a number in sume of our Congregatiounes, that the lyk thairof hes not bein hard thais many yeires befoire; but also, quhilk is most lamentabill, and cannot but perce the most stainey heart that evir had hope to find mercie to himself in that great day, that they live and die comfortles under the feirfull judgment, filling the hevin and the earth with thair sighes, sobbis, and cryes of thair distressit sowles, for being depryvit not only of outward comfortis, (quhilk wer great also,) but also of all inward consolatioune, throw the want

[1] Adv. MSS. "weeks."

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of the ordinarie meines of thair peace and lyff, to witt, the preaching of the Word of our Ministerie.

"This, Sire, is the speciall caus quhy we wer movit to present be our humbill Supplicatioune unto your Majestie's pitie, not so much our awin miserie outward, quhilk mischief it selff is moir nor the boweles of true compassioune could weill suffer, the quhilk we can glaidlie indure for his saik[1] quho hes sent us, sieing heir we haiff that peace quhilk the world cannot tak from us, and the enjoying of a guid[2] conscience, that in nothing we haiff justlie offendit your Majestie, bot haiff walkit in all sinceritie[3] in our callinges. We say, not so meikle our awin miserie, as the maist lamentabill estaites and desolatioune of our poore Congregatiounes, confortles now baith in body and mynde, that out of your Heines' faithfull love and tender compassioune thair distres may be supplied, and thair sorrowfull heartis comfortit, by permitting to thame the use of our Ministerie againe: Thus sall the God of your Majestie's preservatioune and wonderfull preferrement, in dispyt of the manifold attemptis of his irreconcilabill enimies, be glorifieit; the heartis of the saintes, the best effectit of your Majestie's subjectis, quho now sorowis for the afflictioune of Joseph, salbe confortit; thus sall your Heines' poore people, quho live and die in such miserie,[4] bliss the Lord thair God, quho haith put in the Kingis heart to pitie thair cais, to speik nothing of the blissing that sall redounde to your Majestie's persoune and throne according to the Covenant, 'I will blisse thame that blisse thee, and curse thame that curse thee.' Quhairfor sall the guiltines lye on the King and his children, that so many saulis that wer once fed abundantlie with the truth of the Gospel, ar now liveing and dieing in unspeakeabill sorrow and miserie, and in want of that only confort to thair saulis? Quhy sould thair blood be fund under the Kingis wingis; and quhy sould the cry of thair blood cum upe in the eares of the Lord of Hostes, quhois heart is full of pitie, that he can not but heir the crye of his

[1] Adv. MSS. "the well of his Kirk." [2] *Ib.* "rejoyceing of our good."
[3] *Ib.* "simplicitie." [4] *Ib.* "faith and fear."

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pure anes, and sua full of love, that he quho tuitches thame tuitches the apple of his eye; and that he that does the meinest duetie to thame, or the meinest benefit for thame, he cannot but account it done to himselfe; and quhois severitie is sua great, that howbeit for a tyme he spair,[1] yit at the lenth he will avenge the cryes of his elect; and if his severitie be sua great, that evin for the meinest omissioune of the dewties, he will inflict eternall torment, quhat, then, will the wraith be that is reserved for the withhaulding of the verie meines of the eternall salvatioune from sua many thousand soules?

"If it wer but our awin lyfes alenerly, then verilie we could be silent; but sieing it is sua greit a matter that concernes so highly the honour of your Majestie, the good and eternall salvatioune of many thousand soules quhilk he hes bought with his blood, we dare not, nor dow not, keip silence thairoff to your Majestie; and, thairfoir, forcit and constrainit thairunto be inevitabill necessitie of that most holy calling laid upon us, if we maid not our humbil, yit loveing and faithfull warneing to your Majestie, that neither the former by gone guiltines may be continowit, nor yet uthir greatter may be addit thairto; the quhilk will nôt fail (if it be not repentit and pardonit in the blood of Chryst his Sone) to bring on ane manifest, assured, heavie and lamentabill judgment, the quhilk from our heartis (the Lord is our witnes) we deprecat day and nycht; protesting here, befoir God and his elect angelis, that we doe this with all dewtifull reverence unto your Majestie, as the Lordis Lieutennant heir upone earth, and as our only lord and lawfull soveraine, under God, ovir us, in all thingis perteineing to this lyff, and the lyff it selff, to quhom we are bund in conscience, and gives all thingis that God in his Word hes ordaineit and commandit to be givin by ony subject to ony Prince under hevin, reserving to God only that quhilk is his, and quhilk he will not give unto any of his creatures, as his awine incommunicable glory and auctoritie, of the quhilk sort we accompt thais tuo to be:

[1] Adv. MSS. "suppose he suffer long."

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"Ane, the authoritie of the Meetingis of the servauntis of Chryst for the effairis of his kingdome, quhilk is from hevin onlie, and not from men; and that in the doeing of the ordinarie dewtie of our calling, approven by all lawes, we haiff nothing justly offendit your Majestie, nor violat your Hienes' lawes, bot hes in simplicitie servit our God in the same: Nixt, that Soveraine Judgment in all the effaires of his hous and kingdome belonges only to his Kirk, according to the same Word, [quhais voyce the Father only hes commandit to be heard; and that the ministerial Judgment of the Kirk being only to the Kirk according to the same Word,[1]] to the quhilk alanerly[2] he hes given the keyis of his kingdome, and from the quhilk we doe not exclude your Majestie's Hienes as ane honourabill member of his bodie; quhairunto, by vertue of that suppreme power quhilk the Lord hes givine your Majestie, we acknawledge that it belongis to sie the haill worschipe of God directit and administrat according to his Word; in commanding all to be done as he hes commandit, and foirbiding all that he hes foirbidin; no wayis inhibiting that quhilk he hes commandit, nor commanding that quhilk God hes inhibitit to be done; yea, and further, to punische quhosoevir within your dominiounes that is fund to be againes the trew and lawfull Judgment of the Kirk, according to the Word, or to be contemneres or neglecteres thairof. And in this holy feir of our God, and humbill reverence of your Majestie, in whom we doe present this our dewtifull Testimonie and Supplicatioune for our libertie, togider with our Greives and Supplicatiounes presentit in Parliamentis, but not ressavit; houpeing that our God, in quhois handis the heartis of Princes ar, sall returne from your Majestie ane answer, confortabill to his saintis and joyfull to our desolat Congregatiounes, and refreschfull to us poore prissouneris, to the glorie of our God and your Majestie's prais; in quhom, and to quhois mercifull and blissit protectioun, we maist heartly commend your Majestie, your Hienes' kingdome, governement, and haill effairis.

[1] Not in Adv. MSS.

[2] Alone, solely.

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From the places of our imprissounment, respectively, the twenty-third of August, 1606.

"Your Majestie's pure and most humble Supplicantis and dayely Oratoris, in God," &c.

Fryday, the 19th of September, we came to Kingstoune. Thair Mr Johnne Gordoune, Dean of Salisberrie, directit to wait upon us, and dres us the best he could for the purpose, came, salutit and welcumit us; and on the morne he convoyit us to Hamptoun Court, quhair, eftir the Kingis dinner, immediatly we gat presens of his Majestie, as yitt sitting at his dinner, admitting us verie graciousely to the kis of his handis; and eftir a few wordis, mirrily, to Mr James Balfoure, and concerneing the guid order takin with the pest at Edinbruche, we wer dimissit with a very guid countenance, and went to Kingstoune to dinner with Mr Johnne, our attendar, at his ludgeing.

Eftir noone, walking by the river, the Deane of Westminster, directit to our said attendar, requirit us to be present to-morrow (being the Sabboith) at the Kingis Chappel in Hamptoune Court, to heir the sermone; quhair comming, we fand a place prepairit for us hard besyd the Pricher, Bischop Barlo, quhom, befoir the King, Quein, and Nobilis, we patiently hard mak a long or well-joyned sermone, writtin, and fynely compactit in a lytle buik, quhilk he had allwayis in his hand, for help of his memorie. It wes upoun the 20 of the Actis, "*Attendite vobis et gregi*," &c.[1] The judicious termed it a confutatioune of the text; all for the estaite of the Bischoppis thair superioritie above Ministeres, by ordinatioune and impositioune of handis only, and proppirly perteineing to thame, and jurisdictioune ecclesiasticall, &c. Eftir sermone, we wer convoyit to the Kingis closet,[2] quhair we dynit on the Kingis meitt. The Deane of Westminster, with Mr Johnne Gordoune, attendit and accompanied us. Amongis the rest of our speiches, this wes

[1] "Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood," Acts xx. 28.

[2] Adv. MSS. "Queen's closet."

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markit and carieit to the King, that our Bisschoppes had compactit with sacrilegious Lordis to undoe the patrimonie of the Kirk of Scotland; so that at this last parliament, quhair the giftis of our new Bisschoppis wer confirmit, they sitting and voiting in parliament without any commissioune from the Kirk; there were seventeen Prelacies erectit in temporall Lordschippis, and that wes the first fruits, forsuith, of their votes in parliament! For this, the King, the day eftir, amonges the rest of his speiches, maid appollogie for himselff and the parliament; schawing that wes done, upon conditiounes of provyding of everie kirk of thais Prelacies with a sufficient stipend, quhairin he wes and sould be most cairfull, and that the parliament had only ratifieit and confirmed that quhilk, being his awin, he had disponed as pleased him.

Mononday, the 22, we wer sent for to conferrence with his Majestie; and being enterit into the Chalmer, the hous was uschit[1] by the Erle of Dumbar; and none wes sufferit to byde thairin but the Scottis Counsellouris and the Ministeris, save only Dr Montague, Deane of the Kingis Chappel, wes permitted to stand within to keipe the doore. Thus, the King, sitting in his chyre, callit on us to come neir about him, and enterit to expone the caus quhairfoir he had writtin for us, almost according to the tennor of the Proclamatione, and of the Lettre sent to us; gathering upe all in end to tuo poyntis, quhairin he wes to be throucht with us for the piece of the Kirk, and annent the pretendit Generall Assemblie, (so he termit it,) haldin at Abirdein, and the doeing of thais Ministeres ensewing thairupon. The uthir, how thair mycht ane orderly and[2] peiceabill Generall Assemblie keipit, to sett all thingis in quietnes and guid ordour. Now, we had agreit amongis our selffis that one sould be speich-man for all; quhilk burdein wes laid upoun Mr James Melvill, and that we sould give no present answer, bot tak all to guid advysement. So, the said speiker maid answer in thais wordis:

[1] Cleared, emptied. [2] Adv. MSS. "He shew further thair might be ane uthir ane."

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"Pleas your most excellent Majestie, quhen we had resavit your Majestie's Lettres, we mett togider at Edinbruche; and, reiding the same, we wer greatlie rejoyceit to haiff so guid occasioune to sie your Majestie's face, and kisse your hand, bot meikle more quhen we perceivit the purpose of your Majestie's Lettres to tend to the intertaining the peace of the Kirk of Scotland in that estait in the quhilk your Majestie left the same, and to testifie your Majestie's love and affectioune thairto, according to your Majestie's Lettres from tyme to tyme, sent to sume of the Presbyteries and Synodis, and also to the Commissiouneris of the Kirk, and maist ample to your Majestie's honourabill Counsel; so that howbeit diverse of us, namely, for seiknes, and knawin inhabilitie, mycht haif excuisit our selffis, yit we resolvit all to come to your Majestie, evir with alacritie and diligence, preventing[2] the day appoyntit, least accidentis of wethir, or any uthir impediment, mycht haiff impedit: And now, finding your Majestie in helth, welfair, and high honour, and testifieing the samyne thingis to us by your gracious mouth, with so favourable countinence towardis us, we can not expresse our joye and propens dispositioune to serve and plesoure your Majestie, in quhat can lie in us, under God; but, as concerneing any particular, your Majestie's Lettres beires none, nethir haiff we befoir to this tyme heard of thame. We wald thairfoir maist humblie desyre your Majestie to give us tyme to advyse, and we sall returne with ane answer, the best way we can."

Thaireftir was a guid tyme spent in reassouneing annent the Presbyteries sending thair Commissiouneris, eftir the ressaiving of his Majestie's Commissiouneres Lettres for dischairgeing of the Assemblie at Abirdein: *Item*, annent the doeingis of the Synod of Fyff: [illegible] nent the praying for the convictit Britherine: And, [illegible] James Melvill's Lettres wryttine to the Synod of [illegible] swerit, aff-hand, at that tyme, this [illegible] hat many of thame had not gottin [illegible] ettres befoir the day. Next, that

[illegible] before. Lat. *prevenire*.

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sic as had ressavit, considering far greatter and weightier reassounes to keipe thame to omitt, resolvit to stand to the day appoyntit by his Majestie; quhairas the Lettres conteinit no day, the law standing, quhilk is the most auctentick consent, be his Majestie's awin judgment, in oppin Assemblie at Dundie, that a King can give; the enemies so bussie and malapairte; so mony referrences, and appellatiounes, and uthir matteris lyeing ovir, and untakine order with, in gret confusioune and corruptioune, quhilk can not be orderit nor helpit without a Generall Assemblie; and last, and greatest, the fear of the losseing of the right and possessioune of a Generall Assemblie, expyring in it selff, without any appoyntit sett day. And as for the Synod of Fyfe, the judgment thairof wes sent in wryt to many of the rest of the Provinces of the realme, and so no doubt come in his Majestie's handis; quhilk wes sic, eftir our mein judgment, as nethir could prejudge the Generall Kirk nor his Majestie's Royall power, nor yit the Breitherine quhilk wer under his Majestie's mercie, in ward. And as concerneing prayeris for thame, we confesse we did it, nethir could we omitt that commoune dewtie to thame quhilk we extendit to all, evin malefactoris, for thair amendment! Finally, annent Mr James Melvill's Lettre, thais wordis wes betuixt the King and him: "I hard, Mr James Melvill, that ye wreitt a Lettre to the Synod of Fyff, at Cowper, quhairin wes meikle of Chryst, but lytle guid of the King. Be God, I trow ye wes reavand[1] or mad! (for he spak so.) Ye speik utherwayis now. Now, wes that a charitabill judgment of me?" "Sir," sayis Mr James, with a low courtessie, "I wes boith seik and sair[2] in bodie quhen I wreit that Lettre, bot sober[3] and sound in mynd. I wreit of your Majestie all guid, assureing my selff and the Britherine, that thais Articles, quhairoff a copy com in my handis, could not be from your Majestie, they wer so strange; and quhom sould I think, speik, or wryt guid of, if not off your Majestie, quho is the man under Chryst quhom I wisch most guid and honour unto?" "But quhair ar these Articles?" sayes the King.

[1] Raving. [2] Sore, pained. [3] Adv. MSS. "suir," sure.

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"The coppie of thame that com in my handis is at Londoune, Sir," (quoth he.) So diverse of the Bischoppis and Commissiouneris, to put ane end to that, affirmeing befoir the King, that thair wes diverse coppies, and sume very [often] hard of thais Articles, quhairoff ane mycht haiff cume to Mr James his handis, that matter wes left off; and the King reassouneing againe the first tuo heidis, dimissit us to the nixt day for advysement and giveing answer thairto.

We wer not well cume to our ludging, at Kingstoune, quhen we had a Lettre from Mr Alexander Hay, Secretar to his Majestie in Scotis effairis, wairneing us in the Kingis name to cume to sermone to-morrow, in the Kingis Chappel, and thaireftir to dyne in the Palice. So Tuysday, the 23d of September, we came be tyme in the morning to Hamptoune Court, quhair we walkit in the gardein quhill the tyme of sermone; quhair, sitting in our place appoyntit in the Kingis Chappel, the King and the Quein present, with many nobillis, Mr Doctor Butricht[1] preached on the 13 of the Romans, annent the Magistratis auctoritie in matteres Ecclesiasticall, all out of Mr Bilsoune's buikis Of Obedience, quhairinto we assentit, except that quhair, of ignorance or malice, or both, he joynes diverse tymes the Presbyterie with the Pope, as thought the ane had beine joynit in the same judgment with the uthir. Eftir sermone by Mr Johne Gordoune, our attendant, we wer led to the Kingis closet, quhair we saw the Royall ceremonie of tuiching of some diseased childrein for hailling off sume of the escrolles, commounly callit "the Kingis seicknes;"[2] and understood, by the said Mr Johne his discours, in quhat respect and maner the King usit it, to witt, not for hailling, (quhilk wes only in Godis hand,) but for prayer and[3] almes towardis the poore diseasit, and for sume politik reassounes, least omitting the ceremonie usit by the Kingis of France, he sould thairby losse sume of the substance thairof, and title quhilk he had to the kingdome and croune of France; quhilk

[1] Adv. MSS. "Buchridge." O. Fr. *escrouelles.*

[2] Scrofula, or King's evil, popularly "the cruels."

[3] This is left blank in Adv. MSS.

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respectis had maid the King, quho wes altogider againes it at the beginning, to yeild to the use thairof now.

Thaireftir, we went to diner in the Kingis[1] closet, and maid guid cheir. Eftir the diner, remembering that we wer to be callit *coram*,[2] calling on God, we did tak this resolutioune, that our appoyntit speiker sould only speik, unles that utheris wer commandit and askit by name; and that our speich-man sould declaire how we could not judge of the Assemblie at Abirdeine, for the reasounes following: 1. Sieing his Majestie had proclamit a Generall Assemblie, quhairat his Majestie expectit a reparatioune of all disorderis, in sua far as belongit to the Censures of the Kirk; if we sould give our judgmentis now, either in condemning or absolving, we could not be hard then, haveing prejudice, for the quhilk we sould call to mynd a practise usit by his Majestie at the Assemblie at Montrose, quhair the Presbyteries of Louthiane and Mers were hindered for sua doeing: 2. *Res non est integra*, but judgit already by the Counsel, quhilk we would be loath[3] to contradict: 3. The judgment thairof could not pertein to us; *Nam quis nos constituit Judices?* 4. Put the cais, we could be Judges, and the matter committit to us, we could not doe it lawfullie; *Indicta causa reis non citatis et auditis.*

This wes our premeditat answer for the first heid of the two proponit by the King: But by quhat counsellour, or on quhat consideratione, I can not tell; the King had takin ane uthir cours, quhilk wes to appel[4] every ane in particular, that heiring[5] every manis forme of speiche and answer, they mycht marke and tak advantage of menis infirmities and formes of behavior for thair purpose. And so admitting that, after menis dyett, diverse of the Counsel of England, to witt, the Bisschoppe of Canterbury, placit at the Kingis rycht hand, the Erle of Salisberrie, Great Secretar, the Erle of Suffolk, Great Chamberlane, and the Erle of Worchester, Maister of the Hous, the Erle of Nottinghame, Great Admirall, the Erle of North-Hamptoune, Lord Knollis, [the Lord Stencrope,[6]] with diverse utheris Nobillis, and with thrie or four Bisschoppis and

[1] Adv. MSS. "Queen's." [2] Into the King's presence. [3] Adv. MSS. "could not thus." [4] *Ib.* "pose." [5] *Ib.* "whilk weighted." [6] Omitted in Univ. MS.

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Deanes, standing in diverse duris behind the tapestrie, quho, comeing in now and then, discoverit thame selffis: Hither also the Prince wes brought, standing at his fatheris left hand, with all the Scottis Nobillis and Counselloris. The King, efter reassouneing of the poynt left at the last day, com in end to be resolvit of this questioune particularly, Quhither the Assembly last haldin at Abirdeine wes ane lawfull Generall Assembly or not?—and the proceidings of thais Bretherine thairat and eftir, and quhether thais [were] justifiabill, yea or no? "And," (sayis he,) "I will beginne at yow Bisschoppis and Commissiouneres." Thais wer Ministers, Mr George Glaidstanes, Mr John Spotiswood, Mr James Law, Mr Andro Lamb, now Bisschoppis; Mr George Nicolsoune, Mr Patrik Scharpe, Mr Robert Howie, and the Great Commissiouner Lawristoune; quho all answerit, "They had evir damnit[1] that Assembly and the proceidingis of thais Brithrine as unlawfull."

And sua it com to us: "Now, Siris," sayis the King, "Quhat say ye, and first Mr Andro Melvill?" Quho, with meikle low courtessie, talkit all his mynd in his awin maner, roundly, soundly, fully, friely, and fervently, almaist the space of ane hour, not omitting any poynt he could remember. In end, in effect he refusit to judge of that Assemblie; for the reassounes afoir sett downe.

Mr James Balfour followis at the Kingis calling, regraiting hevily, uncharitabill and fals delatiounes maid of him, in end answerit him to the samyn effect; and that utherwayis he could not sie how the peace of the Kirk could be settillit.

The King spendit meikle tyme with thais tuo; and, smelling how the matter went, semit wery, and callit on Mr James Melvill; quho answerit and said, "Sir, I will not weary your Majestie, quhairfoir pleis yow ressave my answer schort. Thair hes bein meikle tyme spent about the questioune: Iff it be *in thesi*, sett it doun in wrytt, and we sall answer as we can: Iff it be *in hypothesi*, your Majestie's demand is anent the Presbyteries, senderis, and the doeingis of thair Commissiouneres sent. Anent the senderis, I did schaw

[1] Adv. MSS. "esteemed."

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your Majestie their reasounes yisterday; and iff your Majestie judge a fault thairin, let the Presbyteries that sent the Commissiouneris be punischit, and not the Britherine that wer sent be thame. Anent thair doeingis, it is judgit alreadie by your Majestie and Counsell; quhairin I am resolvit, with the pannell, to witt, to obtemperat either by obedience or patience. Iff your Majestie pleas to judge it further be ane Generall Assemblie of the Kirk, quhilk is all our wisches, I can not prejudge that; and iff, in the mein tyme, your Majestie will urge me for my judgment of the matter according to my conscience, unles that alledgit wronge done unto thame, and givin in by wrytt to your Majestie's Estaitis in Parliament, last haldin at Perth, be considerit disscussit and rychtly judgit, I wald not for all the world condemne thame; ane coppie of the quhilk wrangis we are earnestlie desyrit by thame to present to your Majestie." And this said, he stoppit to,[1] and delyverit thame in the Kingis handis; the substance quhairoff is sett doun in the storie befoir. The King red thame all ovir quhill as the rest wer sporting,[2] and with ane angry smyle, said, he wes glaid thai wer givin in.

Mr Robert Wallace followed, regraiting also sume delatiounes; and gaiff his judgment according to the preceiding: So did Mr Williame Wattsoune, speiking scharpely againes the Commissiouner, Lauristoune, and laying the burdein of all upoun him; quho nevir replyit ane word.

Mr Williame Scott followit, and declairit his judgment solidlie in few wordis, and conforme to thame befoir: With quhom to deall, the Advocat craifit licence of the King; and thair wes ane prettie peice of logicall and legall reasouneing, quhilk delighted and moved the judicious audiens.

Mr John Carmichaell and Mr Adame Colt wer commandit to be schort, and to speike thair mynd conforme to the rest, all most reverently on kneis, but thairwith most friely, statly,[3] and plainely, to the admiratioun of the English auditorie, quho wer not accustomit to heir the King so talkit to and reassounit with.

[1] Stept up. [2] Adv. MSS. "speaking." [3] *Ib.* "stoutlie."

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In the end, Mr Andro Melvill, craiffing licence, on his knees, humbly to speik bak again, spake out in his awin maner, and friely and plainely affirmit the innocence of thais guid, faithfull, and honnest Britherin, and in all thair proceidingis at Abirdein; and thairfoir he recomptit the wrongis done unto thame at Linlithgow, as ane that wes present as an eye and ear wittnes; and taking him in direct termes to the Advocat, Mr Thomas Hammiltoune, he invyit[1] scharpely againes him, telling him planely and pathetically, of his favouring and spaireing the Papistis, and craftie, cruell, and malicious dealing againes the Ministeres of Jesus Chryst; so that he could have done no moir againes the saintis[2] of God then he had at Linlithgow! At the quhilk wordis the King luiking to the Archbisschoppes, sayis, "Quhat? Me thinkis he makis him the Antichryst!" And, suddentlie, again with ane oath, [exclaims,] "Be God! It is the divelis name in the Revelatioune! He hes maid the divel of him, wel-belovit Bretherine, brother Johne!" And so, cuttitly ryseing, and turneing his back, he sayes, "God be with yow, Siris!"

Quhen we wer gone out of the Palice a lytle way towardis Kingstoune, Mr Alexander Hay sendis back for us, and withall, in the Uttir Court, reidis to us a chairge from the King not to returne to Scotland, nor to com neire the King, Quein, nor Prince their Courtis, without a speciall calling for, and licence.

Wednisday, the 24 of September, about twelve houris of the day, a yong man come from Mr Alexander Hay with a ticket, desyring us all, in his Majestie's name, with all convenient speid, to come to Court; and first to the said Mr Alexander Hayis chalmer, as the beirer would schaw the way. The ticket wes directit on the back to Mr James Melvill, in speciall. Quhen we wer com neir, and at the place desyrit, Mr Alexander his chalmer, [he] shew us, and the said Mr James in speciall, that he wes directit be his Majestie to desyre him to subscryve the sched[3] of paper givin in be

[1] Adv. MSS. "inveighed." [2] *Ib.* "servants." [3] *Ib.* "schect."

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him yisterday to his Majestie: Quho answerit, "Lett me sie it, and wryt the answer thairon, quhilk I maid to his Majestie yisterday, concerneing the caus and maner how I delyverit it, and I wald glaidly subscrive the same;" provyding that the said Mr Alexander wald give him selff thairefter a coppie, all subscryvit with his hand. So he gave him in the Instructiounes to perveise[1] the coppie. Quhilk being done, the said Mr James wret the answer and maner of delivery of them in the Kingis hand, as is above sett doun, and subscryvit the same. This being done, the said Mr Alexander schew that he wes desyrit also by the Kingis Majestie to aske him of quhom he had thais Instructiounes, and quhen he gatt thame? He answerit, "In a packet from Scotland, delyvered to him since he came from thence to Londoun, be quhom truely he could not remember, (neither could he indeid,) for that the beirer was unknawin to him, and passit away suddently, and to delait any man to the Kingis Majestie uncertainelie he could not." With the quhilk answer he passit from us to the King.

In halff ane houre eftir com to us the Erle off Glencairne, with Mr Johne Gordoun, Dean of Salisberry, schewing us that thai wer sent from the Kingis Majestie to desyre of us ane answer in wryt, subscryvit be our handis, to this questione, "QUHAT THE KING MAY DOE IN MATTERES ECCLESIASTICALL? AND QUHITHER OR NO HE HAD THE WHOLE POWER OF CONVEINEING OF ASSEMBLIES OR DISCHARGEING THAME? We answerit, that "Iff it would pleas his Majestie, or thame in his Majestie's name, to sett doun the questioun in wrytt, and subscryve it as from his Majestie, we sould glaidly also sett the answer doun and subscryve the answer; granting to us sufficient tyme of advysement for the samyne, becaus the matter wes of great importance." But, efter a peice of reassouneing, they depairtit,[2] and returned back to the King without ane answer. Not long eftir thair goeing from us, Mr Alexander Hay come again, schawing Mr James Melvill that the King had red his answer, and wischit him to be moir laconike; desyring him further,

[1] Collate, compare with.

[2] Adv. MSS. "left us."

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iff it pleasit him, for thair was no danger of intercommoning, nethir carit the King meikle for the matter, to tell him from quhom he had his Instructiounes at Londoun. He answerit, that off conscience he wes nocht well rememberit, nor wes not accquantit with the man that delyverit thame; and to put any manis name in the Kingis hand upon conjecture he would not. So Mr Alexander, schewing us that the Erle of Glencairne, and Mr Johne Gordoun, would not come againe to us, and it drawing neir to evineing, we took a boat and com to Burstoune.[1] That day[2] Counte de Vaude-Mount, brothir to the Duke of Loraine, and Generall of the Venetian Infantrie, wes lookit for to come to Court to visit the King with four score of gentilmen in tryne, quho com on the morne. And so we had three dayis to refresche us and relax our myndis; dureing the quhilk we wer visiting the feildis about, namely, Nonsuche and Richmont; namely, we censurit all our wordis and actiounes, with thankfullnes to God for bypast assistance, and prayer for continowance to the end.

Sonday, the 28 of September, writtin for by Mr Alexander Hay, we come to Court, quhair wes prepairit for us a Royall Service, with quhilk the haill solemnitie of ceremonies in the Kingis Chappel, and Doctor Andrews, then Bischoppe of Exchester, maid the sermone on the tenth of Numberes, of the tuo trumpettis, thairon a long discourse; proveing, that the conveineing of Assemblies and Counseles, and dischairgeing of the samyn, perteinit to Christiane Kingis and Emperoures, directly against his text, quhilk sayis, that the sones of Aaron should blow the trumpets. And becaus we wer attendit on by no honnest man, of any countinance, to leid us to dinner as befoir, howbeit, one tauld us it wes ready in the Queine's chalmer,[3] as befoir, our braines full of wyne and musick, and our stomakes emptie of victuallis, we come home to dyne at Kingistoune. Being at supper, ane uthir Lettre come from Mr Alexander Hay, biding us be at Court to-morrow againes eight o'clock in the morneing, for the Scottish Counsel wes to deall with us.

[1] Adv. MSS. "Kingstoune." [2] *Ib.* "nixt." [3] *Ib.* "closet."

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So, on Monounday, the 29 of that moneth, tymous in the morneing as we wer wairnit, that day wes Assembly keipit in honour of Saint Michel; solemnly keiped, indeed, with strange musick, and hie service in the Kingis Chappel; to the quhilk we wer desyrit to come, and commandit to bring Mr Andro and James Melvill cheiffly, be Mr Alexander Hay, at the Kingis expres command. The said Mr Alexander, becaus of the great thronge, convoyit thame thairin throucht the secreit passage throw the Chapplane's chalmer. Mr James tauld his uncle by the way, that it wes to trappe thame, and assay thair patience, in cais they wer hard speik or wryt[1] any thing againes that superstitious vanitie. Thair we saw the King and Quein offer at the altar, quhilk wes decorit with tuo bukes, tuo basines with tuo candelstickes; and upon this occasioun, Mr Andro maid the verses, for the quhilk thaireftir he was trublit. Thair one of the Count de Vaudemontis cumpanny, a German man, spake in Latine, in the hearing of many, "*Ego nunquam vidi talem cultum! Nihil hic profecto deest de solemna missa, preter adorationem transubstantiali panis!*"

Efter service we waiteit on the Counsell till twelve houres; and, being fasting, we wer invited to breckfast be a guid freind, quhair we wer sent for ones, twyse, thryse, to come befoir the Scottish Counsel, quhilk had sittin long calling for us. Quhen we com, they wer angry becaus of our stay, and we told thame we had stayit till twelve houres a'clock fasting, and wer hungry, and could stay no longer. Sederunt, in the Erle of Dumbaris house, Argyll, Glencairne, Orknay, Wigtoun, Dumbarr, all Erles, Scone, Controller, Advocat, Hamiltoune, Lindores, Mr Peter Young, Kilsyth. We resolvit, befoir we com in, to make answer to nothing, bot to crave all in wryt to advisement, bot many could not keep that resolution. All being *coram*, the Erle of Dumbar shew us it wes his Majestie's will that the Council, thair conveinit in that kinde, sould deall with us severally in certaine heidis; quhairin they would pray us to give plain and cleir answeris, for satisfactioun of his Majestie, and all to goe furth and come in as we wer callit.

[1] Adv. MSS. "sound," probably for *round* or whisper.

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Mr James Melvill, first callit, compeirand, wes questiounit by the Advocat: 1. Quhither he had prayit for the Britherine in prissoun? Quhither he allowit the keipeing of the Assembly at Abirdein, and the declinatour usit be tham quho keipit the same, befoir the Counsel? 3. Quhither this wes his Lettre writtin to the Synod of Fyff, &c.? He answerit, he wes a frie subject of the kingdome of Scotland, quhilk had lawis and priveledges of its awin, as any in the world, to the quhilk he would stand. He thoucht thair had bein no lawfull summonds lawfully execut againes him: The Nobilmen thair sitting, nor yit he, wes not at home in thair awin native countrey: The chairge *super inquirendis* wes long syne put away and abolischit, as iniquouse and injust: He wes of no law nor reassoun bound to accuse himselff, be furniseing dittay againes himselff. He desyrit the Nobillmen quho wer thair present to remember quhat they wer, and to deal with him (howbeit ane poor man, yit a frie-born gentil Scotis-man) as they would be content to be usit thamselffis, that is, by the lawis of Scotland. The Advocat, nochtwithstanding, urgit him to answer; with quhom he interchangit sume few[1] sentences, telling him, howbeit he had not studeit in the lawis as he had, yit he had sume piece of naturall witt, and had bein boith lernit and taught in logic, in the Scolis. The Erle of Dumbar sayis, "Mr James, will ye not deinzie the Kingis Majestie with ane answer?" "With all submissive reverence," said he, "iff I may knaw the questioune, and haiff tyme to advyse on ane guid answer, ye sall haiff that," said he, "and I sall doe all duetie again," said Mr James. "I understand," sayis the Erle, "that ye haiff a Supplicatioune from the Ministeres in prissoun to the King; will ye give it me?" "Yes, my Lord, it is my great desyre to haiff it presentit. I thank your Lordschip for mentiouneing thairof, humblie intreiting your Lordschip to present it to his Majestie, and to helpe thairin quhat your Lordschip can." So he gave it to him, and wes desyrit to remove himselff to a bed-chamber thairin, and[2] to stay quhill[3] he wes callit againe.

[1] Adv. MSS. "quick." [2] *Ib.* "within, there." [3] Until.

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And sua wer the rest callit round about, and sent in one by one to him, till Mr Andro Melvill, being at last callit, gaiff thame enought of it, alse plainely and scharplie as he wes accustomit, namely, telling thame flattly, that they knew not quhat they did, and wer degenerat from the antiant nobilitie of Scotland, quho wer wont[1] to give thair landis and lyffes for the fridom of the kingdome and Gospel, and they wer bewraying and ovirturneing the same! Till it became laite, and eftir sune-sett, that they were faine to dimitt us to the nixt calling for.

That same day, befoir noone, Mr James Melvill, walking in the great Hall of the Palice, Mr Doctor Montague, Deane of the Kingis Chappel, come by, with quhom Mr James had this conferrence: "Will it pleas yow, Sir," (quoth he,) "to be favourabill to us and our caus at the Kingis hand?" "I can not," sayis the Doctor, "for ye ar againes the estait of our Kirk, that is, of Bischoppis, quhilk haith bein this system fyftein hundrith yeiris in the Kirk of Christ." "Not so," said he, "in this sort of Bisschoprick, involvit in civill and worldly effaires *cum tipho*[2] *seculi hujus!* Such was niver in the Kirk of Chryst but since the Popes of Roome declairit thamself to be the great Antichryst." "Howsoevir," sayis the Deane, "ye ar againes our Kirk and Bischoppes." "If ye truble not us, we truble not yow," (quoth he.) "Yes," sayis the Deane, "ye haiff maid mentioun of our Bisschoppes to the King and your Parliament!" And with this he pulles out of his bosome the Protestatioune givin in to the Parliament at Perthe, and poyntit at the place quhair it mentiounit, Papisticall and Angelicall Bischoppes. "Ay, the corruptioune of them!" sayis Mr James, "and I pray yow, Sir, think ye not thair is corruptioune in that estait?" "I think thair may be," said he, "but ye deny the Kingis Supremacie." "None," sayeth the uthir, "that he sould haiff the Supremacie over the Ministrie." "Yes," sayeth he, "that Supremacie that he sould haiff in the ministeriall Kirk; the quhilk athir the Pope, or the Prince, or the Presbyterie, must have." "The Pope sould not, we say

[1] Adv. MSS. "alwayes readie."

[2] *Ib.* "*primo.*"

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all." "Mr Calvine gives it to the Presbyterie, and soe doe we," sayeth Mr James. "Ay," saith the Doctour, "but that is treassoun in England, for the Prince hes it be our lawis." "But not," saith the uthir, "by our lawis of Scotland." "But ye must haiff it sua in Scotland!" saith he; and sua abruptly went his way.

Tuysday, the 30 of September, we wer bidden to the sermone againe befoir the Kingis removeall from Hamptoun Court, quhair Doctour King maid a most violent invective againes the Presbyteries, cryeing to the King, "Doune! Doune with thame all!" The quhilk four Sermones wer, by commandement, imprintit soone eftir, as they wer purposely long befoir prepairit and dressit, and this day every ane of us returnit his answer in wryt to the Articles given us the day befoir, everie man severallie, to the samyn effect and substance, as we had answerit in word befoir. The same day also the King enterit in his progresse with Count de Vauddemount, and becaus thair wes a grait bussines, we behovit to haiff patience that day, and the day following.

The second of October, we wer callit befoir the Scotis Counsel againe. They deliverit to us thrie Articles in wryt, willing us to make Answer thairto by wrytt; every man severallie to tak quhat tyme he pleisit, and to goe quhair he pleisit, so that we went far from Court, and maid knawin the place quhair we lay, that we mycht be fund quhen the King callit for us. The Articles follow, quhilk we desyrit to be subscrivit be the Counsel; quhilk they refusit, and commandit Mr Alexander Hay to subscryve for thame, quhilk he did.

ARTICLES QUHAIRUNTO MR ANDRO MELVILL, MR JAMES MELVILL, MR JAMES BALFOURE, MR WILLIAME SCOTT, MR JOHNE CARMICHEL, MR WILLIAME WATSOUN, MR ROBERT WALLACE, MR ADAM COLT, AR DESYRIT, IN HIS MAJESTIE'S NAME, TO GIVE THAIR DIRECT ANSWERES; EVERY ANE OF THEM SEVERALLIE FOR THAME SELFIS.

"I. Consider, quhither if or not they haiff transgressit thair

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duetie, in making publict prayeres for thair Britherine in waird, as being afflictit, and ar willing to craiv his Majestie's favour,[1] thairfoir, sieing that thair said Britherine bydis in waird for just causses, and be ane just sentence of ane lawfull Judge, standing unquerrelit and unreduceit?

"II. Quhither they acknawledge his Majestie, be prerogative of his auctoritie royall, as a Christian King, to haiff lawfull and full power to convocat, prorogat, and desert, upoun just and necessary causses knawin to him, the Assemblie of the Kirk within his Majestie's dominions?

"III. Giff his Majestie, be his auctoritie royall, hes not lawfull and sufficient power to call and convein befoir his Majestie's Counsel quhatsumevir persoun or persounes, civil and ecclesiasticall, for quhatsumevir faultis,[2] and give sentence thairannent; and iff all his Majestie's subjectis be astricted to compeir, being citit befoir his Majestie and Counsel, to answer, acknawledge, and obey his Majestie and his Counselis judgment in the said effaires?[3]—2 of October, 1606."

"The Articles above writtin, be his Majestie's Counsel, appoyntit to be deliverit out of my hand to the Ministeres above mentiounit, be his Majestie's speciall command,

"ALEX^R. HAY."

Incontinent eftir our actioun at Hamptoun Court, Mr James Elphistoune, Secretar, wes directit away to Scotland, with commissioune to pronounce the sentence and doome againes the prissouneres in Blaknes; and unles they would acknawledge[4] thair offence, and craveing forgivenes, come in his Majestie's will, to be banischit off his Majestie's dominiounes, namely, the sex attaintit; and the rest to be confynit, sume in the Lewis,[5] and sume in Kintyre, and sume in Caitnes; the most barbarrous pairtis of the realme.

[1] Adv. MSS. "carry his Majestie's feed," feud, enmity. [2] *Ib.* "offences." [3] *Ib.* "offences." [4] *Ib.* "confess." [5] Lewis, one of the largest of the Hebrides or Western Islands.

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THE MANER OF [THE MINISTERES] THAIR PAIRTING FROM SCOTLAND WES WRITTIN TO US, AS FOLLOWIS.[1]

"I wrett a Lettre to yow, Rycht Reverend, from Leith, the 6th of November, concerneing the Britherine in Blaknes, quho imbarkit the 7 of the same instant; [quhois depairtour wes boith joyfull[2]] and sorrowfull to many: Joyfull, in that many guid folkis quho wer present saw thair constancie and courage to stand for the guid caus they had in hand: But sorrowfull, becaus the land is deprivit of sua notabill lightis as they ar. The maner of thair depairtoure wes this: The 6 of November, about four eftirnoone, they wer desyrit to come to the boat quhilk wes prepairit for thame, be the Watter-Baillie of Leith and Edinburgh; quho, obeying, come, accompaneit with sume of thair dearest freindis and wyiffes to the peire, quhair thair wes a guid number of peiple waiting on, to tak the guid-night[3] at thame, and to sie thame, but eftir thair cumming hither, Mr Johne Welsche conceivit a prayer, quhilk bred great motioune in the heartis of all the heareres. Prayer endit, they tuk guid nycht of thair freindis, wyffes, and many uthir wel-willeres quho wer present, enterit into the boat, quhair they remainit a guid space waitting on the skipper, quho, becaus he wes not ready that nycht to goe aboard, and lyeing in the schipp, they wer desyrit by the Watter-Bailyie, either to goe aboard and lye in the schipp that

[1] The six Ministers who were tried for treason at Linlithgow, before Mr William Hairt of Levelands, Justice-Depute, and twenty Assessors, (composed of the Lord Chancellor, and Lords of the Privy Council,) on 10th January 1606, were Mr John Forbes, Mr John Welsh, Mr Robert Durie, Mr Andrew Duncan, Mr Alexander Strauchane, and Mr John Sharpe. The reader is referred for the details of these most oppressive proceedings to *Pitcairn's* Criminal Trials, II. 494-504; *Wodrow's* Church Hist., pp. 506-516; *Hailes'* Memorials and Letters, Jac. I. pp. 1-4; *Cook's* Hist. of Ch. of Scot, II. 160 *et seq.*; *M'Crie's* Life of Melville, II. 201 *et seq.*; and *Calderwood's* Hist., p. 509 *et seq.*, &c. Doom and sentence of banishment was pronounced on them, Oct. 23, 1606, in the Court of Justiciary, and the above is an affecting account of their embarkation at Leith.—Ed. [2] Not in Adv. MSS. [3] Taking farewell.

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nycht without the skipper, or eles to goe to thair ludgeing that nycht, and be redy at the nixt call.

"They, by Godis speciall providence, chusite to goe to thair ludgeing; for that nycht come on a great storme, that the schippe wes forcit to saiff her selff in Kinghorne road all that nycht. They wer callit againe by tuo houres in the morneing; quho, obeying, come to the schore and peer, accompanieit as the nycht befoir, no small concurse of peiple being with thame, beyond expectatioune, so airly to sie thame boat. Prayer conceivit as befoir, by Mr Johne Welsche, they imbarkit, giving many exhortatiounes to all to hold fast the truth of the doctrine quhilk they had deliverit; for the quhilk, they doutit no thing to lay doun thair lyffis, let be to suffer banischment; adding thairto, that quhilk they sufferit wes the great joy of thair conscience. In the meane tyme, the marineris haistit thame away, they not being abill to speik longer, nor we to heir, that boith the courage and joye they had in God mycht be manifest to all, they depairtit out of our sycht, making us to heir the confortabill joye quhilk they had in God, in singing a Psalme. Blissit be God, quho maid that actioun glorious, and gracit them in the heartis and eyis of all that lookit on thame, and graunt me grace, for my pairt, niver to forget it!

"The Bischops, returneing from England, presentit a Proclamatioune to the Presbyterie, that no Minister sould be so bauld, under the pain of death, as to pray for thame; lykwayis ane Lettre came from the Counsel, schawing them that it wes his Majestie's will, that the Ministeres of the Presbyterie sould supplie thair roumes that wer put away, till he saw to the planting of thair Kirkes. I may well regrat the miserabill estait of this Presbyterie, above any of the land, sen thai and the rest left it! God amend it! To quhom we ceise not to commend yow."

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THE PROCLAMATIOUNE, MENTIOUNIT IN THIS FORMER LETTRE, BY THE KING.

" Quhairas diverse of the Ministerie of that our realme of Scotland, patrounes, as it seimit, of that contemptuous Conventicle at Abirdeine, the 2 of July 1605, by a little handfull of the basest and most ignorant sort of that professioun; quhois seditious proceidingis being first condemnit by our Counsel in that kingdome, and thaireftir the samyn, by the Commissiouneres of the Generall Assembly, declairit to be no lawfull meitting; and the principall auctoris of that Conventicle, haiffing incurrit the paines of treassoun for thair treassounabill declyneing of our Counselis auctoritie, for the quhilk they wer convictit in a Justice [Court,] holdin at Lithgow, the 10 of Januar last bypast, doe not spair, in thair ordinarie sermounes and excercises, and in thair prayeres, to remember thais convicted traitoures, as distressit, afflictit, or persecutit Britherine, praying for thair deliverie; implying thairby us to be tyrantes, and our governement tyrannicall; to the high contempt of us and our auctoritie, as without all example of ony tyme formerlie observit in ony Christiane Kirk. Our will and pleassoure is, heirfoir, that by oppin proclamatioune at our mercat-crosse of our burght of Edinburght, and all uthir places neidfull, in our name and auctoritie, command all and quhatsomevir Ministeres of that our kingdome, be inhibit and dischairgit, that none of thame presume, or at any tyme heireftir to remember in thair sermounes and prayeres any of thais convictit traitouris, or any uthir of thair Britherin quho ar in waird, als guiltie of the same treassoune, neithir any way mak mentioun of thame, eithir generally or particularly of thame, in any of thair publict excercises, eithir in preiching or prayeres, (except it be in disallowing thair proceidingis,) under the pain of death, to be inflictit with all rigour upon sic as will presume to controvein presently the command of this our present chairge: Commanding thairby expresselie the Lordis of our Counsel, Shereffes, Bailyies,

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and all uthiris Magistratis quhatsomevir, alseweill in regalitie as in royaltie, Provestis and Bailyies of our burghtis within townes, and all Barronis, and Gentillmen of any qualitie, within our kingdome, that iff any of thame be present at any sic excercises, preaching, and prayers, quhair thais traitoures and utheris followeris salbe favourabillie remembered, that incontinent upoun the end of the sermone thai caus the Minister, trespasser heirin, to be takin, and then committit to the neirest waird; and eftir acquanting our Counsel thairwith, that they bring sufficient prooff and verificatioune thairof befoir thame, to the effect that the same may be condignely punischit, and that uthires may be terrifieit by thair example from committing the lyk: And our further plesour and will is, that printit coppies of this our chairge be delyvered to the principall Magistratis, boith to burght and landwart, and to all the Ministeres of any principall burght within that our realme, that none dar, be any maner of way, pretend ignorance heirof. Givin at our Court at Hamptoun, the 26 of September 1606. God saiff the King.

"Printit at Edinbruche by Robert Charteres, printer to the Kingis most excellent Majestie, *anno* 1606."

Mononday, the sext of October, Mr Williame Scott and Mr Williame Watsoune wer sent for by the Archbischope of Canterberrie; and eftir long conferrence, he propounit to thame thrie Questiounes, quhilk he wald haiff given tham in wryt; bot they would not ressaive thame, leist that sould haif brought on a disputatioune.

THE QUESTIOUNES, AS THEY WER REPORTIT, WER THAIS.

"1. Quhither, in any of the Antiantis, the name of the Presbyter wes found givin to any that [had not[1]] teichit the Word and ministerit the Sacramentis?

"2. Quhither, ever among the Auntiauntis we red of a Presby-

[1] Not in Univ. MS.

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terie or Ecclesiastic Senat,[1] that had [not[2]] in it, and above it, a Bischope?

"3. Quhither the nam of a Bischope, in the Antiantis, wes found given to ony quho had no superioritie above the Presbyterie, or Ecclesiastical Synod, and the rest of the Presbyterie and Clergie?"

We understood also, by thame, that the Archbisschop had gottin directioun from the King to conferr with us all, and travell to convert us; but he fand thais tuo Brither so hard of his lair,[3] that he dispairit to call for thame again, or for any moe of us. We understood also that thair wes moe nor ane hundred Missive Lettres, wryttin and signettit, to be directit home to Scotland about sume great matter; quhilk eftirwaird we knew to be for the Conventioun at Linlithgow.

Twysday, the 7 of October, Mr Andro Melvill and Mr James Melvill were callit to be accquantit with a wyse, godly, and worschipfull antient Knight, Sir P. Haistis,[4] quho thankit God exceidingly, and congratulat to us greitly the haill actioune at Hamptoun Court; schawing, that it wes meikle talkit of, and commendit amongst all, and would doe much good, not only to our Kirk, but to uthiris, namely, that courage and friedome of speiche, and constant standing to the truth of the caus. Thais Britheris and many the lyk approbatiounes, togidder with the rest of the particularis of these eight Britherine's privat actiounes and conferrences, I ovirpasse, and will now proceid to thair deiling with the King, and of his Majestie with thame.

Amongis the Britherine of the Ministerie quho stuid with the Bisschopes againis us at Hamptoun Court, thair wes one Mr James Nicolsoune, a man of many guid qualities and deipe naturall witt, quho, the 7th day of December, before mentiounit in the beginning of this Historie, wes a cheife counseller amongis us, in all his proceidingis, and a standert-beirer amongis the Commissiouneres of the

[1] Adv. MSS. "Ecclesiastical Synod." [2] Not in Univ. MS. [3] Learning, tuition. [4] Left blank in Adv. MSS.

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Kirk, and quhois boith pen and mouth wes most in all thais actiounes. This man wes now broken to tak in ane Bisschopricke, and become to the King cheiff counsellere againes us in all his proceidingis, without our Kirk. He wes the speciall familiar of sume of us, quhom we boith lovit and reverencit; and, thairfoir, we thought guid to send unto him tuo of our number, and his great accquantance, Mr Williame Scott and Mr Johne Carmichel, quho, quhen they had talkit with him, and conferrit, fand small contentment; yit they deliverit to him all our Answeres to the Articles givin us by the Counsel, expouneing to him also our Greiffes, as the King desyrit we schould: The substance of the quhilk followis, for we wer all conforme to one effect, howbeit sume more lairge nor uthiris; and becaus it wes givin out sclanderously that we agrieit with the Papistis in denyeing the Kingis supremacie, and were unrully, rebellious, and unreverent, we usit the greitter submissioune.

WITH ALL SUBMISSIOUN, HUMILITIE, AND REVERENCE, TO THE KINGIS SACREID MAJESTIE, AND WITH ALL HEARTIE AFFECTIOUNE TO HIS GRANDNES, AND EXTOLLING ABOVE ALL MEN UPON THE FACE OF THE EARTH, JAMES MELVILL'S ANSWER TO THE QUESTIOUN PROPOUNIT BY HIS MAJESTIE'S MOST HONORABILL COUNSEL.

"1. I can not conceive a transgressioun of duetie in praying for our Britherine; the command and the warrand being sua cleir in the Word of God, 1 Tim. ii. 1; 1 John v. 16; Hebr. xiii. 3. And if I could conceive any prostrat at his Majestie's feit, with my face upon the ground, I would ask willinglie, and most humblie craive pardoune and favour.

"2. The lawes of the realme, the judgment, practise, and constitutiounes of ou Kirk, are cleir heirannent; and if thair be any doubt remaining, if it is by the law and estait of the realme, let it be resolvit by the nixt Generall Assemblie, to the quhilk by the haill Synod it is referrit.

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"3. The third is civill, for the most pairt maid of many interrogatiounes, and not thairfoir to be simplely answerit; and iff it be doubtit off, it is be the law and estaitis of the realme to be ressolvit: And for judging of the Ministeres in matteres spirituall and meir ecclesiasticall, such as concernes thair calling and poyntis of thair Ministerie; the quhilk, as they have oft in Jesus Chryst and in his Kirk, [alenerlie, togidder with the Jurisdictioun of the Kirk,[1]] quhat it is, and how it differes from the civill Magistratis Jurisdictioun and power, the statutis of the realme, the judgmentis practisit, and constitutioun of the Kirk, the Kingis Majestie's Declaratioune at Linlithgow, and in diverse Generall Assemblies, are most cleir and evident; to the quhilk I stand, till God teich my conscience better: Protesting befoir the great God of heavin and earth, that iff I thought it nocht a sinne againes Jesus Chryst, the Lord of lordis, and King of kingis, and so most dangerous to the Kingis Majestie's persoun, croun, and estait, to ascryve[2] any further to him, thair is none living wald be glaider to imploye quhat lyis in his abilitie for avoweing, maintaining, and standing to the same to his uttirmost, then poore

"JAMES MELVILL."

The caus of our detentioune, howbeit, in truth, it wes to withhold us till they had effectuat matteres at home, yit they gave it out to be for that we had not givin in our Answeres and Greives with our advyse, how the Kirk might be paciefieit: Thairfor, we thought meitt that all sould goe in befoir Mr James Nicolsoune went away, of whom we lookit for favour, he being now almost the Kingis only counseller in all thais matteres, and quho wes with the Erle of Dumbar, to enter to his journey.

[1] Not in Adv. MSS.

[2] Ascribe.

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FOLLOWS THE GREIVANCES, AND ADVYSE HOW TO PACIEFIE THE KIRK.

"Pleis your most excellent Majestie to heir the Greives quhilk your Majestie desyrit us to give upe unto your Hienes for redressing, as also our Advyse for paciefieing the estait of our Kirk: We are greivit that this four yeiris, the Generall Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland hes bein prorogat in so neidfull and dangerous a tyme, quhen all estaites ar so cairfull of thair priviledgis; and Papists, Atheistis, and licentious persounes, contemneres of the Word and Discipline of the Kirk, incresses and aboundes: We ar grivit that fourtein Ministeres sould lye holden yeir and day in waird and prissoune, from thair flockes and families, quhilk the hand of God is stricking sua sore by the plague of the pestilence amongis tham: We ar grived that the Commissiouneres of the Kirk, that voitis in Parliament in name thairoff, had nethir enterit in that office nor behavit thame selffes thairin, according to thais Cautiounes and Orders sett down thairunto by your Majestie, in the Generall Assemblie holdin at Montrose; and namely, that these Cautiounes, ordained to be insert in the actis of parliament to be maid in thair favour, howbeit offerit be the Commissiouneres of the Generall Assembly, were refusit and rejectit at Perth: We ar grivit that the Commissiouneres of the Generall Assembly maid no tymeous and faythfull wairneing to the Presbyteries of your Majestie's will annent the prorogatioune of the Assembly appoyntit be your Majestie to be haldin at Abirdeine, quhilk wes the first caus of all this trubill, and yit sume of thame satt in Counsel, and wer fordward in condemneing thair Britherine in prissoune: We ar grivit that your Majestie's Commissiouner, Lauristoun, his unfaithfull, foolich, and false deiling at Aberdein, the nixt and most caus of your Majestie's offence, most evidently may be sein, and of the trubill of the Britherin: We are grivit at all the wrongis quhilk thais Britherine alledges done unto thame; most humbilly beseiking your Majestie to examine, consider, and amende thame, as, nixt under God, to

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doe the same: We ar grivit that we ar deteinit so long frome our flockes and famelies in so dangerous a tyme of the plague of pestilence, and uthir great necessities: All the quhilk Greivances, if it wald pleis your gracious Majestie to tak it to heart, we dar be answerabill for it, upon the redresse thairof, that the estaite of our Kirk salbe paciefiet."

The 5 of November, the Parliament of England sat doun againe, quhilk maid us to be excluded againe from all actioun and dealing for our selffes at Court. In the meintyme, we keipit ane honnest tabille and ludgeing hous altogidder, quhairunto resorted many honest men and Britherin of the best sort: So, haiffing comfortabill commoditie of our being togidder, we thought it guid to tak us to sume guid excerceise of the Word and prayer, and fasting, joynit with humiliatioune, one day in the weik, namely, becaus of the dangerous deilling at home, that the Britherin thair mycht be constant that God in mercie wald give unfainyieit repentance to our haill Kirk, baith Pastour and peiple, for the lycht, estimatioune, and fruitless abuse of the Gospel, so sincerely and friely continowit so long a tyme in our country; and, for the quhilk, this heavie dissipatioune[1] and danger of greater corruptionne, wes hinging on; that it mycht pleas God, with his mercifull eye, to look doun againe unto his awin Sion, to gadder him againe his dispersit, [and] to repair the breiches. That excercise continowit about ane moneth; in the meintyme, not ceisseing, by all occasiounes of all our freindis, to give in our Supplicatioune to the Kingis Majestie, and to use all meines quhat we could for our friedome. The effect we fand wes, on Sonday the 13 of November, Mr Alexander Hay come to our ludgeing, sent, as he said, from the King, to intimate ane ordinance for wairding of every ane of us with a severall Bisschoppe, so greitlie wes our remaineing togidder invyed: For boith the King and the Bisschoppes, namely of Canterbury, had their spyes, quho, under coullour of freindly visitatioune, reportit boith our

[1] So in all the MSS. Probably for dispensatioun.

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speiches and actiounes; viz. Mr Andro Melville with the Bisschoppe of Winchester, Doctor Bilsoune; Mr James Balfour with Norwitch, Doctor Bigom; Mr William Scott with Peter Burrow,[1] Doctor Done; Mr Johne Carmichel with York, Doctor Matthow; Mr Williame Watsoune with Londoun, Doctor Vaintham;[2] Mr Adam Colt with Salisberry, Doctor Ravisch;[3] Mr Robert Wallace with Rochester, Doctor Barlow; Mr James Melvill with Duresm,[4] Mr D. James.

This movit us all to great indignatioune and anger; so that Mr Alexander [Hay] wes laid upoun us all, round about, and in end ressavit this answer: "If we had committit any cryme, let us be judgit orderly and punischit; uthirwayis, we would not disschonnour God, the King, and our callingis, to goe and ly at sic menis houssis, but would rathir chuse imprissonement or banischement." We maist humbilly againe besought his Majestie to regaird his awin honour, quho had writtin for us so fairlie, the honour of our Kirk and countrie, affirmeing bauldly that they wer not guid Counselleres quho had mentiounit that. This, and meikle moir, wes reportit be Mr Alexander Hay. We hard no moir of that matter till ane quarter of ane yeir wes donne; and eftir being mychtily affrayit thairwith, we wer fain to breck up our societie, quhilk wes sua invyit; but befoir we severit,[5] we thought it most needfull that the four sermounes that we hard at Hamptoun Court, and now ar newly publischit in prent, sould be answerit; quhilk travell we committit to thame quho thought thame selffis best disposit for the same. Unto ane of the numbir we injoynit to note and mark eligantly all proceedingis, for informatioune to ane Historie, as it mycht pleas God to grant this benefit thairof to the posteritie.

Sonday, the last of November, Mr Alexander Hay sent ane Lettre, desyreing, in the Kingis name, Mr Andro Melvill and James Melvill, with Robert Wallace, to come to his chalmer at Quhithall by ane of the clock. Comeing, he tauld us that thair wes certaine Verses maid in Latine, com in the Kingis hand, for the quhilk we

[1] The Bishop of Peterborough. [2] Adv. MSS. "Wathand." [3] *Ib.* "Beants."
[4] The Bishop of Durham. [5] Adv. MSS. "separated."

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wer to be callit befoir the Counsel of England; and so we wer callit by and bye.

Mr Andro Melvill called, confessit that he had maid such Verses, being much movit in his mynd with indignatioun to sie such vanities[1] and superstitioun in a Chrystiane Reformed Kirk, under a Chrystiane King, borne and brought upe in the lycht of the Gospell most sincerely, befoir idollateres, to confirme thame in the same, and greive the heartis of true worschipperes. And being spokin unto by the Archebisschoppe of Canterburie, quho satt uppmost at the Counsell table, on the right hand, tuik occasioune plainely in his face, befoir the Counsell, to tell him all his mynd, quhilk burst out as inclossit fyre in watter! He burdeinit him with all thais corruptiounes and vanities, and superstitiounes, with profanatioune of the Sabbath day, silenceing, imprissouning, and beiring doun of the true and faithfull[2] Preicheres of the Word of God, of setting and holding upe of Antichrystiane Hierarchie and Popische Ceremonies; and taking him by the quhyt sleives of his rocket,[3] and schaiking them, in his manner, frielie and roundlie, callit thame "Romishe ragis, and a pairt of the Beastes mark!" He tauld him further, that iff he wes the authour of the buik intitulat, "Scotiseing Genevating Discipline," he estimit him the capitall enemie of all Reformed Churches in Europe; and would professe him enemie to him and all such proceidingis, to the effusioun of the last droppe of all the blood in his bodie; being uncessantely grivit at his verie heart to sie a man have the Kingis eare, and to sitt so hight in that honourabill Counsel of England! &c. He paintit out alsoe Bisschoppe Barlo for the wrytting of "The Conferrence at Hamptoun Court," quhairin he had sett doun that "the King wes in the Kirk of Scotland, but nocht of it," and uthir such horribill speiches; marvelling that such a one wes unpunischit, and examplarilie, for making the King of no Religioune! And entering in his sermounes maid last at Hamptoun Court befoir the King, he

[1] Adv. MSS. "enormitie." [2] *Ib.* "sincere." [3] *Ib.* "right hand."

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refutit the same so long as he gat audience and permissioune; but he wes oft interruptit, and at last put furth in a place by him self.

Mr James Melvill [was next] callit in, quhom the Chanceler usit verie courteouslie, with the style of lairneing, gravitie, godlines, wisdome, honesty, and truthe; feiring, as it appeirit, the force of that Spirit, quhilk he neidit not, in useing such charmeing. He shew him how the Kingis Majestie had commandit thame off the Counsell to aske him tuo questiounes, not doubting but he would answer truely and plainely: First, Quhither he had written home to Scotland the lait proceidingis at Hamptoun Court betuixt his Majestie and us? He ansuerit, that at his coming from Scotland, his freindis wes desyreous to be informit of our matteres how they went, and sua he had promisit to thame; and, for performeing of his duetie, he had written all. The Archbisschope askit him, How he had writtin of justiefieing his awin plott and pairt, and condemneing the Kingis pairt? He ansuerit, nethir by way of justificatioun nor condemnatioun, but only by a trew and simple way of narratioune. The Erle of Northamptoune insisted on the same poynt: To quhom he said, he had ansuerit already. The Chanceler sayis, "He hes ansuerit simpelie and plainelie," and sua movit the uthir questioune, If he had sein certain Verses, writtin in Latine, againes the ornamentis of the Alter of the Kingis Chappel? He said, he could not answer till he saw thame.[1] They gaiff him thame to reid; quho then said, he had sein such Verses in his uncle's, Mr Androis hand, eftir the making of thame at Hamptoun Court, and knew weil the greit greiff thairof, and motioun of his mynd[2] at that tyme. They askit, If he had givin out any coppies thairof, to send thame to Scotland? He said, Nay, non at all; nethir knew he yit of ony givin out by his uncle to any man being on lyff; and marvelit how they could come in the Kingis hand. So he wes bidden to remove, and Mr Robert Wallace called. He wes demandit the samen questiounes, and answerit conforme.

[1] Adv. MSS. "heard these Verses." [2] *Ib.* "heart."

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Eftir ane houre's advysement, we wer all callit in togidder; and Mr Andro, eftir a long and grave admonitorie oratioune of the Chancellor, Lord Edgertoune, that with his learneing and yeires he sould joyne wisdome, gravitie, modestie, and discretioun, he wes committit to the Deane of Paulis, to remaine in his custodie dureing the Kingis Majestie's will; and the uther tuo commandit to the custodie of thair awin wyse and discreit cariage, with a gentill wairneing to tak heid to thair actiounes, speiches, and wryttingis too.

The purpose of all this wes to snare Mr Andro Melvill, quhom they knew to be frie of speich, that they mycht haif sume appeirance of just occasioun to mak him fast,[1] and sua to be quyt of his hinder[2] in the prosecutioun of the Episcopall purpose; for, soone in the morneing, Mr Alexander Hay com with the warrand and commissioun, to put the Counsellis decreit to executioun, and restit not till the tyme he had gottin Mr Andro enterit in the Dean of Paulis hous and custodie, quhair he remained quhill the moneth of Marche.

In the moneth of March, [1607,] the Counsel sent a Lettre of Warrand to the Deane of Paulis as followeth:

THE COUNSELIS LETTRE AND WARRAND UNTO THE DEANE OF PAULIS.

"Quhairas ane Minister of Scotland, Mr Andro Melvill, hes, be the Kingis Majestie's commandement, bein callit befoir us at the Counsel-Boord, quhair he had confessit himselff to be the auctour of certaine Verses, or rathir a Pasquill, tending to the scandell and dischonour of the Kirk of England; for the quhilk his great offence he had been censurit to be restrainit of his libertie untill such forder proceedingis sall be takin order with him as sall seim guid to his Majestie, in such a caus as this, and by impunitie: Yow sall heirby understand that his Majestie hes made chuse of yow, for the present, to ressaive him in your custodie. Quhairfoir, in his Majestic's

[1] Adv. MSS. "sure." [2] *Ib.* "hand."

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name, we doe requyre yow furthwith to ressaive him accordingly, to remain in your house at Paulis; not suffering any to haif accesse unto him, until his Majestie's further plesoure heirin to yow be signified. It is also thought expedient that yourself doe, at convenient tymes, conferr with him in such poyntis quhilk yow sall find differing from the discipline of the Kirk heir establischit, for his better satisfactioun and conformitie; quhairin, by your guid indevour, you may deserve very weill of his Majestie, and so of us: So, not doubting of your extraordinar reguard heirin, we bid yow fair weill."

THE ALTAR VERSES FOLLOWIS—EPIGRAMMA.

Cur stant clausi Anglis, libri duo, Regia in Ara,
Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo?
Num sensum cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausum
Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta sua,
Romano et[1] ritu, Regalem dum instruit Aram?
Purpuream pingit religiosa lupam!

[TRANSLATED THUS.]

On Kinglie Chappell aultar standis
Blind candelstickis, and closit buikis,
Dry silver basines, tuo of each:
Quhairfor, saith he, quho luikis,
The mynd and worschippe of the Lord
Does England so keipe closse?

Blind in hir sycht, and buried in
Hir filthines and drosse:
And quhill with Roman ritis schoe does

[1] Adv. MSS. "an."

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Hir kingly altar dresse,
Religiously a purple quhoore
To tame sche does professe ![1]

The speciallis of the Ministrie being now to be exilit,[2] wairdit, and confynit, they thought to mak ane assay[3] of a Generall Assemblie, quhereby to proceid one step forward. So about the beginning of December,[4] a Lettre com from his Majestie to everie Presbyterie, commanding thame to send such men to Linlithgow, quhois names wer in the Lettre, the tenth of that instant, to consult and resolve with sume Nobillmen for suppressing of Papistis and removeing of jarris from the Kirk; (for they durst not as yet nominat a Generall Assemblie for feir of the successe thairof.) Privily Lettres wer also directit to particular Brither, commanding thame to keipe the place appoyntit, quhither the Presbyterie gave thame Commissioun or not. Out of sum Presbyteries were named none, out of the most pairt three, out of sum four or fyve, out of sum six, according as they were maid to favour the purpose. So thair met about one hundred and twenty-nine Ministeres, and Nobilmen, Officeres of Estaitis, and Barrounes thirty-three, or thairby, att Lithgow the tenth of December. Maister Patrick Galloway, last Moderator, wes desyrit to mak the exhortatioune, acording to the ordour; bot he refusit, becaus he knew not of any tyme appoyntit for ane Generall Assembly, and thairfoir wes not prepairit. So Mr James Law, lait Bisschope of Orknay, made the exhortatioune; and thereafter Mr Patrick prayit, and producit four in

[1] In the Adv. MSS., another translation of these Verses follows the lines by Andrew Melvill, which it has been considered proper to be inserted here:

Why stands there on the Royall Altar hy,
Two closed bookes, blind lights, two basins dry?
Doth England hold God's minde and worship closse,
Blind of her sight, and buried in her dross?
With Romish rites King's Chappell doth theo dress,
Religious she the Red Whore dothe express!

[2] Adv. MSS. "expelled." [3] *Ib.* "offer." [4] *Ib.* "September," erroneously.

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lait[1] from his Majestie, Mr Patrick Scharpe, Alexander Lyndsay, Robert Howie, and Mr James Nicolsone, quho wes chosine Moderator.

All lawis wes sought out againes Papistis; and becaus the fault was in laike[2] of executioune, ane Ovirture wes fund that everie Presbyterie sould haiff ane Agent for persewing of Papistis, and the said Agent sould haiff ane hundred pundes out of the Thesaurie for his expensses. Then it wes askit of be the Moderator, Quhat wes the caus of the jarris of the Kirk? It wes answerit, For want of a frie Generall Assemblie; thairfoir thair wes one ordainit presently, to be hauldin at Edinburgh, the last Tuysday of July nixt following. Supplicatioune being maid for the banischit Britherin, for Mr Robert Bruce, and all these that wer deteinit at Lundoun, all wer tint[3] in the houpe of thair restoreing.

Then comes in his Majestie's speciall desyre, that untill the tyme that Papistis wer repressit, and all jarris removit out of the Kirk, ane Constant Moderator mycht remaine in every Presbyterie, for sundry reassounes, namely, for that betwixt Moderatoris quha wer changit sua oft, proces, diligence, and executioun followit, the new being unacquantit with the former proceedingis. The matter com to reassouneing. Mr Patrick Galloway propounit three reassounes in the contrair: *First*, The prejudgeing of the Presbyteries of thair frie electioun quho best did knaw the qualitie of thair memberes: 2*dly*, The danger of tyrannizing of the Moderator above the Britherin, and usurpatioun of auctoritie and jurisdictioun over thame: 3*dly*, The prejudgeing of the Generall Assemblie of the frie nominating of Commissiouneres out of every Presbyterie; for, by appeirance, thair wes no uthir thing meinit by this but to mak the Generall Assembly to consist of Bisschopes and Constant Moderatores of Presbyteries, quho mycht doe quhat they list. As to the reassounes propounit, it wes eisily ansuerit, that all the Presbyteries, and every Brothir thairof, sould knaw the estait and proceidingis of

[1] In *leet*. The Adv. MSS. read, probably erroneously, "wailit," which signifies chosen, picked out, or selected. [2] Lack. [3] Lost.

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matteres; and so, any mycht be able aneught to put matteres in mynd for executioune, meikle maire the meittest chosine for the purpose, according to the postoure and estait of the matteres in hand, for removeing thereof, and of sic dangeres and difficulties, thais Cautiounes wer provydit, that the Constant Moderatoris sould be answerabill to the Moderator of the Synode, and to the whole Synod itself, for all his oversycht and his offences, and removeabill be thame eftir a lawfull tryall, and the worthiest of his Presbyterie preferrit to his place; that every Presbyterie sould haif the frie electioun of tuo uthir Commissiouneris to every Generall Assemblie; and that it sould be in that Presbyterie's hand and adoptioun to accept of that Moderator nominat or not.

Thir Cautiounes being sett doun, and the Articles fully [1] aggrieit upoun in the Privie Conferrence, it passit in the oppin Assemblie, and agrieit, that he quho befoir wes namit the Agent sould be this Constant Moderator. The Bisschoppes, with thair awin consentis, wer ordainit to be subject thair to the Discipline of the Kirk, and remaine and be Pastoris in the Kirk of their awin Bisschopprickis, and to underly [2] the censure of their particular Presbyteries: And in caice, at the next Generall Assemblie appoynted to be holden at Edinbruche, it salbe found that they haif any wayis transgressit the Cautiounes they offerit, evin thair to lay doune thair Bisschopprickis at the Assemblie, that his Majestie mycht bestow the same upoun any uthir of the Ministerie that salbe thought meit for the place.

Immediatlie eftir the Assemblie the Lordis Collector, Blantyre, Clerk off Register, with the Moderator nominat in the Assemblie, viz., Mr James Nicolsoun, come to Edinbruche; and on the Presbyterie day urgit thame to ressave thair Moderator, nominat at the Assemblie, viz., Mr Johne Hall. Thair the Act wes red, but they quho hard it and wes at Lithgow, to witt, that the Bisschoppes ar ordainit Moderatoris of the Synodis; quhilk Mr Patrick Galloway, and Mr Johne Hall, and more, affirmit, that it wes nevir spokin of in that Assemblie.

[1] Adv. MSS. "openly."

[2] Be subject and submit to.

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The nixt Wedinsday the Presbyterie of Dalkeith wes urgit, quho sought the Act to be advysit, withall promiseing thaireftir to give thair answer; but the Act could not be had, neither by thame nor by na uthir, till it wes produceit in a Synod in Fyff, eftir the death of the Moderator, almost aught monethis thaireftir: But in the place thairof thair passit out Lettres from the Counsell, chairgeing the Presbyterie to accept of thair Constant Moderator in every Presbyterie, in the Generall Assembly holdin at Lithgow, quhairoff the tennour followis:

[LETTERS FROM THE PRIVY COUNCIL CHARGING THE PRESBYTERIES TO ACCEPT OF CONSTANT MODERATORS.]

"JAMES, be the grace of God, &c. Forsaumeikle as the Generall Assemblie of the Kirk, keipit at our burghe of Linlithgow, in the moneth of December last bypast, and assistit by a frequent number of the Nobilitie, Counsel, and Barrounes of this our kingdome, it wes thought verie meit and expedient, and in end concludit and agrieit, with uniforme consent of the Assemblie, that, for the weill of the Kirk, and staying of the number and growth of Papistis in this our kingdome, thair sould be a Constant Moderator for a certaine space, nominat in every Presbyterie, quho sould haif the chairge to informe the Lordis of our Secreit Counsel of all Papistis, recusantis, and contemneris of discipline in this land, and to seik the executioun of our lawis againes thame; as in the act maid thairanent at mair lenth is conteinit: Quhilk being sein and considerit be us, we haif not only approvit and allowit the samyn, and interpounit our auctoritie thairunto, but haif recommendit it to our Counsel that they haif speciall cair and regaird to sie the same ressaive thair dew obedience and executioun; lykeas N. wes nominat and appoyntit Moderator for the Presbyterie of N.: And albeit it wes houped that this godly and necessare conclusioun, importing sua hightly the weill of the Kirk, sould haif bein ressavit with all, thankfullnes, and embracit be the Presbytries of this our kingdome; nevertheles, the Ministeres of the Presbytrie of N., for quhat caus

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we knaw not, refuisses, or at the leist delayes, to ressaive the said Moderator, and to conforme thamselvis to the ordinance and conclusioune forsaid; the controveining quhairoff will altogidder mak the samyne ineffectuall, without remeid be provydit. Our Will is heirfoir, and we chairge yow straitly, and commandis, that incontinent thir our Lettres sein, ye pas, and in our name and auctoritie, command and chairge N. N., Ministeres of the Presbytrie of N., and the Clerk of the said Presbyterie, to conforme thamselffis to the ordinance and conclusioune of the said Assemblie, and to ressave the said Moderator, and to reverence him in all thingis dew to the priveledge of that office, without excuise or delay, within twenty-four houres nixt eftir they be chairgit be yow, under the pain of rebellioun and putting of thame to our horne; and if they failyie thairin, the said space being bypast, that incontinent thaireftir ye denunce the dissobeyeris our rebellis, and put thame to our horne; and if they failyie, that ye escheat, &c.: And siclyk that ye, in our name and auctoritie, command and chairge the said Moderator of the Presbyterie of N., to accept the said chairge upon him within the space of twenty-four houris nixt efter he be chairged be yow to doe so, under the pain of rebellioun and putting of him to our horne, and if he failyie thairin, the said space being bypast, that incontinent thaireftir ye denunce the dissobeyeris our rebelles, and put thame to our horne, and escheat and inbring all his moveable guidis to our use for his contemptioun: The quhilk to doe, &c. Givin under our Signett at Edinbruche the 17 of February, and of our reigne the fourtieth yeir, 1606.

"*Per Actum Dominorum Secreti Consilii,*

"JA. PRYMEROSE."

About the end of December the Abot of Halirudhous and Maister James Law, Bisschope of Orknay, wer sent to the King with the proceidingis of this Conventioune at Lithgow sett doune in wryt; quhairwith the King wes litle content, becaus they proceidit not frielyer; and farder, sieing the Bisschoppes of the Presbyteries, and appoynting thame Moderatoris ovir the Provinciall Synodes,

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the Abot laid all the waitt[1] on the Bisschoppes, quho had voluntarily submitted thamselffis of new to the Presbyteries. Bisschope Law wes for this thoroughly chydit upoun; allwayis, the remedie wes, that nothing sould be put out[2] till some poyntis being put and mendit,[3] all sould be sent back againe to be given out in forme. And this was supposit to be death to[4] the Moderator, quho, in his wisdome, thinking to pleise both King and Kirk, had thankes of none.

Bisschope Law, being at Londoun, abassit himselff to visit the Britherine deteinit thair; and coming quhere Mr James Balfour and Mr James Melvill lay, begouth[5] to expoune to thame the strait ordour takin with Papists at the Conventioun at Lithgow. Mr James Balfour sayis, "*In nomine Domini incipit omne malum!* This is pretendit, bot the dint (as yit, hes bein a long tyme) will lycht[6] on the Kirk, Discipline, and standeres by of the same." Quoth the Bisschope, "They sall call me a false knave, and never to be believit againe, iff the Papistis be not sua handleit as they wer never in Scotland!" "That may weill be," said Mr James Balfoure. In reassouneing with Mr James Melville he did tak a great and terribill attestatioune that he knew nothing of ony purpose the King had to alter and translait the Discipline and Governement of the Kirk of Scotland, but only to seik the provisioun and estimatioun thairoff; vindicating the same from contempt and poverty; and thairfoir they ar far to be blamed quho suspectit his Majestie and his Breitherine's proceidinges: "Nay," said the uthir, "the King, boith by word and wryt, hes uttirit his mynde plainely; but ye deall deceitfully, deceaving yourselffes and utheris; but God by tyme will mak all manifest ane day!"

M.DC.VII.

Upon Tuysday, the third of Marche, the Britherin deteinit wer chairgit of new againe, but in a new maner, to goe to the Bisschoppes

[1] *Wyte*, blame. [2] Adv. MSS. "goe further." [3] *Ib.* "in a better order." [4] *Ib.* "the deid of." [5] Began. [6] Alight, fall.

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house. The maner of ane I will sett doun, for example of the rest. One Williame Sanderes come the day befoir to Mr James Melvill's chalmer, and schew him that he wes directit be one of the Clerkes of the Counsel, nameit Sir Anthonie Ashlye, to delyver to him the coppie of a Lettre from the Counsel to the Bisschope of Duresme,[1] and to desyre the said Mr James, in the Kingis name, to goe with him to the said Bisschope. Mr James askit the fellow, iff he wald deliver a Lettre of his to him that sent him? quho said, he wald. So he wryt to Sir Anthonie, as followis:

[LETTER MR JAMES MELVILL TO SIR ANTHONY ASHLEY.]

"My dewtie premitted,[2] Pleis your Worschip, understand, that one Williame Sanderes come to me this morneing, directit, as he doth affirme, from your Worschip, with a Lettre of the most Honorabill Counsel of England to the Bischop of Durrahame, requyring him to ressaive me into his hous, and give me guid and kynd intertainement; and addith farder, that he had directioune to chairge me, in the Kingis name, to goe with him to the said Bisschoppe; quhairoff, quhen I had askit his warrand, he said he had non, but only directioun from your Worschip. Quhairfor, I haiff takin the boldnes to wrytt thir few lynes to your Worschip, quhairby I wauld humbly craiff of your courtessie, to understand quhat this matter sould mein, being verie strange to me; being sent for by a verie loving Missive Lettre from his Majestie, to come from my awin countrie, waiting, calling, and attending, thir six monethes past, on his Majestie's plesoure, to my great chairges; not being accusit of any misbehaviour or cryme, to be chairgit to becume a domestick to a Bisschope in England, knawin to be of a contrair affectioun and oppinion of the Governement of the Kirk and Discipline thairof, quhilk I tak to be ane harder punischment than imprissounement or banischement: And as concerneing the non-satisfactioun of his Majestie in sindry poyntis, quhilk his Majestie ex-

[1] Durham.

[2] Premised.

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pectit, and reclaimeing of us from such opiniounes, quhilk we ar alledgit to hould, repugnant to the guid governement of the Kirk, mentionit in the narratioun of the Counselis Lettre, thais can be no such imputatiounes as deserve punischment; for quho can satisfie forder nor they ar able, be thair judgement and conscience? And quhat opinioune held we the Governement of our Kirk, uthir then that quhilk hes bein establischit in our Kirk of Scotland thais many yeiris bypast, and that by the warrand of the Word of God, his Majesteis lawis of the realme professit, subscryvit, and sworne, boith by the Kingis Majestie and haill Estaitis of the Kingdome of Scotland? May it pleise your Worschip, thairfoir, to ressaive the informatioune of the order of this proceiding, that I may understand the nature thairoff, for giveing willing obedience in patient suffering in all thingis dew I can, as I am most willing to rander obedience, in all humilitie, to his Majestie and most honourabill Counsel, with all humble thankfulnes for thair cair, dilligence, and courtesie, though I am most unwilling to precipitat the caus of our Kirk, or evin my awin poore conscience, persoun, and honnestie, in unnecessarie uncoacted bussines, suffering danger or disgrace: *Et si quid morte gravius imponitur mortem oppetere potius ducimus.* So, most humbly and most ernestlie requyring your Worschipis answer [of courtessie, I commend yow to God. Blackfriers, the 3 of Marche 1607.[1]] Your Worschipis,[2] as all dutie requyres,

"JAMES MELVILL."

The gentleman very courtesslie returnit his answer as followis:[3]

"MR JAMES MELVILL,—Quhairas by your Lettre, ye requeist[4] to ressaive of me such ane order and directioun as hes bein prescryvit be the Lordis of his Majestie's Privie Counsel concerneing your present goeing to the Bisschope off Durrhame, I pray yow understand, that I knaw of no uthir nor is conteinit in thair Lordschipis Lettres, directit to the Bischope off Durrhame, quhairof I sent yow

[1] Omitted in Adv. MSS. [2] Univ. MS. "Wisdomes." [3] Adv. MSS. "in the morning after, in these wordis." [4] *Ib.* "yow are earnest."

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a true coppie undir my hand, for your better satisfactioun; quhairunto, in my oppinioun, ye sall doe weill to obey and conforme your selff, as is requyrit, the rather of that becaus yow sie thair is nothing meinit thairby towardis yow but kynd and loveing intertainement, sic as is meitt for a gentillman lyk yow.[1] No doubt, his Majestie will tak a speciall notice of your willing obedience in this behalff; as, on the uthir syd, he may be movit on the contraire, in cais of your obstinacie, quhilk I would wische yow to avoyde by all meines possibil. Yow may wysely conceve mor nor then is fitt for me to wrytt in a matter of this nature. *Cor Regis in manu Domini.* And evin sua I commend yow to Godis mercifull and saiff keippeing. From the Court of Quhythall, this feard[2] of March, 1607.

"Your loving freind, ANT. ASHLEY."

FOLLOWIS THE BISSCHOPPE OF DURRHAM HIS LETTRE SENT TO HIM FROM THE COUNSEL.

"Efter our verie hairtlie commendatiounes to your Lordschip: Quhairas six or seven of the Ministeres of Scotland, haifeing bein specially sent for by the Kingis Majestie, on sum such occasiounes as doe grytlie tend to the quyet estait of the Kirk, hes not givin his Hines that satisfactioun, in sundrie poyntis, quhilk he expectit; and in regaird thairof ar not to returne home againe to thair countrie, forasmeikle as his Majestie, in his most princely cair for the settling of the Kirkes effaires of that kingdome, is verie desyreous to haif these said pairties reclaimed from such opiniounes, quhilk they hold repugnant to the guid governement of the Kirk, and not one ar fitter for that purpose nor his grave and learnit Bisschoppes, alseweill by tham selff as by the assistance of uthir learnit men, about and neir thame, quhom they knaw fitt to be imployit in sic a work: We, by his Majestie's directioun, doe desyre your Lordschip to ressaive to your hous Mr James Melvill, ane of the said Ministeres, to give kynd and guid intertainement for him self

[1] Adv. MSS. "of your sort."

[2] Fourth.

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and his servant, quhill he sall remaine with yow: Letting yow furder to knaw, that it is not his Majestie's mynd to send him to yow as a prissouner, and to be in any wayes keipit or restranit, althought we doubt not but your Lordschip, in your wisdome, and Mr Melvill, in his discretioun, will so interprett his Majestie's plesoure, as that neither of yow will permitt ony accesse of discontent and of factiounes and scismaticall persounes, quhilk mycht nocht only hinder that guid successe quhilk his Majestie does houpe to find thairby, but lykwayis, to tend to sume furder inconvenientis to be pretendit[1] by your Lordschip. And so we bid your Lordschip verie weil to fair.[2] From the Court at Quhythall, the 28 of February 1607.

(Signit by)

"Lord Treassourer.
L. Chanceler.
Lord [Archiebishop of[3]] Canterbury.
D. Lennox.
L. Admirall.
L. Chalmerane.[4]
Earle Shreusburie.
E. Worchester.
E. Northamptoune.[5]
E. Sallisberrie.
L. Stainhoupe.
Mr Secreter Harbart."

(Directit to) "The Lord Bisschope of Durhame."

"*Concordat cum originali,* An. Ashlaye."

Wednisday, the fourth of Marche, Mr James [Melvill,] knawing the Bisschope of Durhame to be at Durrhame hous, and haiffing the officer waiting on him, thought to goe to the Bisschope to testifie his obedience to the King; but thairwith to perswad and desyre the Bischope, iff he wer wyse, to concurr with him in suit to be frie of such a ghaist: And so, accumpaneit with Mr Williame Scott, we went to him, and tauld him he wes come to testifie the dispositioun of his heart inclynit and bent alwayis to rander obedience to the Kingis Majestie in all thingis dew; but thairwith to requeist his Lordschip to joyne with him in supplicatioun and dealing with his

[1] Adv. MSS. "prevented." [2] *Ib.* "farewell." [3] Supplied from Adv. MSS.
[4] *Ib.* "Chambell," viz, the Lord Chamberlain. [5] *Ib.* "Mortoune."

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Majestie and honorabill Counsel to haif licence to goe home, quhair he had ane honnest hous, calling, and vocatioun, and familie to attend upoun, and not on uthir menis tablis; for he had evir bein accustomed withall to give rather than to take of any; and truely it wes not fitt that he sould be his hostler and he his guest, being sua farr different in stait and opinioun, the quhilk wauld breid but cauld affectioun; and how unpleasant would the societie be, quhair thair wes throuchtnes of opiniounes, his Wisdome mycht easiely consider; eikand[1] heirto that he wes a man subject to manifold seiknes and diseasses,[2] and could not trouble the hous of a stranger, and such a nobill Prelatt; furder, he being a man professing the cuir of many saulis, sould take pietie of many thousand saulis in the Kirk of Scotland, that laked the comfort of their persounes [Pastors] detained so long from them in England.

His answer was sillie and confuseit, to this effect: That, sieing it wes his Majestie's and Counselis will, he sould be welcome to his hous; he sould prepair him a chalmer and a gardein; but he behovit to put a gentilman out of his chalmer for his caus, and that his man behovit to be with that gentleman his man; and sume such triffelingis. Mr James besought him not to doe sua, for he com not to England to displace any man, gentle or semple. He thankit God he had housses and chalmeres of his awin in Scotland, quhairin he wes accustomit to ludge and plesour gentilmen, and not to displace thame: And, thairfoir, in that respect and utheris, he had alleadged he would rathir concurr with us in satisfieing the King and Counsel, quhairby he mycht be frie of such a burdein. "Weill," said the Bisschope, "but quhat do ye talk of sua many peiple committit to your chairge and ministrie? Is not the peiple the Kingis, and haiff ye not your ministerie of him; so that if it pleise the King to withhauld yow, and ruel his people utherwayis, ye should be content to obey?" "We must," said he, "be content, and suffer patientlie; bot the peiple is the Lordis, and thair saulis they wer the price of Chrystis pretious blood; and for our ministerie, in the

[1] Adding, subjoining.

[2] Adv. MSS. "many infirmities."

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chairge thairoff, we haiff it not of the King, nor no pairt thairoff, bot off Chryst and his Church, and is much unlyke your Bisschoprickis, quhilk ar the inventioun of men, and so givin and taken be men!"

By that occasioun, he would haif bein farther at the mayne poynt concerneing the Governement of the Kirk by the King and Bisschoppes, and not Presbyteries and Assemblies conveinit without the Kingis licence; but he tauld him that would require a gryter tyme; yet the Bisschoppes must use sume arguments, viz., that he had studeit Divinitie for so many yeiris, he had read all that could be said and wes written of that matter; he wes ane old Doctor; had bein sua oftymes Vice-Chanceler of the Universitie of Oxford. And sicklyk Mr James told him, plainly and schortly, that all that proved nor concludit nothing: It would be stronger reassounes that would reclaime thame iff they come to the Schooles. So, upon promises that we sould come and dyne with him upoun Settirday nixt, we tuik our leive: But, befoir Settirday, one quho attendit him and us, quhom he would haiff cautiouner (forsuith) for our comming to dinner, preventit our comming, and tauld us that my Lord wes not provydit for us as yit, and could not be at hame quhill the nixt weik.

Upon the Sabboth nixt following, (for on that day the Counsel sitis ordinarly, and meit together, and on no uthir day of the weik,) we pennit and gave in to the Counsel the Supplicatioun following:

THE SCOTIS MINISTERES' SUPPLICATIOUN GIVIN IN TO THE COUNSELL OF ENGLAND THE 8TH OF MARCH 1607.

"Rycht Honourabill, and our most singulare guid Lordis, &c. May it pleas your Honouris, of your commoun equitie towardis all, and speciall courtessie usit towardis strangeres, to heir us, Ministeres of the Evangell of Jesus Chryst within the Kirk of Scotland, and undersubscryvand: That quhairas we wer brought from our countrie and calling by speciall Missive Lettres, directit from

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the Kingis most excellent Majestie, and deliverit to ilk ane of us in particular, quhairby his Heines willed and commandit us, all excuisses sett apairt, to repair to his Heines befoir the 17 of September last bypast, for the weill of the Kirk of Scotland; and notwithstanding that diverse of us wer of guid age, subject to seiknes and disseases of body, and all of us had just and weightie matter of just excuiss; yit, understanding also, by his Majestie's speciall Counseller in thais matteres, that it wes his Heines' plesoure, evin for a great benefit to our Kirk, we sould in any cais repair to his Majestie and sie his face, by the mercifull hand of God with us, all wer inableit, and presentit our selffis befoir his Majestie the day appointit, at Hamptoun Court; quhair, with all humilitie, eftir the weaknes[1] of our judgment and conscience, answering to such thingis as it pleiseit his Majestie to requyre and propoun unto us: We wer from that gratiousely dismissit to attend his Majestie's further pleisoure at Londoun, quhair diverse sort of seiknes and disseases of bodie, but meikle moir with great heavines, and grief, and vexatioun of mynd, by reasone of the chairge and burden of moir then twenty thousand saules lyand on our ministerie, besyd the numerous pure families, quhairoff, iff we sould not haif a cair, we ar judgit by the Apostle worse nor infidelis.

"We haiff, with such patience as we could, wrestled throucht the longsume winter, and now quhen, eftir many Supplicatiounes, directit with all cair, reverence, and humilitie to his maist gratious and excellent Majestie, we luikit for a comfortabill dismissioun, and sending home to our countrie, callingis, and families, we find that thair is certain Inglischmen, [calling thame Officeres and Pursevantis, directit, as they say, be the Clerkis of[2]] the Secreit Counsel to chairge us in the Kingis name to goe with thame to certain Bisschopes of the Church of England; and shawing us a coppie of your Honoures' Lettres of Requeist to the saidis Bisschoppes to ressaive us in thair hous: The quhilk chairge, baith in forme and substance, we think very strainge, being frie Scotismen, and Pastouris of the rycht Reformit Kirk, and long renowned in the realme;

[1] Adv. MSS. "verdicts."

[2] Not in Adv. MSS. "sent from," &c.

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and againes the quhilk, we haif just caus, and necessitie compellis us, to except[1] and protest, we knawing certainely that nethir his Majestie's hight honour, that loves judgment, and quho, in maner foirsaid, gratiously callit us hither, nor yit your commoun honnest equitie, the rycht and priveledgis of natiounes, substance, or forme of justice, (quhairof your Honouris ar most observant,) can or will approve the same: Lykas, the cair quhilk we carie towardis the caus of our Chryst and his Kirk, and the pure honnestie quhilk we sustein in our callingis and persounes, makis us to tak it as a punischment inflictit upoun us, harder nor either imprisounment at home, and banischment in forrain places and pairtis; the quhilk we ar assuirit that the hight honour of our gratiouse and excellent King, quho loves rycht, and your Honouris Ministeres of justice, wald evir have imposit on us: And *indicta causa*, if we haif perpetratit any thing againes his Majestie, the Estait, or lawis of the realme, justice would we sould be orderly tryit, judgit, and punischit, but if our carriage and conversatioun hes bein yit unaccusit, meikle les condemnit, quhy sould we losse our libertie, dischonour and obscure the estimatioun of our Kirk, and blott our awin honnestie, quhilk is pure?—making our selffes of our Masteris bundemen, dayely approveres of that, to the appeirance of men, quhilk our Kirk condemnis; and burdin all loittereres, feiding idille-bellies[2] at the tabillis of strangeres, haifing honnest callingis, provisioun and housses, quhairby to live as Pastouris of Congregatiounes and fatheres of families at home. As tuiching thais imputatiounes, quhilk we haiff not givin satisfactione to his Majestie, (as far as we could,) as his Hightnes expectit, and that we hould opiniounes repugnant to the guid Governement of the Kirk, we haif truely indevourit,[3] boith by word and wrytt, to satisfie his Majestie as we could, and sould we satisfie forder nor our consciences or judgementis affordeth?[4] Iff it pleis your Lordschipis, we would most glaidly understand quhilk ar thais opiniounes we hould repugnant to the guid Governement of the Kirk of Scotland, to the end, that if thair be any such, (quhairoff we knaw non,) at his Majestie's com-

[1] Adv. MSS. "object." [2] *Ib.* "like bellie-gods." [3] *Ib.* "laboured." [4] *Ib.* "assenteth."

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mand, by admonitioun of our awin Kirk, we may abandoun the same, and not trouble the Lord Bisschopis of England.

"We haif forder to regrait [and] caus to bewaill the heavie seiknes of sume of us, the languischeing mynd of us all, to say nothing of the great chairge we ar at, with great greiff to remember the impairing of our estait at home, haifeing attendit his Majestie's plesoure thais sevin monethis: But commending all to the wyse consideratioune of your Honouris' universalie rememberit[1] discretioun, integritie, equitie, courtesie, and merciefull dealling, we will no longer detein your Honouris; but, in the great occean of our sorow and greiff, desyris to be fred of the danger of the imminent tempest upon the appeirance of safetie in seiking that heavin of your Honouris' compassioun, quhair so many hes bein safeit from schippwrack; namely, becaus it hes plesit his Majestie to give directioun to your Honouris annent our matteres, nowayis, as we ar persuadit, to prejudge the priviledges, and fridome, and liberties of our natioun. In the name of the Almychtie God, and for the caus of the Lord Jesus Chryst, quhom all your Honouris doe love and feir, and quhois Messengeris and Ministeres we ar, doe intreat and beseich your Honouris, in all dewtifull submisse reverence, that by your mediatioun and intercessioun with his most clement, and most gratious Majestie, sume relieff of thir our present misereis may be obteinit, and we dismissit and sent home, to the confort of our flockes and families, thair to pray to God incessantly for his most excellent Majestie, his Quein and Royall progenie, for yow the Lordis of his most honourabill Counsel, for the mantinence of his Hightnes' kingdomes and dominiounes in peax and unitie, in Jesus Chryst: To quhois grace and merciefull protectioun we committ your Honouris. Houpeing to heir quhat guid respect it sall pleise your Honouris to haiff of our Supplicatioun, We rest, your Honouris' pure Supplicantis,[2]

"JAMES BALFOUR. JAMES MELVILL. WILLIAM WATSOUN.
ROBERT WALLACE. ADAM COLT. WILLIAM SCOTT."

[1] Adv. MSS. "renouned."

[2] *Ib.* "humble servants."

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The Supplicatioune wes takin by the Counsell out of the Erle of Salisberrie's hand, and deliverit to the Archbisschope, to make answer to the samyne; quho sent for tuo of our number to cume and speik with him. So Mr James Melvill and Mr William Scott went to Lambeth, on Mononday the seventh of Marche. The Archbisschop puting all out of the chalmer but us alone,[1] laying his capp, quhilk wes turnit, asyd, with great reverence did schaw us that the Kingis Majestie, letting us and the Counsell to understand that it wes not his plesoure yit that we sould be licenceit to goe home to Scotland; and willing us to be weill interteined in the mein tyme, had requyrit the Counsel to direct us to sume of the principall of the Clergie, as most fitt to intertein men of our calling; thairfoir, the Counsel directit Lettres to sume of the Bisschopes to recommend us to thame, and that the Messengeres sent us wer not Pursevantis to chairge us, bot servantis to the King and Counsel, appoyntit to be our convoy to such places quhair we sould be weil ressavit and interteinit: But if either the servantis, quhilk, eftir the commoun sort, mycht be rude and indiscreit, had usit us uthirwayis than became, or that we feirit that the Bisschoppes, to quhom we wer recommendit, wald not lovinglie ressaive us, and use us kyndlie and curtesely, let him knaw it, and he sould remeid it, and be warrantabill for the samyne.

Our answer wes, "We could accquyt[2] nowayis his Majestie's Counsellis' cair and courtessie towardis us bot by our poore prayeris; yit, sieing no injurie wes worse nor compulsatorie courtessie, iff it wes his Majestie's counsel[3] we sould stay longer, we would wisch it wer his Majestie's pleisoure also to suffer us to continowe and attend his Majestie's leasure upon our awin coist and chairge, as we had donne sume[4] monethis, and not to truble such men, quhom to we could neither be pleisaunt ghaistis, nethir they pleisand hostis to us: We wer men that had honnest housses and tabilis of our awin, according to the faschioune of our awin countrie, and con-

[1] Adv. MSS. "bot his own page." [2] Requite, repay. [3] Adv. MSS. "pleasure." [4] *Ib.* "sevin."

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ditioun of our callingis, quho wer accustomit to give moir meit nor to take, and diverse of us agit, seiklie, and disseasit, to quhom it wer not fitt to tye to the dyatis of uthiris, nor that men of such honour and worschippe sould be trublit with; for it is evident that quhair oppiniounes differes thair affectiounes can not be sound."

"Trewlie," sayes the Archbisschope, "ye speik truth and lyk honnest men, as ye ar; and I doe think, my Breither, that the Bisschoppes would haif litle pleisoure of yow, except to pleisoure the Kingis Majestie; for our custòme is, eftir our serious matteres, to refresche our selffis ane hour or two with cairdis and uthir games after mailis,[1] and ye are mair preceis; but it wer guid the King sould be satisfieit to further his Royall indevour to unite us togider in one Kirk and Policie." "We doe think the same," say we, "sa that the ground of the Unioune, quhilk is the truth of Godis Word, and fundamentall lawis of equitie and pollicie, be keipit; but quhair a Kirk and Kingdome is solidlie and of long standing buildit on thais, it is dangerous to seik ane alteratioun, and thair is no Unioun can be maid to stand sure without that; for, the ground being schakin, will mak of that[2] tuentie peices."

"I knaw your meineing, Mr Melvill," (sayis the Bisschope,) "by the Lettre sent to Mr Ashely, quhilk I haif in my pocket now; but we will not reassoun that matter: But I am sure we doe boith hauld and keipe the trew groundis of Religioun, and are Britherine in Chryst, and sua sould behaif our selffis one towardis ane uthir. Our difference is only in the Governeing of the Kirk and sume ceremonies; but I understand, since ye come from Scotland, your Kirk is alwayis[3] brought to be one with ours in that alsoe; for I am certiefieit that thair is Constant Moderatoris appoyntit in your Generall Assemblies, Synodis, and Presbyteries, evin as I am highest under the King in this Kirk, and yit am nothing above the rest of my Brither, the Bisschoppis, but in pain and travel; so that I wes in a bettir estait quhen I wes but Richard Bancroft, evin as ane Standing Moderator of that Generall Assemblie, or as Maister

[1] Meals. [2] Adv. MSS. "one." [3] *Ib.* "almost."

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Patrick Galloway, or sic utheris as ar in Scotland; and in every Province and Dyosie thair is a Bisschoppe, a Moderator of a Chapter, or a Presbyterie, answerabill all to the King," &c. Mr William Scot beganne, upon this, a wise and solid conferrence and discourse, saying and laying sic groundis as mycht beir upe a suir and graiv worke; and making mentioun of our dewtie to Chryst and a guid conscience. The Archbisschope smyling, and chapping[1] on his arme, said, "Tush, man! Tak heir a coupe of guid seck!" And sua, filling the coupe, and haulding the napkin in his hand him self, he maid us drink. And it being now lait, and neir sex houris of the clock eftirnoone, eftir many guid wordis and fair offeris of all he could doe at the Kingis hand for us to obtein our libertie, he sent us away; and we wer no moir trublit with that matter of goeing to Bischopis againe.

Againe, the 26 of March, a Messenger of his Majestie's Chalmer come to the Deane of Paulis hous to Mr Andro Melvill, quho eftir uttering of his commissioun by word and writ, and subscryvit the chairge following:

"Mr Melvin,—I am commandit by the Lordis of his Majestie's Privie Counsel to cum to yow, and goe with yow to my Lord Bisschoppe of Winchester, by thair commandement, becaus it is his Majestie's plesoure, that thair ye sould remaine for a tyme, till his Majestie's plesoure be farder knawin: And so rest your self contentit to goe with me, being one of the Messengeres of his Majestie's Chalmer. By me,

"William Watertoune."

Mr Andrew thought this a warrand guid aneucht to leive the Deane of Paulis hous; but he wes not trubleit with this Messenger eftir this; and so forgott to goe to his appoyntit Bisschope, but keipit on with us all Marche and Apprill.

The proceiding of the Synod at Perth, [Fife,[2]] Aprile 8, 1607, wes come to Court; and, thairfoir, heir to be registrat:

[1] Tapping, patting. [2] Univ. MS.

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[PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYNOD OF PERTH,[1] APRIL 8, 1607.]

"The Synod of Perth hauldin within the Kirk thairoff. Mr William Row maid the doctrin upon the seventh of Amos, concerneing the Bisschoppis of Bethel,[2] quhairin he solidlie and touchingly handlet matteres present. The Lord of Scoone, Commissiouner from the King, desyrit the Assemblie to stay a quhill upon him till he might be at leasur eftir dinner; but they, keipeing the order, proceidit to the electioun of the Moderator, and haifing gatherit the voitis of tua Presbytries, word goes to my Lord, quho, cumming in haist, complanit they had done him wrong that stayed not till he had produceit his Commissioun. It was ansuerit that the Moderator, quhois office it wes to ressaive Commissiounes, wes not yit chosin, and thairfoir would proceid. He began to boast[3] that he would stay and dischairge the Assemblie if they would not reid his Commissiounes, quhairof he had tuo; the one from the Counsel to himself, the Lord Halirudhous, the Lairdis of Balwaird, Balmanow, and ane uthir from his Majestie to him and Mr James Nicolsoun, quho wes not present. The Commissioune bure to sie four Constant Moderatoris of the Presbyteries put on leit, according to the ordinance of the Generall Assemblie. The Assembly craivit the sight of that act, quhilk could not be produceit, and thairfoir they could give no answer thairto. Moirovir, they schew that diverse of thair number, quho wer at the Conventioun of Lithgow, declairit that they hard not sic a thing mentiounit, let be inactit;[4] only Mr Alexander Lindsay (eftir a Bischoppe) said, 'It wes anis castin in at the tail of ane uthir matter, he knew not how.' One askis him, 'Iff confusitlie?' 'Yes,' couth[5] he. Quhilk gaiff ane occasioun of lauchter, that sic confussioun sould trouble thame! Quhen all this wes done, Scoone wald not suffer thame to proceid; how-

[1] Univ. MS. inaccurately reads "Fyff." [2] It is probable that Mr William Row insisted chiefly on Amos vii. 13, "Prophesy not again any more at Beth-el: for it is the King's Chapel, and it is the King's Court." [3] Threaten. [4] Adv. MSS. "much less then actit." [5] Quoth.

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beit, in all humilitie and sober maner, they intreitit him not to disturbe the meittingis of God's servants, nor bring sic a scandel on the contrie, and sua upoun himself; yit he persistit, and usit menaceing and boasting, repeiting evir, they should not make Lawristoun[1] of him! The Assemblie, weirieit, referrit him to tak advysment that nicht to a bettir resolutioun, and offerit any of the Breitherin he pleisit to conferr with him, aftir humble prayer to God, with great earnestnes, and motioun for strenth and courage, they dissolvit.

"Upon the morne, Scoone wes cum west,[2] and would neidis dischairge the Assembly, affirmeing that he had power so to doe; and so bringis in his secret Commissioun, givin to him and a Reverent Father, James Bisschop of Dunkeld. This wes Mr James Nicolsoun, quhom to heir so nameit, the Assemblie wes all astonied, and cryeit out, 'It wes not credibil that that man, quho had bein so farr againes that corruptioun all his tyme, and utterit himselff so to be, at the Conventioune of Lithgow last past, quhair he wes Moderator, sould carie that title and stile; or, iff he did, it did not become a Reverend Father to reverence the Kingis Majestie's commandement in assisting and ovirsieing that Assemblie!' Yit the Commissioun wes red, beiring that they sould tak heid that thair sould be nothing done in that Assemblie contrair to the Kingis Majestie's intentioun; and that the thingis done at the Generall Assemblie conveinit last at Lithgow sould be obeyit, and na wayis impugnit, else[3] they sould oppone thamselffis thairto: And, thairfoir, sieing they would proceid in the contraire, he would dischairge the Assemblie.

"They schew him he had no warrand, and his Commissioun careit no such mater. If it sould pleis him to mak oppositioune by

[1] This allusion is to Sir Alexander Straiton of Laurenstoun, Knight, one of the Commissioners for the Union of England and Scotland, July 11, 1604, who frequently occurs in the preceding parts of the Continuation to the present volume. A Letter of Gift and Pension for all the days of his life of the blench-duty of the lordship of Scoon, extending to 1000 merks, was ratified to him by Parliament, July 11, 1606. He was appointed to represent the King in all Ecclesiastical Judicatories. See *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, II. 495, *n*.

[2] Adv. MSS. "becomes worse."

[3] Otherwise.

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reassoune, it sould be answerit[1] or obeyit. The questioun wes thairfoir movit,[2] Quhither they sould proceid according to the old maner establischit and confirmeit by law and custome, or alter according to the alledgit new act, quhilk wes justlie doubtit of, and could not be produceit? It wes concludit by uniforme consent of thame all, except ane singular man, Archibald Moncreiff, that they should keipe thair old[3] forme; quhereat Scoone ragit without reassoun, cryeing for the Bailyies to remove thame. They, nothing movit at his boastis,[4] first askit his conjoinit[5] Commissiouneris foirsaid, if it wes thair will to dischairge the Assemblie? They answerit, They had no such Commissioune. Nixt, they gravely chairgit Scoone, in the name of the Lord Jesus Chryst, by quhois power and auctoritie they wer conveinit, not to truble that meitting; appealing him befoir the tribunall of God, and remembering him quhat judgments of God had lighted on those quho had bein disturberes and troubleres of the Kirk in tymes bypast, nameing to him diverse quhom he knew; but he in a furie knocking on his breist, exclaimit, 'Thair is no Jesus heir!' For the quhilk, ethir his miserabill confessioun if he meinit of himselff, or blasphemie if he spak of the Assemblie, conveinit and fensit in the name of Jesus Chryst, by the Word and prayer, they with power rebuikit him every ane, as God ministerit grace, that he wes so perplexit and daschit that he had not a word to speik! At last he beganne to use violence, and to pull the catallogue out of the Moderatoris hand, quho said to him, 'Ceis, my Lord, we will not be boistit[6] from doeing of our office under the Lord Jesus Chryst, for we ar his servantis and guid-fellowis too: Think not your terroris will move us!'

"So, notwithstanding he raigit, the Moderator wes chosine, Mr Henrie Livingstoun, quhom Scoone preissit[7] to haif had out of the chyre, sitting doune himselff in the same, and dischairgeing Mr Henrie from using that office: Quho answerit, He wes chosine and chairgeit thairto be a greatter, evin the voyce of Chrystis Kirk,

[1] Adv. MSS. "reasoned." [2] *Ib.* "askit." [3] *Ib.* "owne." [4] "Threats." [5] *Ib.* "fellow." [6] *Ib.* "debarred." [7] *Ib.* "promised."

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quho wes Chrystis awin voyce; and, thairfoir, would obey [Him.] As for the chyre, and high place or heid of the boord,[1] it wes a thing indifferent; let his Lordschip keipe it, if he would sit at the table amongis his Brither! Then Scoone commandit his men to pull away the burd: And the Moderator with the Britherin goeing to prayer, according to the order, Scoone disturbis them, and preissing to overthrow the tabill upoun thame, pulling away the stulis, and cryeing for the Baillies, lyk ane mad man! Nochtwithstanding, they enterit into prayer, and with great motioun continowit thairin, that mycht haif maid the man afraid and aschamit of his godles barberity! The Bailyies cummes; he commandis thame to ring the commoun bell, and remove thais rebellis! The Baillies said they could not, without advyce of the Counsell, quhilk they would goe and convein, but they returnit not againe. The Assemblie proceidit according to the order, and removes the Presbytrie of Perth forth for tryel; upon quhom Scoone lockit the doore, and closes thame out; but they, getting entres to a loft,[2] signifieit to thair Brither thair presense from that place; and so proceidit in tryel till nine[3] of the clock, the hour at quhilk they sould dissolve; appoynting to meit againe at ten houres.

"Returneing againe to the place, they fand all the dores closit and shutt. The Baillies come and schew thame that Scoone had done so, and takin the keyes with him, againes thair will and consent; quhairfoir, they wer willing the Assembly sould tak documentis, and thairby offerit to thame another house to sitt in. They answerit, That sieing they wer excludit out of Godis hous, they would make all the world knaw it, that the thing quhilk they did might abid the lycht off the sunne! So, resolveing to sitt at the Kirk-doore, thair wes brought to them with diligence boordis, furmes, and stooles anew; and thair, with great confluence, men regrateing, women weipeing, and curseing the instrumentis of that disturbance of the servantis of God in doeing of thair office, being

[1] Board, table. [2] Gallery. The Adv. MSS. read "to the queer," that is, to the choir or quire of the Church. [3] Adv. MSS. "eight."

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verie graifely and orderly sett downe with great attendance and silence, the prayer wes wonderfully, and powerfully, and movingly conceivit. Thaireftir the Moderator sayis, 'This is the fruit of thir Meittingis at Lithgow! Let us sie quho hes admittit Moderatoris not of thair awin choyseing in any of our Presbytries?' None was found but Perth, quho shew how they wer urged thairto, and wer willing to be censureit thairfoir, and injoynit: 2*dly*, Sieing it is said that the Brither deteineit in England holdis opiniounes againes the Governement of the Kirk, they would declair thair judgment[1] with thame, appoyntit a confortabill Lettre to be written to the said Britherin, with all humble Supplicatioun to the Kingis Majestie to send thame haim: 3*dly*, Leist the Presbytries sould be tempted with prievy Lettres, they maid chuse of thrie Commissiouneris to the Generall Assemblie, (quhilk they supposit sould be hauldin at Edinbruche the last day of July nixt, as wes apoyntit at Lithgow,) out of ilk Presbytrie: And, *last*, because Scoone had boastit[2] to chairge thame befoir the Counsel, they appoyntit foure[3] of thair number to await on the first Counsel day, and to complaine upon him for his blasphemie, disturbance, and violence. And so they depairted with great joy and contentment, thanking God for his most gratious and confortable assistance.

"The redres quhilk we gatt at the Counsel wes the denunceing to the horne of the most pairt of thame, speciallie those of thame that dissobeyit the Kingis Commissiouner, as namely of us, Mr Williame Rowe, quho wes much sought for, to be apprehended and imprissouneit; so that he was faine, with many foule steppis, to lurk heir and thair amongis his freindis; but evir with courage and great edificatioune[4] quhair he come."

The 23 of Apryl wes St George day, quhilk wes keipit at Court with great superstitioun and vainitie: The report quhairof comeing to the eares of Mr Andro Melvill, his spirit was irritat and much incensit within him, as wes Paulis, quhen he saw the citie of

[1] Adv. MSS. "agreement." [2] Threatened. [3] Adv. MSS. "some."
[4] *Ib.* "exultatione."

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Athenes full of idolatrie. On quhilk occasioun he made the verses following :

[VERSES BY MR ANDREW MELVILL.]

Andreas, Christi divinus Apostolus, est qui
Nunc Scotos ritus signat Apostolicos :
Armenijs, (ut fama,) Georgius, Hæresiarcha,
Nunc Anglos ritus signat Apostolicos.
Signa, Andreæ, ergo sunt nullo Georgi ?
Undique Apostolicis, millibus Apostaticis !

[*Translated thus :*]

Saint Andro, Chrystis Appostle trew,
Does signe the Scotismenes ritis ;
Saint George, Armenian Heresiarch,
The Inglischmenes delytis.
Let Scotismen, thane, hauld fast the faith !
That is holie[1] Appostolicke,
Howbeit that Ingland keipes the cours
That Papistis[2] Apostaticke.

Upon the 26 of Appril, being the Sabboth day, betymes, in the morneing, being foulle, ane of my Lord[3] of Salisberrie his men cume to Mr Andro Melvill, lyand at Bow, tuo mylis from Londoun, in Mr Somaris house, and verie courteouselie intreatit him, in his lord and maisteris name, to come to the Court at Quhythall, to my Lordis chalmer, at nyne of the clocke, quhair my Lord wald talk with him ; beseiking him to mak no stay, for my Lord wald attend his comeing. Thairfoir, Mr Andro makis him self readie with diligence, thinking it wes in freindschippe, and that, eftir conferrence, my Lord would bid him to dinner. Cuming from his chalmer to our ludging, quhair, we nocht being ready, told us, he must goe to Court, and would schortly stay to break his fast ; but haifing

[1] Adv. MSS. " whollie." [2] *Ib.* " That is whollie." [3] *Ib.* " of the yeomen of the Earle."

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borrowit the horse of his hoiste, he with his men postit away to Court. Eftir the custom, Mr James Melvill had said ane word to him, "Tak heid that your biding to diner be not a new calling befoir the Counsel!" Mr William Scot, Mr Robert Wallace, [and] Mr James Melvill, followit on fut, and, taking the first convenient boiteing, com by watter to Westminster, quhair, a little eftir elevin of the clock, he come to the hous out of the Palace to James Archesoune's hous, and tauld us how he waittit in a gallerie befoir the Erle of Salisberrie's chalmer since nyne a'clock; and, sieing the Erle and all going to dinner, and he left alone, come to dyne with us: And quhill our buird coverit,[1] and the meitt put thairon, he uttirit to us ane excellent meditatioun, quhilk he had walking in the gallerie, on the second Psalme, joyneing thairwith prayer; quhairby we wer all muche movit; accounting the same in place of our Sabboth foirnoone's exercise, endit, and, sitting doun to dinner, he rehersit his St Georgis Verses, with vehement invectioun againes the corruptiounes and superstitiounes of England. Thairfoir, his cousine Mr James sayes to him, "Remember Ovidis verses:

"Si saperem doctus odissem jure sorores
Numina cultori perniciosa suo!"

His answer wes in the verses following:

"Sed nunc tanta meo comes est insania morbo
Saxa demens refero rursus addicta pedem."

"Weill," sayis his cousine, "eit your dinner, and be of good courage, for I sall warrand yow ye salbe befoir the Counsel for your Verses." "Weill," sayis he, "my heart is full and boldenit,[2] and I will be glaid to haif ane occasioun to disburdein it, and speik all my mynd plainely to thame for the dishonouring of Chryst, and wraik of sua many soulis for their doeings; be the beiring doun the sin-

[1] Adv. MSS. "table wes drest to dinner." [2] *Ib.* "faint and burdened, and I would."

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ceritie and fridom of the Gospel, stoping that healthsome breath of Godis mouth, and maintaining of the Papistis' corruptiounes and superstitiounes." "I warrand yow," sayis Mr James, "they know yow will speik your mynd friely; and, thairfoir, hes concludit to make that a meines to keip yow from going home to Scotland." He answered, "Iff God hes ony thing to doe with me in Scotland more, He will bring me home to Scotland again iff he haiff any service for me: Giff not, let me glorifie him, quhidder or quhairevir I be; and as I haif said often to yow, cousine, I think God hes sume pairt to play with us on this theatre!" We had not half dyneit quhen one comes to him from Lord Salisberie; to quhom he said, "Sir, I waitted longe upon my Lordis dinner till I waxed verie hungrie, and could not stay longer.[1] I pray my Lord to suffir me to tak a lytle of my awin dinner!" That messenger wes not weill gone quhill[2] againe comes another; soone eftir that, Mr Alexander Hay, the Scottish Secretar, telling him that the Counsel wes long sett, attending him. At the heiring quhairoff, with great motioun, raysing, he prayit; and, leiving us at diner, (for we wer expressely chairgit that we come not within the Palice,) went with Mr Alexander Hay, with great commotioun of mynd. This wes sone eftir tuo of the clocke.[3] About three, one of our men, quhom we sent to attend at the Counsel doore, comes to us with tearis, and schew us that he wes carieit direct from the Counsel, by watter, to the Tour. We followit with dilligence, yit could not meit with him by the way, neither could we get accesse to him by any meines.

Upon the 6 of May, the rest of us gettis a Lettre from Mr Alexander Hay; the tennor quhairof followes:

"Siris, I am directit to mak intimatioune of thais Warrandis to yow. I am forcit my self to mak personal attendence. I haif directit the beirer to schew yow the principallis, quhilk he must returne, and leive the coppies of thame with yow. I am sua directit. I would wisch the giving to yow of moir contentment than thais

[1] Adv. MSS. "came then away." [2] Until. [3] Adv. MSS. "in with the messinger, about twelve a'clock."

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Warrandis affordis, wer it in my power; and without trubling of yow, I rest,

"Youris evir to his power,
"The 6 of May, 1607. ALEXR. HAY."

THE COPPIE OF MR JAMES MELVINE'S CHAIRGE, QUHO ONLY WES CONFYNIT AND DETEANED IN ENGLAND WITH HIS UNCLE, MR ANDRO.

"JAMES REX.—It is our plesoure and will, and we command and chairge yow heirby, Mr James Melvin, Minister, that upon intimatioune of thais presentis unto him, and within aucht dayes thairefter, he depairt out of the citie of Londoun and liberties of the same, and repair with all convenient speid to our burght of New Castel upon Tyne, within our contrie of Northumberland, and thair to mak his stay and abod; and no way to depairt furth thairoff, and tuo[1] myles about the same, under the paine of rebellioun, and putting him to our horne; certifieing him thairby, that if he transcend his limitit boundis, that lettres of horneing salbe direct to denunce him our rebel, and to escheit and inbring all his moveable goods to our use, &c. Givin att our court at Quhythall, the 10 of May 1607.

(*Sic subscribitur,*) "MARR. DUMBAR. SECRETAR."

Mr James Balfour ressavit the lyk chairge to goe home to Scotland, and to be confynit at Cockburnispathe; Mr Robert Wallace, in lyk maner, to goe home and be confynit at Lawder; Mr William Watsoun, within his awin paroche at Bruntiland; and Mr Adame Colt, within his awin paroche at Mussilburght; Mr William Scot, as Mr Johne Carmichel befoir, upon great meines maid, (becaus of the bodily[2] diseasse of his wyff,) gat license to goe home to his paroche at Cowper in Fyfe, providing he did returne a testi-

[1] Adv. MSS. "ten."

[2] *Ib.* "deadly."

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moniall of his guid beheaviour from the Bisschop of Saint Androis, and sume uthiris, uthirwayis to turne back to Londoun befoir the 15 day of July. So the rest taking jurnay, they depairtit hamewairdis, leiving Mr James Melvin and Mr William Scot at Londoun; quho indeavourit quhat they could for Mr Andro his releiff, bot could obtein nothing, save only that his servant sould entir with him in closse prissoun.

Mr James insistit, be all the meines and credit he had, to be licencit to stay at Londoun or thairabout, for his uncle's comfort; but at last wes counsellit by his best freindis to desist, and give obedience to his chairge, or then assuredly both he and his uncle would be worse usit. Thus much schewing him the lettres, and provyding for his necessities the best way they could, they resolvit to goe by sie to New Castel. The day they wer to depart, thair come to thair chamber Mr Snape, Mr Balmefurd, parochineres, with Mr Corsbey, a guid brother, apothecarie of calling; quho brought with him a great bag of monie, alse meikle as he could weill carie in his oxter.[1] Mr Snapp, schewing us that some guid Christianes, perceiving our long detentioun at Londoun, unprovydit for be the King, had maid a collectioun for defraying of thair chairges, and carrieing thame haime, understanding they tuo wer left to mak outred[2] for thame selffis and the rest of the Britherine quho wer gain[3] away befoir. They thankit thame, and all the guid Britherin, but tauld thame that they would haiff non of thair money; not that they despysit thair charitabill liberalitie, for the quhilk they praissit God; bot pairtlie to eschew offence, and pairtlie for conscientious consideratioun. The offence wes a commone bruit,[4] and opinioun among the peiple of England, that all Scottishmen come hither to begg, and purse upe the money of the land, and carie it away with thame; quhilk wes non of our eirrand, quhilk had sufficient to live on, according to our callingis, at haime, and wantit no credite to outred[5] our selffis out of all expenses thair.

[1] Under his arm. [2] Provision, and furnishings for their journey, and settlement of accounts due by them. [3] Gone. [4] Rumour. [5] Clear.

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[We informed] the conferrence, that, considering the great number of godly Britherin, lairnit and honnest men of thair awin Ministerie, quhilk [had] thair families bereft of thair livingis and mantinence; and charitie, in this last aige of the world, growing cold, we caryit a dispositioun of heart, rather to procure sume helpe to tham out of our awin countrie, for as poore as it wes, nor[1] to be burdeinabill to them, and to intercept that quhairoff the bestowing wes neidfull to thair awin. The quhilk thair constant refusall, with such reassounes, they heightly commendit, and gloriefieit God thairfoir. And so, convoyit with a guid number of most loveing and godly Britherin to the Tour-staires, we tuik boitting the 2 of July; and devallit towardis our schippe with verie sorrowfull heartis, becaus of him we left behind us in this danger,[2] and of the scattering and dissipatioun[3] of the money guid Britherin, so firmely joynit togidder in Chryst his caus.

To returne to the proceeding of materes, the nixt Generall Assemblie wes appoyntit by the Conventioun, haldin at Linlithgow, to be keipeit at Halirudhous the last Tuysday of Julie. But thingis not weill succeiding as wes expectit, the Assemblie, by publict proclamatioun, as in the yeir bygaine, wes prorogat; the tennour quhairoff (with a narrative most bitter, false, and scandalous, that one mycht be aneught, and too many, for all!) followis:

"JAMES, be the grace of God, King of Great Brittane, France, and Ireland, &c.: Forsuameikle as the increase of the adversaris of the truth, and contrair professiounes, hes proceidit of nothing so much as of the dissensioun amonges the Ministerie within our Kingdome of Scotland, sume of thame by natural inclinatioun, being enimies of quyetnes, and turbulent spiritis, making chuse rather to drink in mudie watteres,[4] then to taist of the cleir fountain; being imboldenit be reassoune of the societie of a great many utheris, quho, being guiltie thamselffis of thair awin unworthines and small

[1] Than. [2] Adv. MSS. "that dungeone," viz., the Tower of London, from which they were then preparing to embark. [3] *Ib.* "dispersing." [4] Muddy waters.

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giftis, and in that respect, out of all houp of preferrment, and thairupoun invyous and uncharitabill towardis thair Britherin of the best qualitie; and all of thame runne and concurr togider, lyk ane heidstrong factioun, to uphold and mantein ane anarchie,[1] and thairby to induce dissorder and confusioun in that Kirk, to the great hinderance of the progres of the Gospel, and the dishonour and scandel of the professouris thairof: Quhairupoun, We, of our princely cair and fatherlie affectioun to the peice of the Kirk, desyring rather to extinguishe the fyre of divisioun, then to suffer it to grow to ane confusioun in that Kirk; and being evir willing to bring thame to ane uniformitie of myndis and affectioun, did thairupoun appoynt a most grave, free, and frequent Assemblie to be keipit at Lithgow, in December last bypast, of a great number of the most godly, zealous, and weil-affectit, of the Nobilitie, Counsel, and small Barrounes, from all the pairtis of that our kingdome, as alsoe the most lairnit, experimentit, wyse, godly, and discreit, of the Ministerie, from all the Presbytries, in great number; by quhois travelis, caires, and wisdome, every occasioun and pretext of greiff wes in sic moderatioun and godlines removit, that as the same did yeild us contentment, so everie thing done in that Assemblie, with a great and generall applaus of all; giving great houpes that nothing from that tyme furth sould be found but unitie and concord in the Kirk, and that all thair meittingis thaireftir sould be full of peice and love: And thairupoun, by our speciall Warrand and allowance, it wes specially appoyntit that the nixt Generall Assemblie sould be conveinit and holdin at Halirudhous the last Tuysday of July nixt to cume. But We, now perceiving, that by the meines of thais evill-disposit, turbulent, and contentious spiritis, all the proceidingis in that Generall Assemblie ar brought in questioun and traduceit, and by sume, no obedience givin, and by utheris, direct[2] oppositioun maid to the actis concludit at that tyme; and thairthrough, among the Britherin, sic distractiounes of myndis and bitter exasperatiounes, ane againes ane uthir: And howsoevir the

[1] Adv. MSS. "schisme."

[2] *Ib.* "contradicted by."

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meitting of the Britherin, if it wer in love, peice, and charitie, no doubt wald doe guid in the Kirk, so thair is no questioun but thair conveining with preoccupyit mynd, fraughtit with invye and malice, wald give the enimie too much advantage to entir by that breach of thair discord and divisioun, to mak thame selffis odious, and so waikin thame: Thairfoir, We, to prevent the danger that is imminent to the estait of that Kirk by the distractiounes of menis affectiounes thairin, and that the said Generall Assemblie may be keipeit with the greater tranquilitie and peice, hes thought meit and expedient, that the haill Provinciall Assemblies within that our kingdome sall be keipit and haldin in thair ordinarie places of meiting, the fourth of August nixt to cum, with the remanent Commissiouneres of the Provinces; and that at every one of the said Assemblies thair be chosin tuo of the most godlie, peiceable, wise, grave, of the best experience of that number, with power and commissioun to convein at Halyrudehouse the 2d of August nixt to come, with the Commissiouneris of the Generall Assembly, and sic of our Counsel as it sall pleise us to nominat for that effect, thair to conferr, commoun,[1] and conclud, by comoun advyse, upoun the maist convenient remedies againis thais evilis, quhilk, for laik of sume sufficient preparatioun, mycht fall out at the said Generall Assemblie; that thairefter, the same being keipit and holdin in sic ane peiceabil and quiet maner as mycht bring true confort to the godlie, and terrour to the wickit: And, in the meintyme, we haif thought expedient, that the Generall Assemblie, quhilk wes to be hauldin be prorogat to the 24 of November nixtocum; and that no persoune presume to keip the said Assemblie in any place quhatsumevir, untill the tyme that the Commissiouneres from the Synodis first preceid in thair meiting; and we haif appoyntit the place of the keipeing of the said Generall Assemblie to be in Dundie, the day foirsaid. Our will is heirfoir, and we chairge yow straitlie and commandis, that incontinent thais our lettres sein, ye pas, and in our name and auctoritie, mak publicatioun and intimatioun thairof be

[1] Commune; Adv. MSS. "reason."

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oppin proclamatioun, &c.: Certifieing all such as upon ony pretext quhatsumevir sall presume to convein and assemble thame selffis togider, contrair the tennour and intent of this our Proclamatioun, that they salbe proceidit againes and punischit, as contemneres and disobeyeres of this our most royall commandement. Givin under our Signet, at our Court of Greinwitch, the twenty-fourth of May, and of our reigne the fifth and fourtieth yeir, 1607."

As we haiff hard of the honnest and strait proceidingis of the Synod of Perthe untill it wes dischairgit, the lyk is now to be recordit of the Synod of Fyff, of the quhilk the adversaries boith feirit and felt more oppositiounes: And, thairfoir, the Archimetropolitaun purchesit a dischairge thairof, to convein at the day appoyntit, with prorogatioun to the first Tuysday of Junij; yit, nevertheles, they met at Dysert, the place appoyntit, and that very frequentlie,[1] so that few wer absent. They wer debarrit from all meiting within the toun, upoun a very strait chairge givin to the Bailyie, and thairfoir wes forcit to tak thame to the Sandis betwixt Dysert and Rivensheuch,[2] the raine laying on about their luggis.[3] They spent thair tuo houris in reassouning and advyseing, quhither they sould keip Assemblie, and proceid in thair matteres according to the warrand of Jesus Chryst, lawis of the realme, customes and constitutiounes of the Kirk, notwithstanding the dischairge purchessit by enimies and false Britherin? It wes concludit, by pluralitie of voitis,[4] that they sould proceid in thair ordinarie matteres; but sic as dissassentit, protesting that iff we so did, thai would leive thame, and confessing the lawfullnes, usit many argumentis of expedience and prudencie. The Brither, considering that the number wald not be sufficient, in cais so many lefte thame, as also thair wes amonges thame verie many guid uprycht Brither, they, all in ane voit, condescendit to prorogat the Assemblie to that same day,[5] that wes conteinit in the proclamatioun, upon conditioun that iff that day,

[1] Numerously. [2] Adv. MSS. read "Rivenfirth." Probably near the ancient Castle of Ravenscraig, on the sands or sea-beach. [3] Ears. [4] *Ib.* "voyces." [5] *Ib.* "eight days."

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by new purchessit Proclamatioun, sould be prorogat also, the haill Britherin sould convein and proceid in thair ordinarie matteris without any questioun, notwithstanding of quhatsumevir mycht insew or follow thairupoun. It wes appoyntit, in the meintyme, that a guid number of the Britherin sould present a Complaint to the Counsel, to the effect they mycht sie great male-contentment of all the Britherin, becaus of such proclamatiounes; and intimat plainlie unto thame, that iff in cais sic forme of dealing wer usit to disposses the Kirk of hir liberties, againes Godis word and lawis of the realme, the Counsel would dryve the Britherin in [to] the snare of dissobedience, thair[by] to marr thair consciences, being compellit to obey God, notwithstanding of horneing, wairding, or quhat could insew. This Commissioun wes done faithfully: Thair bill wes heard and red in the Counsel. The answer wes litle les then silence. The thing most concludit for wes obedience to the act of Lithgow, [that] the Archbisschope of St Androis sould be placit and chosine Constant Moderator in the Synod[1] of Fyff; the quhilk act could not be produceit: Howbeit, six monethis eftir the making thairof, thair wes not yit a Province in Scotland that had acceptit ane Constant Moderator, except[2] Angus, and that not without oppositione; bot then, in end, Mr James Nicolsoun prevailit by reiding to thame the act, yit by no meines could the coppie thairof be gottin.

The second day, being the second Tuysday of Junij, the Synod of Fyff conveinit at Dysart; quhair wes three Commissiouneres for the King, urgeing the acceptatioun of the Bisschope of Saint Androis to be Constant Moderator, by vertew of that Act at Lithgow, but all in vaine; the Lord directing the heartis of the Britherin, so that, as tyrannie in the Kirk, they constantlie refuissit that Moderator, specially in persoun of sic a man as had intrudit him selff in the Ministerie at Sanct Androis, without any consent of the Presbytrie, at his first cumeing amongis thame; and he behaiffit himself since sua that they scairsely thought him worthie to be ane of that number, much les thair Constant Moderator. Mr William

[1] Adv. MSS. "Province." [2] *Ib.* "save only."

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Cranstoun did ane honnest and stout pairt, in prayer, doctrine, and haill actioun in that Moderatioun, quhairat the Metropolitan wes mychtily dashed, by [1] expectatioun, and the Lordis of Counsel, Commissiouneres for the King, far frustrat; to quhom the Bisschope had promisit that all sould be chewit meit [2] againes thair cuming! To quhom, quhen they saw the constant and strong oppositioun, the Lord of Halirudhous said, "Bisschope," (said he,) "is this your chewit meit? Me thinkis that ye and we boith ar lyk to wirrie [3] on it!" Mr James Nicolsoun thair wes put to a great pinch to mak guid the act maid at Lithgow, for all the Brither semeit to triumphe ovir him, saying, They could not think uthirwayis of that act then wes spokin by all the guid Britherin thair present at Lithgow; but that pairt concerneing the Bisschope to be Constant Moderator in the Provinciall and Synod wes false, fenyied, and forgit; sieing that, eftir so long a tyme, thair could not ane coppie thairof be givin furth; and without ane copie givin under the hand of the Moderator and Clerkis handis, they would belive nothing! In end, it wes thought expedient the Assemblie sould be continowit and prorogat to the last of September, uthirwayis thair wes lettres of horneing in reddines presently to dischairge the same; and yit thais they durst not use at that tyme. The Bisschope wes so plainely tauld that if he horneit thame, thai sould assay quhois sword wes scharpest, and excommunicat him!

Bot the Bisschope wes moir imboldenit and blowne upe with the honour he had in the Parliament holdin at Edinburgh, the first of August; at quhilk, by the speciall requeist of the King, he had place befoir the Erles: He chairgit, by the Kingis lettres, the Synod of Fyff to convein the eightein day of the same moneth of August, at Dysert; the quhilk obeying, hither come from the King four Commissiouneres to sie, without all failing, the Archbisschope placit in and investit Constant Moderator of that Province; becaus they had now, eftir the death of Mr James Nicolsoune, gottin out the act of Lithgow, under the Moderator and Clerkes hand. The Com-

[1] Contrary to. [2] Literally, chewed meat. [3] Choke.

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missiouneres wer the Lordis Lindsay, Halirudhous, Scoone, [and the] Collector, quho, by advyse of the Bisschope, had prepairit ane of his awine opinioun and faschounes to mak the exhortatioune befoir the Assemblie. But Mr William Cranstoune, ordinare Moderatour, walking in the Sessioune-hous within the Kirk, and desyreing to haif his spirit and affectioune steirit upe by heiring of the Psalmes sung by the peiple within the Kirk, (he being at his meditatioune, and finding himself movit[1] with the cloisnes of the air within the hous, and being somewhat refreshed,) he, immediatlie eftir the second bell, goes upe to the pulpit, knawing litle of any uthir appoyntit to preiche: Such wes Godis providence! And quhill as he wes sitting and reposeing thair, a messenger with a lettre is sent to him, the quhilk he tuik; and, not looking thairon, put it in his pocket,[2] haifing greatter matteres to think on. Thair cumes eftir a schort quhyl ane uthir sent, biding him cume doun, in the Lordis names that wer thair. He answerit, he came thair in a greater Lordis name, with a message quhilk he had not yit dischairgit; and thairwith names to the people a Psalme to be sunge, becaus he perceivit thame sumequhat to be astonishit. Then a Bailyie of the towne cumes to him, and tellis him in his eare, that he wes commandit by the Lordis of Counsel thair, to desyre him to leive that place: "And I" (sayis Mr Williame) "command yow, in the name of God, to sitt doun in your place, and heir quhat God the Lord will say unto yow by me!" The quhilk the Bailyie most reverently obeyit. At the last, even as he was entering to prayer, the Conservator of the Priviledgis of Merchandis in the Law Countries,[3] being one of the Counsel, cummis and reverentlie in his eare desyris him to desist, for the Lordis had appoyntit ane uthir to preich: "But the Lord" (sayis he) "and his Kirk appoyntit me; thairfoir bewar to truble his wark!" And, heiring no moir, enteres to prayer; quhairin, as in the haill doctrine and actioune following, it wes most evident that the Lord had sent him; all wes so mychti-

[1] Adv. MSS. "straitned." [2] *Ib.* "poutch." [3] The Conservator of Scotish Privileges at Campvere.

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lie moveing and steiring, that the haill people and auditorie wer astonishit, and the rest in admiratioun.

The Bisschop, and all the Lordis Commissiouneres, would not come to heir, except the Lord Lyndsay; quho wischit the rest had bein thair present, as he tauld thame. The power of that same Spirit quhairby the doctrine and exhortatioun wes delyverit, wes sua effectual in all the Britherin, that, imediatlie eftir sermone endit, they mett togider couragiouslie in the place ordaineit for the Assemblie, nevir staying for the Commissiouneres, quho, becaus they voutchaffed not thair presens to Godis Word, quhair Mr Williame, according to the order, conceivit the prayer most pithelie; and thaireftir he went out to be censurit of his doctrine, Mr Johne Cawdoun,[1] last Moderator, occupeying the roume. When it come to the voit of the Ministeres of St Androis, the ane of thame, Mr David Lyndsay, gloriefeit God exceidinglie for the notabill sound, pertinent doctrine, and mychtie exhortatioun; the uthir, Mr George Glaidstaines, callit by the name of "The Minister of Saint Androis," was found fault with, and scharply censurit for absenting himselff from the doctrine; and, amongis the rest, the Moderator himselff tould him, that "Ane Atheist could not haiff done worse!" At the quhilk wordis the great Bisschope kendelit sua in a raige of foull flyting, that the Lordis Commissiouneres wais faine to tell him that he wes unworthie to be in the number of Ministeres, let be to be a Bisschope and Constant Moderator over thame, sieing he could not moderat himselff nor his awin passiounes!

The Bisschoppis blastis[2] being blawne out and calmit, the Moderator, Mr Williame, is callit in, his doctrine justifieit and approvine, with great thankes to God; and so entering into his place againe, propounes, according to the order, a leit for chuseing ane Moderator to the present Assemblie. Then comes in the matter, all the Commissiouneres for the King standing up and schawing thair Commissioune; the effect quhairof wes, to sie the Archbisschope of Saint Androis placit Constant and Perpetuall Moderator in the

[1] Adv. MSS. "Gordoune."

[2] *Ib.* "tempest."

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Synod in all Assemblies of that Province of Fyff, according to the act and ordinance of the Generall Assemblie holdin at Lithgow. The Moderator desyrit that Act to be producit; the quhilk at last they did, causing the same to be red, and viewit, and subscryved be Mr James Nicolsoune, Moderator, and Mr George[1] Philip, Clerk.[2] They craved, according to the tennour thairof, the Bisschope of St Androis to be placit and acknawledgit Moderator. The Britherin, all in ane voyce, answerit that the act bure no such thing cleirly and fullie; and that it wes constantly affirmit by all the Brither of Provinces that wer present at the meiting at Lithgow, that thair wes nevir such thing propounit thair, let be reassounit, voitit, and concludit; and thairfoir they could not acknawledge that act, halff a yeir and moir keipit closse, and now coming out eftir the death of the Moderator quho wes thair, befoir that the haill Presbytries of the Province had advysit thairwith speciallie, and conferred with uthir Provinces also; for the quhilk effect thai desyrit a coppie to everie ane of thair Presbytries.

At the quhilk answer, the Commissiouneres seimit to be verie angrie, and said the lettres of horneing wer over-long unexecute, and the King wes but trubelit by thame; and calling for ane Officer of Armes, quhilk they had redie with the lettres of horneing, ane of thame tuik the cattologie of the Brither in his hand, beginnes to call the same, demanding every man severalie, "Quhither they would accept of the Bisschope to be Constant Moderator of that Synod, yea or not?" Quho answerit, "Nay." Than commandis he the Officer presentlie to give him a chairge to accept him, under the paine of rebellioun and putting of thame to the horne; quhilk the Officer solemnely doeing eftir the forme and order, the Britherin answerit severalie, "We will rather abid horneing, and all that can follow thairon, or[3] we doe againes our consciences, to the wrack of the libertie of our Kirk. The office is unlawfull, the man is unworthie!" The Commissiouneres thairfoir commandis him to denunce them all rebellis: But the Bisschope, perceiving the Breithe-

[1] Adv. MSS. "Henry." [2] *Ib.* "Scribe." [3] Ere, before.

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rine so stout, feiring, give[1] that iff they wer put to the horne, they would presentlie excommunicat him, as his predecessor wes, assaying quhois hornes wes hardest! He did withdraw the Lordis Commissiouneres apairt, and said unto thame, that he would tak upon him to satisfie the Kingis Majestie, and he would spair his Britherin, and sua preis to accquyre thair favour. Quhairunto the Commissiouneres glaidly according, said, It wes his awin caus, doe thairin quhat he pleiseit, they would lay the wait[2] of all on him, iff the King wer offendit! And sua, causing the Officers with utheris Lettres, quhilk wes also in readines, to dischairge the Assemblie presentlie, and not to convein again without special warrand from the King, that Assemblie, eftir heartie thankisgiven unto God, wes dissolvit.

The Bisschope presentlie wryt to the King, and informit him of all, in his awin maner; quhairby he procurit the Moderator, Mr Williame Cranstoune, to be denuncit rebell and put to the horne; and uthir thrie of the Brither, to witt, Mr Johne Scrimgeour, Mr John Caudom,[3] and Mr John Dykis, his own brothir-in-law, to be confynit within his awin Congregatioune; they nevir being citit nor callit befoir any Judge for thair tryel, were punischit thus for insolent cariage and misbehaviour.

The Synods of Lowthiane, Merse, and utheris, followit the same cours, denying the act of Lithgow, and refuissing Synodall, unchosine, Constant Moderators, quhois proceidingis and forme of doeingis wer too long to be sett doun in storie; and, thairfoir, lett us heir of thais most advyseit actis set doune at Lithgow. The Moderatoris cygnean songe,[4] the quhilk singis not indeid, far out of toone,[5] in respect of that quhilk followis; howbeit, it fast maid way to the breking out of the great damme quhilk, allace! for pitie, wes the cutting aff, in the mides of his dayis, of a man of rair, baith spirituall and naturall, giftis:

[1] Giving or granting that if, &c. [2] *Wyte*, blame. [3] Adv. MSS. "Gordone." [4] Swan-like song. [5] Not much out of tune.

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IN THE ASSEMBLY OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND, CONVENIT BY HIS MAJESTIE, AND HOULDIN AT LITHGOW, ANNO 1606.

Sess. 3, 12*th of December.*

"In lyk maner, the Conferrence, finding that nothing moir weaknit the credit and strenth of the Ministerie and Discipline of the Kirk againes Papistis, [nor] moir imboldnit the adversaris to goe forwaird in their erronius corruptiounes and courses, then the appeirance of divisioune in the Ministerie among thame selff, and the alienatioune quhilk seimes to be among sume of thame; thairfoir, for the remoiving of all eylistis[1] and schaw of divisioun, and alienatioun of myndis, ethir amongis the Ministeres thame selffis, or of his Majestie's guid affectioune and favour from any of thame, it wes thought ane soveraigne remedie for the moir effectuall supressing of Papistrie, and haifing fund and searchit out the caus of distractioun and alienatioun of myndis foirsaidis in the Ministrie, to be, pairtlie, a feir that sume of our Britherin wes of purpose, and of course to dissolve and subvert the Libertie and Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, by removeing thair Sessiounes and Presbyteries, Provinciall and Generall Assemblies, and by usurping in thair awin persounes such lyk tyrrannous and unlawfull Jurisdictioune, as is no wayes lawfull, nethir to be licenceit[2] in any trew Reformit Christiane Kirk, and to schaik off thair obedience to all guid order and comlines establischit, or to be establischit be the lawfull Assemblies, of his Majestie's consent; and pairtlie, a greiff, that sume of thair Brither wer so banischit furth of his Majestie's dominiounes, and utheris diseasit, by thair long wairding[3] and detaineing from thair habitatiounes and chairgis: And finding, lykwayes, by the declaratioune of his Majestie's Commissiouneres, and sic as wes privie to his Majestie's mynd, that his Hines wes no les grevit with diverse actiounes and formes of some of the Ministrie, sorie for not haiffing

[1] Literally, *eyesores*. drances or obstacles. The Adv. MSS. read erroneously, "the Lettis," *i. e.* hin-

[2] Adv. MSS. "tolerated."

[3] Imprisonment.

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dew regaird and cair, to use sic courses in thair actiounes and administratioune of the lawfull effaires of the Kirk, as mycht seim to intertein ane lawfull and ane solid place, peice, and quietnes, betuix his Majestie and thame, as lykwayis mutuallie among thame selff; and speciallie that the forme[1] of thair Governement wes oftentymes, and almost ordinarlie, committit to such as, for laik of experience and wisdome, wer no wayes able to keip thair estait in any quietnes or guid forme; quhairunto his Majestie imputit the cheiff causses of all the greivis and troubles that haif fallin out in this longe tyme among the Ministerie thame self, or in ony offences givin by ony of thame to his Majestie, and that his Majestie could not be satisfieit quhill this inconvenience wes first removit, and a faithfull remedie wes provydit, that the lyk quhairoff[2] should not fall out. Quhilk his Majestie comprehendit summarely in this: Iff the effaires of the Kirk sould be administrat by the most wyse and most godly, quhairannent also his Majestie's speciall Overture, as heireftir followis, was propounit:

"It is his Majestie's advyse at this Assemblie, and pleasure, that presently thair be ane nominat in every Presbyterie, of the most godly and graiff, and of maist[3] auctoritie and experience, meitest for governement, to haif the Moderatioune of his Presbyterie, quhair he remaines, till the present jarris and fyre of dissentioune, quhilk is amonges the Ministerie, to the great prejudice of the auctoritie and credite of the same, and the hinderance of the Gospel, and his Majestie's hight offence, be quenchit and taikin away; and the Nobillmen and uthiris professing Papistrie within this kingdome so repressed, be justice and executioun of lawis, [by the labours of their Ministerie, and discipline of the Kirks, that they be not able to hinder the course of the Gospell, or Scripture, and enlarge the power and credite of false religion, and that the chiefest binding of delatiounes of the saidis Papistis, and satisfactiounes for justice and executioune of lawes[4]] againes thame, be committit to the saidis

[1] Adv. MSS. "chairge." [2] *Ib.* "hereafter." [3] *Ib.* "greatest."
[4] Omitted in Univ. MS.

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Moderatoris: And that the Bischopis in thair Presbyteries, quhair thai ar resident, in ane of thair Kirkis of thair Bisschoppericklis haif this cair and burdein committit to thame, and sieing it will credibilly fall out, that in the Bisschopprickis[1] throw greitnes of pairties, and langsumnes and difficultie of the proces of the said Moderator, wilbe sometymes constrainit to reffer the doeing thairoff to the Provinciall Assemblie, in preserving actiounes of greatest difficulties, be committit to the Bisschoppis making lawfull residence within the said Province, or to the worthiest of thame, quhen it sall happen that moir nor one of thame be within one Province; in respect that his Majesty hes bestowit upoun thame moyen and place, quhairthrow they may be abill to beir out the chairges and burdein of dangerous and difficult actiounes, quhilk uthiris Ministeres wer not abill to sustein; and lykwayis by thair credit and place in Counsel, ar abill, in sic causses, to procure greatter celeritie and executioun of justice, as in such causses is requisit, then uthiris. The Conferrence, haiffing first advysit annent the taking away of the forsaid feir, and suspitioune and satisfactioune of the Greivis,[2] and willing to understand of his Majestie's Commissiouneres, and sic as had bein laitlie accquentit with his Majestie's intentiounes, and willing lykwayis to heir the declaratioun of the Bisschoppis heirannent, as tuiching thair awin intentioun and purpose in that erand: It was declairit, that it wes not in any way his Majestie's intent and purpose to subvert the Discipline[3] of the Kirk of Scotland, but rather to augment and strenthen the same, in sua far as could serve[4] for the weill of the Gospell and restraint of vyce, and to sie such eyelistis[5] and offences as in the administratioun thairoff wes the occasioun of just discontentment to his Majestie, and hinderance to the credit and auctoritie of the Ministerie among the people, and among the Ministerie thame selffis, be removit and tain away, be sic guid Overturis as is above expressit: In signe quhairof, as thair is nothing done in derogatioume in the haulding of the Sessiounes of Presbyteries and Provinciall Assemblies, so it wes nevir

[1] Adv. MSS. "Presbyteries." [2] *Ib.* "danger." [3] *Ib.* "this present Government," [4] *Ib.* "he could command." [5] Eyesores.

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his Majestie's intentioun, but that the keipeing of Generall Assemblies, at certain and competent tymes and places, was and is a most necessare mein for the preservatioune of peice and unioune in the Kirk, and exterminatioune of all heresie and schisme in the same.

"And, thairfoir, his Majestie does gratiously declair, that as the act of parliament does still stand in full force and effect for the conveining of the said Assemblie once in the year, by his Majestie's directioun, so it is his Majestie's will that the day of conveining the nixt Assemblie salbe in Edinburgh, the last Twysday of July: Siclyk, the haill Bisschoppes declairit that it wes not thair intentioun to usurpe ony tyrrannous or unlawfull jurisdictioun and power over thair Britherin, nor to ingyre[1] thamselffis onywayis unlawfully in the Kirkis Governement, or ony pairt thairoff, further nor sould be committit to thame be the Presbyteries, Provinciall and Generall Assemblies; and if it sould be found to fall out that they, or ony of thame, should do in the contrair, then and in that cais they ar content to submitt thame selffis alse humblie unto the censuris of the Kirk, as ony uthir of thair Britherin of the Ministerie.

"In lyk manner, it wes declairit that his Majestie, according to the longanimitie and patience towardis sic as happinit to offend him of the Ministry, had delayit a verie long tyme to give furth any sentence againes the Brither now banischit, still houping that be their guid behaviour, and humble sute for his Hines' pardoun and favour, his Majestie mycht haiff occasioun to schaw his clemencie towardis thame: And albeit his Majestie, being justlie provokit, wes movit to give furth his will annent thair banischment, yit he immediatly being requistit in thair favouris by the Bisschopis and uthiris Britherin thair present with him, it pleasit his Majestie to declair, that the want of his favour proceidit upoun thair awin default, quho had nevir humblit thame selfis to seik his pardoun as becam thame; in respect quhairoff, it wes thoucht meit to direct the Bischop of Abirdein, Mr Patrick Scharpe, Patrick Galloway, Robert Wilkie, John Strachane, John Howie,[2] John Hay, with the Moderator of the Assemblie, to wryt a Lettre to the said Bri-

[1] Insinuate.

[2] Adv. MSS. "Hal."

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therin, in name of the Assemblie, giving thame advyse to forme and send thair humble sute to his Majestie, for his favor and pardoun to thame, as mycht give his Majestie best satisfactioun; and that the Assemblie earnestlie requeistit his Majestie's Commissiouneris, and uthir Nobillmen imployit by his Majestie to this Assemblie, so soone as the said Supplicatioun sall cum from thame, of the tennour foirsaid, to concur, by thair credit and commissioun, and to mak intercessioun with his Hines to procure thame to be maid pairtakeris of that gratious favour, quhilk his Majestie at no tyme heirtofoir refused to any of that professioun, quhom he fand willing to acknawledge and amend thair oversight, and haif recourse to his clemencie. For the quhilk declaratioun, the Conferrence praisit God; and thought guid, that the Britherin sould be writtin unto as is affoirsaid, and be the Britherin foirnameit: And thaireftir, haiffing considerit the Overtur propounit to thame in his Majestie's name, and finding it in schaw to carie sume appeirance of novatioun in the Discipline of the Kirk, and feiring that it mycht bring with it sume inconveniencie, thairfoir the Conferrence would not tak upoune thame to determine thair advyse thairannent, quhill first the matter wes exactly handlit and reassounit in thair presens, and sufficient remeid provydit for preventing of all inconvenientis quhilk mycht be feirit to follow thairby.

"Quhairupoun a guid number of the most godly, lairnit, and wyse of the Britherin of the Conferrence, being appoyntit to reassoun ane eftir ane uthir; and haiffing exactlie, and at guid lenth reassouneit and examinit quhatsoevir inconvenient mycht follow on the estabilishment of the same Overture, It wes considerit and fund at last, by ane universall voyce and consent of the haill Conferrence, without contradictioun, that the said Overture wes boith wyse and godly, tending to the weill of the Kirk, many wayis, provyding that certain Cautiounes wer observit for preventing such evil as mycht happin to fall out, in cais of the said Moderatoris or ony of them sould either arrogantlie presume or usurpe any further powar in the saidis Presbytries and Assemblies then is cumely and lawfull for Moderatoris, in sic a caus, to doe, and presently to use,

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and without innovating or altering at thair fantasies, and at thair awin handis, the custome that the discreit Moderatoris haiff usit, and ought to use in that place, or uthirwayis to be fund remiss in propouneing or prosecuting any guid purpose or overtour, quhilk sould be givin in by the Britherin, or any of thame, to the saidis Presbytries and Assemblies, and according to the doubtis quhilk in reassouneing wer found out and feirit."

THE CAUTIOUNES FOLLOWING WER AGRIEIT UPOUN.

"First, That it be implyit that the Moderatoris of the Presbytries and Provinciall Assemblies be nominat and chosine according to his Majestie's Overtoure, sall presume to doe nothing in the Presbytries or Provinciall Assemblies, quhair they moderat, without the speciall advyse and consent of the Britherin.

"2. That the actis of the Generall Assemblie and Caveatis thairin annent Bisschoppis prescryvit, be observit, that they sall use no jurisdictioun or power, further nor the Moderatoris of the Presbytries and Provinciall Assemblies hes bein in use of, be the constitutiounes of the Kirk, befoir.

"3. In cais it sall happin Moderatoris of Presbytries or Provinciall Assemblies to be absent the tyme of thair Conventioun, then it salbe in the power of the said Provincialls and Presbytries to nominat and choyse one of the best, and wysest, and gravest of the Brither to be Moderator in that meitting, in absence of the said Moderator.

"4. Quhen the place of the Moderator in any Presbytrie sall happin to vaik, the electioun of ane uthir to succeid in his roume sall be maid be the haill Provinciall Assembly, with consent of his Majestie's Commissiouneres, if ony happin to be thair present for the tyme; and that quhen any of the saids Moderatoris sall happin to depairt this lyff betuix the Assemblies, it sall be lawfull to the Presbytrie to nominat the honnestest, gravest, and wysest of thair number, to continow in the Moderatioun of that Presbytrie quhill the nixt Provinciall Assemblie.

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"5. The Moderatoris of the Presbytries salbe subject to the tryallis and censuris of the Provincialis; and in cais it sall happin that they be found to be remiss in discharge of thair dewtie, or to haif presumeit to haif usurpit over thair Britherin ony further power nor is given thame be the Assembly, it salbe a caus to thame of deprivatioun from the office of Moderatioun; and they salbe depryvit thairfoir be the Provinciallis.

"6. In lyk maner, the Moderatoris of the Provinciall Assemblies shall be tryit and censurit by the Generall Assemblie; and if he be found ethir to be remiss in the office of his Moderatioun, or to haif usurpit any further power nor the simple place of a Moderator, he salbe depryvit of the said office of Moderatioun by the Generall Assemblie.

"7. That the Moderatioun of ilk Presbytrie or Provinciall Assemblie, with the Scrybe, being chosine, faithfull, wyse, and formall men, be astrictit to be present at all Generall Assemblies, as Memberes thairof, and to haif the Register of the actis and proceidingis of the Presbytries and Provincialls thair present with thame, that thair fidelitie and diligence may be sein by the Generall Assembly, and the estait of the countrie thairby knawin.

"8. That it salbe leisume to ilk Presbytrie to send Commissiouneres to the Generall Assembly, beside and attour the Moderator and the Scrybe, tuo or thrie, according to the actis of our Assemblies annent the Commissioun from Presbytries, if they sall think it expedient.

"9. Further, it is hereby declairit, that notwithstanding of any thing done at this tyme, the Sessiounes, Presbytries, Provinciall and Generall Assemblies, are to be observit, keipit, and obeyit, as they haif bein heirtofoir.

"10. That the Moderator of the Generall Assemblie be chosine be voit of the said Assemblie, certaine leitis being first nominat and propounit friely, as hes bein in tymes bipast.

"11. That in every Provinciall Assemblie quhair thair is no Bischope making residence, actuallie and lawfullie, and haifing the Moderatioun of ane of the Presbytries, the Moderatoris of the said

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Presbytries within the said Province being propounit on leit, the meittest of thame salbe chosine be the said Assemblie Moderator thairof, his Majestie's Commissiouneres consent being had thairto.

" 12. And further, the Conferrence haiffand examinit the Rollis of all Presbytries, to sie iff ony wer meitter to use the said office of Moderatioun then thais quho befoir hes bein nominat, to haif the delatioun of Papistis and Non-communicantis, they fand, in thair awin judgement, that the same persounes wer of all uthiris, in every Presbytrie, neirest and meitest, alswel to moderat as to haif cair of delatioun foirsaid: Reservand allwayis to the Ministerie of everie Presbytrie heir conveinand thair awin priviledge and power to nominat unto the Assemblie a meitter, if any thair be in thair Presbytrie, for Moderatioune: And, thairfoir, the said Conferrence found it expedient that the persounes foirsaidis accept in and upoun thame, presentlie, the said office of Moderatioune, and that within the saidis Presbytries *respective;* and that the Presbytries allow, awne, and imbrace thame: And, for this effect, that the saidis Moderatoris and Presbytries be requistit thairunto earnestely be this Assembly; and iff neid beis, lykwayis chairgit that the Kirk of God be not long frustrat of the confortabill effectis of the foirsaid ordour, quhilk it is abill shortly, be the grace of God, to produce.

" This Overture being propounit and declairit at lenth, in presens of the full Assemblie, everie article and heid thairoff wes with ane uniforme consent and assent and allowance of all approvit, without any contradictioun, except only sua far as concernes the Moderatoris in Presbytries, and thair continowance in thair office of Moderatioun beyond the accustomit tyme; quhairannent certain doutis being propounit and satisfieit, and the Bisschopis haifeing givin thair awin declaratioun out of thair awin mouthis annent thair intentioun and purposes, to be subject to the Actis and Caveatis of the Generall Assemblie, and to mak residence within such a space as sould be limitit to thame and evirilk ane of thame be the present Assemblie; and if it sould be thought expedient for the weill of the Kirk, that uthir meitter and moir worthie than they sould possess

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and occupy thair places, to dimitt thair benefices at the will and plesoure of the Assembly, his Majestie's consent and approbatioune being had heirto; quhairin they promiseit, if need beis, to be earnest suiteris at his Majestie's handis, lykas sume of thame declairit that they had already craveit the same of his Majestie, for the respect they had to tak away all offenses from the Brither: Provydeing alwayes, if, ather upoun his Majestie's advyse and propositioun to the Assemblie, or upoun thair awin Supplicatioun to the Assemblie, be movit heireftir to grant thame any relaxatioun of any of the Caveats, the Generall Assembly be moved hereafter to grant them any relaxation of any of the saids Caveatis, quhilk, upoun guid reassoun to the said Assemblie, mycht appear to be over strait, that this thair promise sall mak no derogatioun to the libertie quhilk the Assemblie heirefter salbe movit to grant unto thame. *Item*, it wes voitit, and be pluralitie of voitis concludit, to witt, his Majestie's Commissiouneris, haill Nobilitie, Erlis, and Barrounes, to the number of thirty-five,[1] togider with the number of one hundred and twenty-six Ministeres voiting *affirmative*, that the said Overture annent the continowance of Moderatoris, quhill the present divisioun of the Kirk be removit, and that the haill Brither be brought to that unitie of mynd and affectioun quhilk is aggrieabill with thair calling and service best to the furtherance of the caus of God, and overthrow of all contrair caussis, and the Papistis fully repressit and brought to the obedience of the Gospel, sould pass and be inactit as ane of the conclusiounes of this Assemblie; the foirsaidis Caveatis being allwayis keipeit be everie ane of the saidis Moderatoris, and the contraveineres censurit and punischit, as is befoir expressit; four only of the haill Assemblie be thair voitis dissassenting thairfra, and uthir four refuissing, to witt, for wanting commissioun from thair Presbytrie, and two being *non liquet*. Extractit furth of the buikes of the actis of the said Assemblie at Lithgow, and subscrivit by the Moderator and Scrybe thairof.

(*Sic subscribitur*) "JAMES NICOLSOUN, Moderator.
"HENRY PHILIPE, Scrybe."

[1] Left blank in Adv. MSS.

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Now, to proceid to the Generall Assemblie: It wes solemnely promissit, as we hard at Lithgow, to be keipit at Edinbruche the last Tuysday of July in the yeir 1607, [but] wes by proclamatioun as oftentymes befoir prorogat to the same day and moneth in the yeir of God following, 1608, to hold in Dundie, becaus boith the plotter and the plott wes deid and expyrit, and they wer not as yit provydit of ane new ane. But the Bisschopis, keipeing diverse meittingis, and boith sending and ressaiveing consultatiounes from Court, resolvit to mak a way, and prepair for perfyting of the purpose at the nixt Generall Assemblie be three principall meines: *First*, By a pretext of a Conferrence: *2dly*, By modificatioune of the Ministeres stipendis: *3dly*, By the Visitatioun of the Presbytries. So the Commissioun of modificatioun of that yeir wes wholly givin to the Bisschoppes, quho, be augmentatioun, wanne and allurit by diminutioun, waikinit and bure doun, and by deprivatioun waikinit the heartis and terrifieit a great number of the Ministerie, and that sua closely and sua covertly as that ane caus pretendit in publict, ane uthir wes assurit thame in secreit.

The Visitatioun of the Presbytries, by auctoritie of the Generall Assemblie, quhair they could finde any grund of the Commissioun, but specially borne out by the Kingis auctoritie, the drifte quhairof wes to lead and mak a number of Commissiouneres to voit with thame out of every Presbytrie, tuo or thrie at the least, according to the fore-provydit act of Assembly, quhairby they mycht be sure againes the nixt Generall Assembly appoyntit at Dundie. Quhilk wes espyit and weill preventit be many, pairtly by conforming all thair memberes, and pairtly by refuissing thair visitatioun; of the guid reasoun quhairof, ane exampill sall suffice.

The Presbytrie of Jedburcht refuissit the visitatioun of Bisschop Law of Orknay, for thais Reassounes:

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REASSOUNES QUHAIRFOIR THE BRITHERIN OF THE PRESBYTRIE OF JEDBRUCHE DECLYNIT THE JUDGMENT OF MR JAMES LAW, BISSCHOPPE OF ORKNAY.

"The act maid in the Generall Assemblie at Halirudhous, *anno* 1602, concerneing the Visitatioun of Provinces, conteinit ane blank for inserting the tennour of the edict quhilk sould be servit at paroch-kirkis; the quhilk edict sould be formit by thrie or four Britherin deput be the Generall Assemblie. But thais Brither nevir mett yit for that purpose, and sua the blank wes nevir fillit up: How, then, can the act be put in executioun, wanting the edict, evir a principall pairt? Evin to this houre we servit the edict sent to us, expecting a lawfull Commissioun, [quhilk wes not as yit hard be us to be discussit: *Satis est delegato asserere se esse delegatum, si non sit servicio personæ*, to caus any compeir, if the compeirance be *tum levissimo*. But quhen we compeirit, we saw the imperious edict quhilk we servit to be forgit, and not in the Commissioun[1]] it selff, quhair thair wes nothing but a blank; the said Visitor would judge himselff alone, and that without John Clappertoune, a collegue, quhom his Majestie had designit in his Lettre sent to him.

"Nixt, without the Presbytrie professing plainely that he would not follow the most pairt of the voitis of the Presbytrie, quhen it came to the censure of any particular member thairof. Iff he haiff offerit great courtessie to others, that appeireth evidently he hes cum to us *cum cupiditate nocendi* without his collegue, deput be the Generall Assemblie, without quhom he hes no power to visite except his collegue wer seik; and seiknes wes not alledgit, neither think we that the caus of seiknes expressit in the act can be extendit to causses not expressit, be reassoun that all delegat jurisdictioun *est stricti juris*, and in all odious matteres *odia sunt constringenda*; for sure we ar that it is not agrieabill to Godis Word, that the haill power of ane National Assembly sould be devolvit over

[1] Not in Adv. MSS.

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upoun the back of a simple Presbyter; by the quhilk he has not only cognitioun, bot also definitioun and executioun, in ane universitie of caussis, ovir ane haill Province of Ministeres: We would notwithstanding haiff tollerat this great absurditie, sua far dissonant from the Word, if the Generall Assemblie had appoyntit him alone. We sie, then, in it selff, it is *res plena odii, et ambitionis;* and, thairfoir, the caus of seiknes sould not be extendit: But howbeit the caus of seiknes, expressit in the act, mycht be expressit be ane equivalent word not expressit, yit his collegue's Lettre, dytit the seventh day of March, conteinit no such lat,[1] in it selff, for it must be a long-lasting seiknes and infirmitie would imped the executioun of the office befoir the nixt insewing Assemblie, that must be the reul and missour of the equivalent impediment for the Visitor to say to his fellow Visitor, quhen he hes a diseise that will schortly ceis, that he will goe to visite without him, wer but to ludificat the act of the Assemblie; the ministratioune of the Lordis Supper, catecheising of the people, unwillingnes to wander about, mention it in his collegue's Lettre, as impedimentis, the seventh of March, ar not ane impediment equivalent to longsume seiknes; nor yit had we ony warrand of impedimentis the 2d of May, quhilk wes the tyme of Visitatioun: As for confyneing, howbeit it wes alledgit and provin, yit it had not bein equivalent to the long-lasting seiknes and infirmitie of bodie. But the truth is, confyneing wes not so much as alledgit in our presens, far les proven; yea, the contrare evidentlie collectit out of his colleguis Lettre. This much for the second reassoun, takin from his singular and solid judgment, without the collegue appoyntit be his Majestie, and without the collegue appoyntit be the Generall Assemblie, as also without the conjunct judgment of the Presbytrie.

"Thridly, We say that the office itselff is expyrit, howbeit it mycht haiff bein put in executioun since the veritie[2] of his commissioun, and continuall custom of the Kirk, it sould haiff indured only to the nixt insewing Generall Assemblie, and he himselff, with the rest of the *Visitoris*, did hould up his hand publictlie, promisseing to put it in

[1] *Let*, hindrance.

[2] Adv. MSS. "be vertew."

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executioun befor the nixt Assemblie. Now, it is most evident, that fyve yeires thairefter fell out that meiting houldin last at Lithgow, quhilk he himself avoweit [to be] ane Generall Assemblie; yit he could not let us sie ane act of prorogatioun from the samyne, howbeit he craveit it; and the not executioun of his office befoir that tyme makith him not to continow in the office, but to be culpabill of negligence, for the space of five yeiris, *nam nemo debet lucrari ex sua negligentia;* the discharge not expressit makes him only to rest culpabill,[1] but the power and rigour of the office itselff did at the sett tyme expyre, ane Moderator, or any such lyke office man, howbeit the sett tyme rune out, continows still till ane uthir Moderatour be designit, becaus it is ane constant office, and thair must not be interrupt a series of Moderatouris succeidin to Moderatouris; but the office of Visitatioun is *pro re nata*, arbitrarie, as the Assemblie thinkis guid to send out Visitoris, or not send; the tyme being then not sett downe by the Assemblie, the office does expyre at the same tyme and day. And, on the other syde, to reassoun if the Assembly hauldin at Lithgow be accountit ane lawfull Assemblie, thair his office of Visitatioun ceissit, unles it wer renewit be the same again; and if that Assemblie be not esteimit ane lawfull Assembly, yit the day appoyntit by the Generall Assemblie concerneing his office of Visitatioun expyres, or at least be prorogatioun, as the Assemblie rines in nonentrie, so dois his Visitatioun.

"Fourthly, Since that act of Halyrudhous, thair is a new emergent[2] reassoun to refuisse him, for if ane delegat suspect may be refuissit, haiff we not just caus to refuisse him quho is becum a Bisschop, seing that act for schisme is sua great at this tyme betuixt the Bisschopis and the better sort, that every ane reputeth the utheres adversaris? Could we, then, without hazard underly the hazard of our adversarie cleimeing to the power of a deputie of the Generall Assemblie, that meinit nothing les then to arme his adversar with a power againes his own childrein?

[1] Adv. MSS. "comptabill."

[2] *Ib.* "inargued."

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"Lastly, Had we not just caus to declyne him quho spak with the voyce of the Antichryst? The Bisschop of Orknay, speiking lyk the Bisschop of Roome, quho said in his Lettre that he sent to us, that he would not stand to proceid againes us *cum jure et potestate utriusque gladii!* Bonifacius the Eight, Pope of Roome, of quhom it is said, *Intravit ut Vulpes, regnavit ut Leo, mortuus est ut Canis!* at the grit Jubile, quhilk he institutit *in anno* 1613, sat one day with the Pontificall robe and keyis; and the nixt day with the Imperiall sword befoir him, crying, '*Ecce hic duo gladii!*' One quho had commissioun from the Kirk aught not to imploy the secular Sword; bot the judge quho sent him out, finding the persoun disobedient, sould tak order thairwith: *Delegatus enim Judex non habet Jurisdictionem naturalem, sed alieno ex beneficio.* We can not be countit rebellis, quho, according to order and forme, declyne. *Nemo enim rebellis est qui petit quod de jure permittitur;* and how can the Secular Magistrat know *utrum bene vel male Judicium*, befoir the Generall Assemblie, that, be the lawis of the realme, is the competent Judge, haiff judgit our declinatoure? and how sould we haiff *personam standi in judicio*, quhen the Assembly sall hauld that we may seik remeid againes the pretendit Visitoris, if we be withhauldin with registratioun at the horne, or any lyk impediment? for by that mein all outgait[1] is stoppit to us for evir, howbeit we be innocent; but this our Visitor cumes neirer his awin wordis, for *non tantum ad ejus initum sed ejus motum*, is the prince's sword wailit[2] againes us. In his awin persoun, he had the Commissioun to put the Britherin to the horne, and accordingly waireit[3] expensses, directit officiaris to denunce and registrat upoun the principall lettres: Intending further, haiffing tuo swordis, he maid chuse of the Temporall, and excercisit the force thairoff, imitating Pope Julius the Third, quho did cast Saint Peteres Keyis into Tiber, and tuik unto him the Sword of Paul: He will not punische us Ecclesiastically, but will delait us to the Magistrat to be scherper handleit, saying, he would haiff his handis frie of all evil done unto us! So, Pilat

[1] Retreat. [2] Wielded. [3] Incurred.

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wes guiltie of Chrystis death, notwithstanding he did wasch his handis, and said, I am innocent! *Jam plectandi sumus, non ad ejus nutum solum, etiam licitum,*" &c.

And so, indeid, it cam to pas, for notwithstanding of all thais Reassounes, sume of the Britherin wer summond befoir the Counsel, sume horneit, and sume wairdit: Lykas thais of the Synod of Duns wer so usit, quhen Mr Tobias Ramsay, Moderatour, and Mr Johne Smyth, Clark thairoff, wer commandit to the Blaknes, only for undertaking upon them thais offices, at the comand and calling of the Assembly, and for thair standing be the lawfulnes thairof befoir the Counsel.

But now to the Conferrence. They tuik occasioun thairof, by a challange, quhilk certain upright zealous Brither had maid, whereof the tennour followis:

THE MINISTERES' OFFER OF CONFERRENCE.

"We, the Ministeres of Jesus Chryst, defenderes and favoureres of the Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, professis and declairis, that the said Discipline and Governement, as it is appoyntit be the Kirk, and ratified in Parliament, confirmit of auctoritie, subscryvit and sworne be the Pastoris and professoris of the Kirk within this kingdome, and accordingly ressavit and practisit these fiftie yeiris within the same, as most agriabill to the Word of God, and most convenient to concurre and stand with the Civill Governement of the kingdome, and for defence heirof, in the feir of God, Christian modestie, and brotherlie love, offeres to our Brither, Commissiouneres, voiteres in parliament, be evidentis of reassoun, and warrandis of Scripture, to mantein and defend the samen againes quhatsumevir they can object in the contraire; [and for that effect earnestlie desyris a frie Conferrence to be appoyntit and[1]] keipit in the CONDITIOUNES following:

[1] Omitted in Adv. MSS.

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[CONDITIONS.]

"1. That the defenderes of the said Discipline may haiff ane publict warrand and protectioun from his Majestie and Counsel, for performance of that Conferrence.

"2. That they mycht haiff a frie choyce of the persounes quhom to they may committ the manteinence of that caus lawfully in the said Conferrence.

"3. That the partie appoyntit oppounent propoune and sett doun, in schort and cleire Articles, the poyntis quhairin they dissassent from us in the said Discipline, and deliver the same in wryt to the Presbytries, a reassounabill tyme befoir the Conferrence, on the first day.

"4. That for rememberance caus, for eschewing of confusioun, ydill discoursse, [takin and callumneis that may fall furth on ather syde, all questiounes, argumentis, answeris, replyes and contentiounes, and[1]] mistaking the conclusiounes that shall be treattit of in the said Conferrence, may pas by wryt, and be subscryvit be boith the oppounentis and defenderes.

"5. That it salbe lesume to thame that salbe chosine to reassoun for boith the pairties, to tak counsell and advyce of ony of thair Brither, in ony perplexitie, or in ony particular or incident difficulties.

"6. That quhatsoevir salbe treattit or agrieit upoun in that Conferrence be deliverit to the Presbytries, and eftir they haiff advysit the same, to the Provincialis, and syne to the Generall Assemblie, ane or moe, thair to be fullie treatit and finalie concludit.

"The great consideratiounes and just reassounes moving the defenderes to mak this Offer to thair Brither foirsaid are thais:

"First, Becaus they are certainely perswadit and informit that sume of thair Brither quho ar opposit hes not obscurely professit to all honourabill professouris of all estaitis, that howevir they haif bein of ane judgment and practise with us in tyme bypast, now by a cleir lycht quhilk hes schynit to thame in thair gryt studie, thay haif found out thair former errouris, and are perswadit that the

[1] Not in Adv. MSS.

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Episcopall Governement and Jurisdictioun over thair Britherin, quhilk hes bein and is condemned by the Kirk of Scotland, is the ordinance of God; quhilk, if they can cleirly demonstrat be prooff of Scripture, in this desyrit Conferrence, they sin againes God, thair awin saull, and the salvatioun of thair Brither, except they communicat thair lycht to thame that they may walk in it; utherwayes, it wer againes all honnestie and conscience to thame to depairt from the present Discipline, quhairunto they ar bund under the greit oath of the Lord; the reassounes quhairof they ar not aschamit to avow and expresse[1] befoir the world.

"2. In the heat of thais contentiounes, the heartis, tongues, and pennis[2] of Jerusaleme Watchemen ar turnit from the enemies of the truth, and are lyk razoris scharpit and sett ane againes ane uthir, and neithir ordinar nor frie Ecclesiasticall meitting, nor wyse men to be found amongis us, to put us in rememberance that we ar Brither, the salt of the earth, and the lycht of the world; but over many of all sortis are readie to add fresch fewall to the flameing fyre of our distractioun; quhairby we and our professioun ar hurt, to the great joye and incouragement of our enimies. Quhilk evilis, and uthiris quhilk may fall out in cais of continowance, by the mercie of God, in this Conferrence, may possiblie be preventit and remeidit.

"3. Faithfull and unblameabill Ministeres ar presently pressit doun by the burdein of so many great reproches, as if they wer the only trubilleris of Issrael, and traducit to hauld and mantain Anabaptisticall opiniounes, and presentlie hes thair persounes wairdit and thair livingis restrainit, againes quhom no occasioun can be found, except concerneing the caus of Discipline and Governement of the Kirk; and it wer ridiculous that the Ministeres of God, in sic caisses, should, lyk bairnes, lay thair handis upoun thair heartis and hurt places, and cry 'Alace!' and in the meintyme seik not the lawfull remedies.

"4. It becumes no wayes the Ministeriall calling to keipe secreit

[1] Adv. MS S. "profess."

[2] *Ib.* "hands."

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the truth, quhairof they ar perswadit, and quhen thair professioun, or any pairt thairoff, is brought under suspitioun, or impugnit by a cowardlie kind of silence, to betray the caus quhilk they belive sall stand suir[1] in the day of the Lord Jesus.

"5. The order and proceidingis of our Kirk ar tryit and carpit within and without the contrie by unfriendis and enimies of the governement of the same; and by present distractiounes we ar so keipit at under, after this manner, that nethir we dar haif occasioun, nor dar we saiffely answere calumniatouris and oppositiounes.

"6. Protestand, that iff the saidis Commissiouneres and Voitteres in Parliament (now commonly callit Bischopis) sall happin to refuisse thir modest Offeres and most reassounabill Conditiounes thairoff, nochtwithstanding of the important reassounes propounit thairin be the said Ministeres, defenderes of the said Discipline and Governement of the Kirk of Scotland, that then, and in that cais, the said Discipline and Governement be reput and holdin wyse, godlie, and peiceabill, and stand unquarrelit quhill[2] they be lawfullie and orderly hard; and that thair Brither, according to thair credite, use the same as they will answer to God and to his Kirk, for the restoring the Ministeres to thair libertie and livingis; to the effect that all, in ane brotherly concord, may serve God and honour the King, and with a particular[3] cair and endeavour to procure the weill of Chrystis Kirk within this realme."

This Conferrence, craifit on baith the sydis, but in far diverse respectis and endis, the Bischope of Glasgow returning from Court the twelth day of Junij,[4] the Conferrence wes very cuningly callit and dressit to hauld at Falkland, the 15 of Junij;[5] quhilk, to the intent it mycht be thought the more frie, diverse of the Brither quho wer confynit wer delt with, and licenceit to be thair; to quhom, be the rest on that syde, thair wer tuo Lettres sent, worthie of rememberance, [by Mr James Melvill[6]]:—

[1] Sure Adv. MSS. "good." [2] Until. [3] Adv. MSS. "Pastorall."
[4] *Ib.* "May." [5] *Ib.* "July." [6] Not in Univ. MS.

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[LETTER BY MR JAMES MELVILL TO THE BRETHREN ASSEMBLED AT THE CONFERENCE OF FALKLAND.]

"The Spirit of grace be with yow, and of wisdom, and of uprycht judgment be present with yow, at this tyme and for evir.

"BRITHERIN, Haiffing understood, be the beirer, of a Conferrence inditit, and sume little of the purpose thairoff, I haiff thought guid to communicate to yow my rude meditatiounes thairannent; trusting ye will tak thame in guid seassoun,[1] albeit, I knaw, far inferiour to the greatnes of the matter [and your cleir insycht.

"Ye ar not ignorant quhat hes bein the event of diverse Conferrences and Colloquies, in matteres[2]] of Religioun, leiveing thame in worse estait; quhairupoun hes followit alwayes greitter disturbance, with greitter iniquitie[3] and trouble, as witnesseth *Colloquium Poissiaconum in Gallia*, anno 1561, quhairin Beza and Martyr were colloquitoris for the one[4] pairt: *Item*, [*Colloquium Maulbromense in Palatinis*, anno 1568, quhairin Ursinus and Oliviannus were colloquitoris on our syde againes Jacobus Andre and his complices: *Item*,[5]] *Colloquium Monpelgardense*, anno 1564, *inter Ministros Hannonienses, et Jacobum Andreæ* and his adherentis: We remember the event of *Colloquium Fontrunense*, betwixt Monsieur Du Plessis and the Bishop of Eurens: Sicklyk the Conferrence in Hampton Court betwixt Doctor Reynoldis and his fellowis and the English Bischopis, quhairupoun followis the triumphe of Barlow. And iff I remember rycht, Gregorius Nazianzene sayth, *Nunquam se vidisse bonum eventum ex Colloquiis durante schismate in Ecclesia*; the rememberance quhairof, I doubt not, but the mercie of God sall mak yow moir vigilant, cairfull, and circumspect in this siclyk caus, especially this proceiding from ane hie power, *cujus finis est victoria plus quam veritas!*

[1] Adv. MSS. "pairt." [2] Not in Adv. MSS. [3] Adv. MSS. "enmitie."
[4] *Ib.* "our." [5] Not in Adv. MSS.

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"The end of this Conferrence I understand to be tuofold; Papistrie, and for Disciplinarie controversies. In my judgment, we must not luik sua meikle to the proponeris of baith as to the Hie Disposer of all, quho only out of darknes is abill to bring lycht; quhill, as I am thinking, quhat sould be the caus that, for matteres of Papistrie, they sould seik your advyse and assistance, they haifing in thair hand the manageing of all thais matteres of a long tyme, with power and auctoritie, secluding yow, sumtymes also crossing yow in thais effairis. I conjecture two endis, the one, *ad delendam ignominiam Conventus Litgoniensis*, quhairin great thingis wer propounit, nothing prosecutit. 2*dly*, The matter being of greatest weight, carieing the caus without hatreit, of hazard, and evill-will from the greattest sort within this land, quhat reickis iff they get your pairt[1] of the burdein herein also, as haiffing no burdein on yow alreadie? But I ceis to search the intentiounes, quhatsoevir they be. I trust, in that pairt, thir salbe found no Papistis.

"As for the Ovirtouris againes thame, they are plain and manifest to all, proceeding only of the former tymes, only wanting execution; quhilk defect man be urgit and laid on the Bisschopis, quho hes the power in thair handis amonges the Overtouris. I dout not but ye remember cheiffely upon The Commoun Band of Confessioun, *anno* 1592,[2] quhilk ye knaw was a foundamentall ground laid againes Papistis.[3] Let this now be renewit,[4] and cheifely urgit to be subscryvit be all; quhilk, if it could pass throw all and by all, as it wes first devysit and commandit, ye knaw the guid it mycht [haif] effectuatit. The rest of the Overtouris I dout not wilbe reddie at hand to yow, the executioun quhairoff non urgit[5] upoun Bischopis and Commissiouneris, and I wald wish that they wer seriousely stired up againes the commoun enimies, that they would beginne to renew[6] thair civill warris: But it is to be feirit, that according to the skilfull airt, lyk fenseres, they mint and seik[7] at ane uthir pairt.

[1] Adv. MSS. "strait yow in." [2] *Ib.* "1562." [3] *Ib.* "Bischops." [4] *Ib.* "remembred." [5] *Ib.* "might be used." [6] *Ib.* "relent." [7] *Ib.* "move at and strick;" *i. e.* they seemingly aim at one part, but thrust at another.

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"For the uthir, annent matteres of Discipline, shortely I will tak up tuo thingis to be neidfull, in my judgment; the ane for preparatioun, the uthir for actioun: First, for preparatioun; let it be rememberit, 1*st*, Quhatevir hes bein forgotten in the first rowme, in lyk caussis, to witt, in humiliatioun and fasting to be urgit in our Conferrence with Bischop Law, that it being intimat to him, he may travell to mak it publict and generall; quhilk I know will not work on thair pairt, yit it salbe neidfull that they dischairge your conscience in sua neidfull a poynt to him; but let it be urgit on your pairt, in all Presbyteries, of the purpose, quhair it may not be had publictly, that it may be had privatly amonges the faythfull favoureres of discipline. 2*dly*, To give advertisment to all Presbyteries of the purpose, pairtlie to remove jealousie that may arryse; pairtly, for craifing thair Overtouris, advyse, and counsel, quhilk may be done with significatioun of the fast. 3*dly*, Propositiounes to be propouned, containeing the groundis of Discipline of our Kirk, and bakit by Scripture, Constitutiounes Ecclesiasticall, perpetuall practise, &c.; quhilk propositiounes aither may be extractit out of the Buik of Discipline, or then, according to the same groundis, cleirit by new diligence, quhairin standis *precipuum momentum causæ*.

"For the actioun it selff, thir thingis I think neidfull: *First*, That ye haiff amongis your selffis your privat meitingis, and a Moderator privatlie to be chosine among your selffis for consent, harmonie, and guid order. 2*dly*, The warrand of your meitingis to be requirit and produceit publictlie for the securitie, and the authentik copie thairoff to be keipit for your warrandis. 3*dly*, Being at publick meeting for the samene cause, Brethren have been summond, as lately ye remember the event of the Convocatione of the late Conferrence of the Brether at Hampton Court, and, lately at home, be the example of Mr Williame Rowe, and Mr Henrie Livingstoun, and the example of Mr John Murray, not unlyk preiching at a Generall[1] Assemblie; and yit wes he appre-

[1] Adv. MSS. "publick."

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hendit as a malefactor by the Guard, and put in prissoun, quhair he continowis to suffer the same for thais causses. I think it wer neidfull ye sould crave securitie for your selffis in that poynt, that the Conferrence brek not out into ane new quarreling, and troubleing yow for your former meitting, and for defence of the caus. And this poynt is not lychtlie to be passit over, quhilk I recomend to your consideratioun most earnestly. *4thly*, It wer maist neidfull to urge that this Conferrence wes frie and full, and that be calling their cheiffest memberis absent, &c.; quhilk earnestlie and urgentlie is to be insisted upoun, I mein of the absentis, and speciallie of him that is at Londoun;[1] and if this can not be obteinit, to urge the presens of Mr James Melvin, quho is at New Castell; the necessitie heirof is to be dilaited. Siclyk, it is requisit that the persounes be of the frie choyse on your syd on a full caus concerneing all; for reassoun craiffis, and daylie practise schawis, that everie pairtie chuses thair awin Colloquitouris. *5thly*, No Conferrence to be yeildit unto but by wrytt, under the handis of tuo faythfull wrytteris; for the quhilk I think [Mr Johnne Kenneir and[2]] Mr Johnne Row were the meittest: And this is the very formall[3] and cheiff matter to stand upon; quhilk if it be refussit, I think the Conferrence can wirk no guid effect; examples are recent. *6th*, Giff it wer grantit, thir thingis wald seime to be most necessar: *First*, To mak the *statum quæstionis* cleir, quhatevir hes bein obscure[4] and disguised in tymes bypast: 2*d*, To agrie upoun groundis of reassouning; the cheiff ground to be the Word of God, the only ground discernit and ressavit againes Papistis, togider with the practise of the Christiane Appostolicall and Primitive Kirk. But this I neid not to insist upon; I feir it sall haiff no use at this tyme; but in cais it come to any actioun, verball or reall, one thing is most neidfull, to witt, that a protestatioun be maid, that nothing done or to be done on your pairt may prejudge the publict caus perteining to all," &c.

[1] Allusion is here made by the Author to his uncle, Mr Andrew Melvill, who was still a prisoner in the Tower of London, at that date. [2] Not in Adv. MSS.
[3] *Ib.* "principall." [4] *Ib.* "absurd."

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The uthir Lettre disswadit from disputatioun; as followis:

[MR JAMES MELVILL'S SECOND LETTER.]

"BRITHER, Your lettre, for informatioun, full of love and sueit zeall, hes refreshit me verie meikle; and the moir, becaus I wes carefull [and] thristie: As for a challange of disputatioune, I lyk it not, neither coming on your pairt nor thairis, if it can be eschewit; for thais reassounes, quhilk I beseik yow weill to wey and considder:—

"1. They challange the disputt, as seiking the vantage, being out of possessioune, and not haifieing thair rycht publictly declairit and approvit, as we haif; and they ar seiking first to undoe us, and thairfoir movis disputatioun, quhairin they mein to be sett in the brunt of the battell against Romish English Doctoris, that retireing and yeilding Uriah may be slaine. So did the Leslies with the Guid Regent, the Erle of Murray, at the Feild of Corrichie, and would haif undone him, if he, with a fewer nor a hundred,[1] had not ressavit thame on the poynt of thair speiris.[2]

"2. Disputatione in a Kirk, quhairintill trew Religioun hes bein once plantit, hes never edifieit, bot, on the contrair, hes evir castin doun and destroyit it; becaus it wes movit by the enemie: It breideth contentioun *et studium partium*, quhilk pervertis guid ingynis, blindis the judgmentis: *Nam quid est quod non dicenda fiat probabile, quid tam verum firmumque quod non labefactat sophistica oratio.* Also it makis the will obstinat and refractorie, namely of thame that ar carriit efter error, and desyris no better nor to haif any schaw or pretence of reassoun for that quhilk thair heart is carriit efter: Examples, the Disputatiounes in France, Germanie, Helvetia, and in the auld contentious Counsel of Arrianis, Novetianis, [and] Donatistis; quhair, eftir such disputatiounes, heresies wer concludit. Remember latelie the Disputatioun of Monsieur Duplessis and the Bischops of Huruch, as also, laitter at Hamptoun Court.

[1] Adv. MSS. "and five gentlemen." [2] *Ib.* "*Vide* Hist. Bugh."

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"3. Giff disputatioun upon the Disciplin with Bischopis or Inglish Doctoris, quhy not upoun all the poyntis of Doctrin with the Papistis, as first creaiffing and challenging the samyne as they? and thairby casting all our Religioun in questioun and doubt, will find a guid entres and preiss foirwaird; for boith is the doctrin of Chryst, alseweill the one as the uthir, and we haif the lyke warrandis of God and men for boith.

"4. Let them schaw reassounes quhy they preis to alter the present Disciplin, and depairt from us, is reassounes, I say, such as are weightie and relevant, that we may justlie dout thame utherwayis to be estemit Apostatis at the leist.

"5. Thair *juramentum de calumnia vel veritate* would be requirit, quhither lyk Balaam lyk-myndit, honour and wealth offirit, makis thame to seik new consultatiounes and new revocatiounes, sieing guid Josiah hes cleirly manifestit his will thairannent, and they haif professit, preachit, sworne, and subscryvit, as the undoubtit truth of Chryst; or, rather, let tham be put to a jurie or assyse of all the guid, wyse, honnest, and godlie of the land.[1]

"6. Giff equall disputatioune, quhy is the Kirk of God in Scotland usit lyk Sampsoun by the Philistinis, intysit to sleip on the knies of Dalila till the sevin lockis of his hair, quhairin lay his greattest strenth, are cuttit aff, and then waknit with a great shout, that all the Philistinis ar upon him, to combate? Restore Sampsoun to his place again, and let his lockis grow again, and then come on!

"7. Giff [there be] a disputatioune, thair must be a judge and a pairtie quho wilbe judge; but the King or moniest voittes of a Generall Assemblie, laid and dressit for the purpose, a pairtie of foraigneres, quho callit thame to dispute againes the Establischit order of our Kirk, moir nor againes our Kingdome and Commounweill; or, quho can suffer it that is a true Christiane Scottisman; or quhat haiff we moir to doe with these now, nor thir fiftie yeiris bygain? Iff sume of our awin Ministerie be a right, and trew, and just pairtie againes us, they must be traitoris, men-sworne Apostatis,

[1] Adv. MSS. "just, godlie, and wyse in the land."

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in deid, *Quibus fulmine excommunicationis potius quam disputationis opus est.*

"8. Giff disputatioun, then, it must be, and in sua manie yeiris, and in the same forme as the Disciplin wes concludit and estaiblischit, viz., by the space of sex or sevin yeiris, and nevir ane article or conclusioun thairof pässit, but be the commoun voitis and uniforme consent of the haill Assemblie be fully and throughtlie gatherit out of all the realme, according to the rewle of the law, *Nihil magis naturale quam unum quodque eodem modo solvi quo fuit ligatum.*

"9. Giff the matter must be decydit be a plaine faught in a sett battell, let us mak the challange againes English Bisschoppis, and feght it in the middes of England; yea, evin in Lambeth, giff they will or dar, and nawayes in Scotland, becaus that ane hes bein throughly subdueit to Chryst, that other never; so, iff we be victorious, Chryst sall fully reigne thair also; iff repulsit, it salbe easie to ressaive our forces with better incouragment; quhairas ane irreparabill overthraw mycht be given us in the middes of our awin countrie, and quhairon such a Romishe[1] revolt mycht ensew, as again nevir can be suppressit.

"10. Finallie, Iff our disputatioune wer sought and undertakin, *candide, bona fide, sincere, et veritatis solummodo indagandi causa,* and, in a word, simplie for edificatioune, and not subtillie, for distractioune, then such as doubtit mycht, in all love, gentillnes, and longsufferring, be travellit[2] withall for thair instructioun and resolutioun; but being done provyditlie, polliticallie, yea, evin deceitfully, quhairas the conclusioun is allready laid and determinit, and the propositiounes, meines, and middes[3] to attein thairunto, are dilligentlie devysit and painefully dressit and platit,[4] it wer a foolishe and rasche expouneing of the cause to wrak, to yeild a disputt and casting off a suir rycht in questioun, as for any new law or constitutioun, iff equitably and orderlie they proceid. I am not affraid thairoff; and iff subtillie, and by force of auctoritie, the truth is evir the stronger, and the cause the mair advantageit; for, as ever be-

[1] Adv. MSS. "ane remisse." [2] *Ib.* "favoured." [3] Medium. [4] Plotted.

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fore, so now, Chryst, by suffering and patience, sall prevaill, and be victorious in end. These reassounes, and uthiris that of guid consideratioun may arryse heiroff, I wische and dout not but the guid Breither will expend."

M.DC.VIII.

The 15 of June,[1] the Conferrence sought be the Bisschoppes, grantit be the King, and yeildit unto by the Brither, wes keipit at Falkland. The Bisschoppes and Commissiouneres conveinit in the Chappell of the Palice, and the Ministeres, of a guid number, out of all pairtis, conveinit in the Kirk of the towne, quho chusit be thamselff Mr Patrick Simpsoun, Minister at Stirling, thair Moderator; and so, by holie and powerfull prayer and conferrence, being a little trystit, *ex longo intervallo*, they tell of the sweitnes and confort of thair auld meittingis. In end, they resolvit and agrieit all togider upoun Four Articles to be givin in unto the Bisschoppis and Commissiouneris, for concord and peice.

[ARTICLES GIVEN IN TO THE BISHOPS AND COMMISSIONERS AT THE CONFERENCE AT FALKLAND.]

"1. That the Cautiounes of the Generall Assemblie haulden in the Kingis presence, at Montrose, sould be insert in the bodie of the Actis of Parliament maid in favour of the Bisschopis, and they censurit accordinglie; as was cravit by the Commissiouneres of the Generall Assemblie at Perth, quhair the saidis actis wes maid.

"2. That the Disciplin and Governement of the Kirk, practisit and estabilischit, sworne, and subscryvit, sould continow and stand incontrollabill.[2]

"3. That the Generall Assemblie and Provinciallis[3] sould be restorit to thair auld integritie, as the most effectuall meines to beir doun thair enimies.

[1] Adv. MSS. "July." [2] *Ib.* "inviolable." [3] Synodal Assemblies.

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"4. That the banischit and confyneit Brither, Godis faithfull servantis, sould be restorit to thair awin places and liberties they had befoir."

Thais being hollily, weightily, and gravelie propounit be the said Moderator, Mr Patrick Simpsoun, in name of the hail, to the Bisschoppes and Commissiouneres, they seimit to lyk weill of thame, as most reassonabill; but said they must be conferred upoun, and agriet upoun at the said Assembly, that they may haiff the greatter weight to move the Kingis Majestie to consent thairto. The quhilk Assemblie, that it may be permittit, aucthorisit, and peiceabilly keipit, be the Kingis Majestie his licence and guid will, eftir long deilling, thir Articles eftir following wer advysit, reassoneit, and agrieit upon by all, on both the sydis:

ARTICLES AGRIET UPOUN BE THE BRITHERIN CONVEINIT AT FALKLAND, THE 15 OF JUNE 1608, AND BE THE WAY OF ADVYCE, RECOMMENDIT TO ALL THE PRESBYTERIES WITHIN THE KINGDOME.

"That the Questiounes presentlie standing in controversie amonges the Ministeres, annent the matter of Government, be untuiched and unhandlit on aither syd, till the nixt Generall Assemblie; and no occasioun givin in by privat or publict speiches, of any further distractioun of mynd; but that all, by guid counteinance, and uthirwayis,[1] kythe thamselffis[2] to uthiris, as Britherin and Ministeres of Chryst; setting thamselfes with thair endeavour, specially in doctrin, againes the Papistis, thair superstitious religioun, and proud pernicious practises.

"2. That the Generall Assembly be haldin at the tyme appoyntit, the last Tuysday of July,[3] and that his Majestie be most humbly intreatit for that effect.

"3. In the said Assemblie, the commoun effairis of the Kirk

[1] Adv. MSS. "on aither side." [2] *Ib.* "counsellors." [3] *Ib.* "June."

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salbe handlit, and ane accompt taken of the Commissiouneris givin in the Assembly preceiding, and sume solid cours advysit upoun for disapoynting of the practise of the enimies, in the advanceing of the Gospell of Jesus Chryst.

"4. That nothing that is in controversie, and makes stryff in the Kirk, be treatit in the said Assemblie, bot[1] the same be conferrit upoun in a Privie Conferrence, be sic as the Assemblie sall appoynt to prepair a way for thais difficulties; and the Assemblie to appoynt a meitting of the Britherin, at sic tymes, place, and maner, as salbe found fitt for that effect.

"5. That requeist salbe maid to his Majestie for relaxing of the Britherin that ar confynit, and specially sic of them as haif bein present at the Conferrence, that they may keipe the said Assemblie."

Now the thingis that movit the Ministeres to agrie to thais Articles wes, *metus majoris mali*, or feir of greatter inconveniences, to hauld aff evil so long as they could; for they were assureitly informit that the Erle of Dumbar, with the English Doctoris, and a great number of new Erles, Lordis, and Knightis, wer come doune, prepairit to overthrow the Discipline with one blow. And, indeed, about the end of Junij, the Erle of Dumbar come doun with a magnific Commissioune of Livetennantrie for all the North pairtis, and wes ressavit at New Castle with above fourty schottis of great ordinance, and other ceremonies apperteinand. Thair come, sum dayes befoir him, tuo Englisch Doctoris, to witt, Doctor Abbottis, Deane of Winchester, and Doctor Luggie,[2] Deane of Ripoune, who stayit upon the Erle of Dumbar at Berwike; and so went in with him to Scotland. Thair went ane uthir Doctor also by watter, ane of the Kingis Chaplaines, Doctor Major.[3] Thair message, in all outward appeirance, wes to perswad the Scottis that thair wes no diversitie of Religioun, in substance, betuix the realmes; only sum difference in thingis indifferent, concerneing the Kirkis Governe-

[1] Adv. MSS. "unless." [2] Dr Higgins. [3] Adv. MSS. "Maxwell;" Maxy.

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ment and Ceremonies. So thai sould hauld fast be Chryst, quhither under the governement of the Presbyteries or Bischoppis. They utterit also that it wes his Majestie's will, that Scotland sould stand as his Majestie left it, and England as he fand it; and, indeed, they never uttirit thair oppinioun plainely, but once in St Androis, eftir that they had heard Mr Robert Howe, out of Mr Andro Melvine's chyre, speik affrontitlie, far by[1] thair and all menis oppiniounes and expectatioune, againes the haill Estabilischit Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, for the auctoritie of Bisschoppis; for the quhilk he wes seveirlie censurit by his Presbytrie, and honnestlie and mychtilie refutit publictlie be sume of Mr Androis scholleres. It wes alsoe lairgelie talkit of, that no small soumes of money com doune to be distributit amonges the Ministeres and uthiris. To meitt this withall, some of the Brither in Fyfe did put in forme ane Commissioun, with certaine Instructiounes, and sent the same throughout all the Presbytries, that all thair Commissiouneres mycht come uniformally to stand to the Estabilischit Disciplin againes all assaultis; the tennour quhairof followis:

THE COMMOUNE COMMISSIOUNE.

"We, the Moderator and remanent Brither of the Presbytrie of A., understanding that thair is a Generall Assemblie to be haldin at B. the . . . day of C. nixtocum, in the yeir of God 1608; and, eftir dew advysement, haifing found that be the long intermissioun and want of a Generall Assemblie, alsweill ordinar as *pro re nata*, the dischairgeing of sindrie Provinciallis [of thair meittingis, the absence and restraint of sindry Ministeres of certain Presbyteries of the principall Provinces[2]] within the kingdome, the taking the libertie from sindrie Presbytries of electioun of Commissiouneres to the Generall Assemblies, now pushit and thrawin contrair to the order and forme[3] of the Kirk, the withhaulding of stipendis from sum of

[1] Against, contrary to. [2] Not in Adv. MSS. [3] Adv. MSS. "custome."

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the Ministeres, and schoiring[1] of utheris with the lyk censure, except they yeildit to the intendit alteratiounes and innovatiounes of the feirfull distractiounes of the Ministeres, the grouthe of Papistrie, and the pride and insolencie of Papistis, all orderles persounes, the great number of appeallatiounes undiscussit; and by the dangerous sequell of everie ane of thais, and of thame all conjunctly, the unitie, peace, and order, and edificatioune of the Kirk within the realme is dangerousely woundit, impairit, and hinderit; and be the doubtis, difficulties, questiounes, and dispautatiounes dayely aryseing of the former occasioun farther to be indangerit, except be the mercie of God sume godlie and wyse remedie be provydit tymeously: We haif thairfor appoyntit, and be thir presentis appoyntis, constitutes, and ordaines A. B. C. our Commissiouneres; giveing unto thame our lawfull power and commissioun to repair to the said Generall Assemblie againes the first day thairoff, and thair in our names to treat, reassoun, voit, and conclude concerneing the repressing of Papistis, Papistrie, and ordourles persounes, the discussing of appellatiounes, the setting doun of convenient Orderis, Overtouris, and Articles, annent the reformeing[2] of the Generall Assemblie, Provinciallis, and Presbytries, to the frie use of thair former liberties and priviledgis, ratifieit and approvin be law; the removeing of the present distractiounes of the Ministrie,[3] and the caussis thairof; and the searching out and putting in forme sic conditiounes off peace; as, quhairin the great God may haiff his dew honnour, the Kingis Majestie may haif his contentment, and quhairby the remanent Ministeres and memberes of our professioune may be in a godly consent and concord remitted, with express command to pas from the said Generall Assemblie to the Provinciallis and Presbytries, and ilk ane of them, to peruse the said Overtouris and Articles; and after dew reassouneing and deliberatioun had therupoun, to returne the same rypelie advyseit, togidder with thair best oppiniounes annent the convenient removall of thir present evillis, and settling of solid order for peice and concord in tymes

[1] Threatening. [2] Adv. MSS. "restoreing." [3] *Ib.* "Breither."

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comming to the nixt Generall Assemblie, to the effect that they may be concludit with brotherlie harmony and consent: And by reassoun of the saidis distractiounes and uthiris evillis above writtin, expressely prohibiting the saidis A. B. C., our Commissiouneres, and ilk ane of thame, under the pain of depositioun from thair offices in the Ministerie, and excommunicatioun, to vote or any wayes to give consent to any innovatiounes or alteratiounes of the Governement within the Kirke of Scotland, and Articles or clauses thairoff quhatsoever, haif bein intendit to haif bein alterit or innovat since the Generall Assemblie, haulden at Halirudhous in November 1602,[1] or sall happin to be intendit in this present Assemblie for advantageing or estabilishing the Episcopall Governement, quhilk is, and hes bein evir judgit be this Kirk contrair to the Word of God, or to the transferring of the power and the ordour of electing Moderatoris over Provinciallis or Presbytries, from aither of thame *respective*, and conferring thairof to any uthir persoune or persounes quhatsumevir; or to the continowance of any Moderator in his office of moderatioun longer nor from ane Provinciall to ane uthir *respective*, as the Kirk, for verie guid causses, hes bein accustomeit; and, generally, to doe no matter that in any wayes may breid, noorishe, or incres distractiounes within the Kirk of this realme: Declairing that quhatsoever they sall doe in thais causses salbe null and of no effect, and thame to be censurit and proceidit againes as is above provydit be this our Commissioun. Subscryvit be our Clerk at our command," &c.

INSTRUCTIOUNES FOR THE COMMISSIOUNERES TO BE DIRECTIT TO THE ENSEWING GENERALL ASSEMBLIE.

"First, That at the productioun of the present Generall Commissioun, and before any matter be actit in the Generall Assemblie to be houlden, &c., the Commissiouneres ernestlie desyre this

[1] Adv. MSS. "1564."

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present Commissioun to be registrat in the Buikis of the Generall Assemblie, at leist ane act maid in the begining of the Assemblie, expresselie beiring that no matter salbe handlit thairin but according to the tennour of this present Commissioun; and in cais of refussall of the ane or the uthir, to protest that they produceit ane Commissioun of sic a tennour, and thaireftir desyrit the Protestatioun, with the Commissioun, to be ingrost and registrat: Quhilk being done, let thame adhere to the Protestatioun, and publictlie dissassent from quhatsoever salbe done uthirwayes nor[1] the said Commissioun beiris.

"2. That it would pleis the present Assemblie, for farther explanatioun[2] of the Articles of the Buik of Discipline, annent the electioun of Moderatoris of Assemblie, to declair and by ordinance establishe, that all the Provinciallis, Presbytries, and utheris lawfull Assemblies of the Kirk within this kingdome, and ilk ane of tham, hes in ilk ane of tham selffis, *respective*, lawfull and sufficient power to chuse, censure, input, and remove thair awin Moderator; and that the lawfull continowance of ilk Moderator in his office of Moderatioun, alsweill of Provinciallis as of Presbyteries, in the lawfull Assemblie of the Kirk, and salbe from ane Provinciall to ane uther; and that for eschewing of iniquitie, and ambitioun, and tyrannie.

"3. That no Minister burdeinit, or that in any tyme heireftir sall happin to be burdeinit, be the Generall Assemblie with Commissioun, in weightie matteres of the Kirk, mycht be in tyme cumming dureing his Commissioun over-burdeinit with the Moderatioun, or electit Moderator of any Presbytrie, Provinciall or Generall Assemblie.

"4. That the actis of the Generall Assemblie alreadie maid againes dilapidatioun, againes non-residence, cairlesnes, and uthir corruptiounes in the persounes and callingis of the Ministeres, with sic additiounes as salbe found neidfull, be gravely recommendit to the Provinciallis and Presbytries; with express command to thame, with all possibill dilligence, to censure thair awin memberes, *respec-*

[1] Than.

[2] Adv. MSS. "explicatione."

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tive, according to the act of the Generall Assemblie, without exceptioun of persounes or excuse, as ye will answer to God, and that in ane larger Assemblie.

"5. In cais any innovatioun salbe maid prejudiciall to the present disciplin, or any wayes tending to the furtherance of Episcopall governement in any degree, ye failyie not to declare to the said Assemblie that we and our Britherin, favoureris of the Disciplin and Governement, in the face of this present Assemblie, doe offer to defend the same Discipline be warrandis of the Word of God, and to oppugne quhat can be opposit againes the same, or quhat can be said for Episcopall Governement; as our said offer at length bears: Humbly requeisting the said Assemblie to considder of the said Offer, and to insist, mantein, and stand for the guid caus.

"Finalie, ye sall tak heid that no Nobillmen, Barrounes, nor Burgessis, be admittit to vote in the Generall Assemblie, namely in matteres of weight, concerneing the Governement of the Kirk, but sic as haiff Commissioun from the Presbytries, and thairof so mony only as the order and custome of our Kirk allowis."

The samyne yeir also, Doctor Montague, Deane of the Kingis Chappell, wes promoveit to be Bisschop of Bath and Wailles, at quhais inauguratioun, Doctor Downame, Dean in the Chappell of Lambeth, maid the sermone for the mantinence of the dignitie and authoritie of the office of Bisschoppis above Ministeres; the quhilk being ane abridgment of Doctor Bilsounes Perpetuall Governement, wes thought of sic valour for the caus, that it was pennit, and printit coppies thairof sent to Scotland befoir the appoyntit Assemblie: But it wes well answered, first and presentlie, for that boith thair Bisschoppis and Doctouris wes over frank, accomptit strong for the Disciplin; and all the world saw it wes the world that blindit and miscariit thame. I say, it wes well answered, first and presently, scharplie, wyselie, and shortlie, becaus of the instant tyme; and thaireftir, at great lenth, fullie for the posteritie. So that sufficient remedies and counter poysounes wes provydit for all, save for the

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mammone of monie;[1] againes the quhilk only prayer to Chryst, to keip his awin from Balaames wages of unrychteousnes, wes found profitabill; quhilk, indeid, wes pourit out by all the myndfull of the caus. And so the Generall Assemblie, proclaimeit to be haulden at Halirudhous,[2] wes keipit at Lithgow the last Tuysday of July 1608. The proceidingis quhairof is in matter and maner, as it wes in schew and toakin for the rest, as followis:

Maister Patrick Galloway, Moderator of the last Generall Assemblie hauldin at Halirudhous, maid the exhortatioun, poynting only at such thingis as wes controvertit among the Brither, and yit to the joy and contentment of the best. The sermone endit, the Assemblie convenit very frequently,[3] so that scairselie the halff of the Moderatoris voyce wes heard. The number of Nobillmen and Gentillmen quho voitit in the Assemblie, be his Majestie's directioun, wes above fourtie; quhilk put the Brither in a great feir that sume mischevious conclusioun wes to pas by pluralitie of voitis. Diverse of the Brither schew the Moderator that that wes againes the act of the Generall Assemblie, quhilk grantit only thrie Commissiouneres to the King; but their speich prevailit not, for it wes answerit, that if they sould cast off the Nobillmen, thair conclusioun wauld want executioun: "For we," said the Moderator, "must pray and preich, but they must feight!" And so it went to the chuseing of a new Moderator; and the persounes on the leitis wer, Masteris Patrik Simpsoun, Johne Hall, Patrik Scharpe, Johne Nicolsoun, and James Law, callit Bisschop of Orknay. The greittest number of Ministeris voitit to Mr Patrik Simpsoun, a number to Mr Johne Hall and Mr Patrik Scharpe, feiring Mr Patrik Simpsounes health, (quho, indeid, hes bein deidlie disseasit, and miraculouslie restorit to health by God,) quhill as Mr James Nicolsoun, the much reposit upon Moderator of the last Assemblie, wes takin away in the middes of his dayes marvelouslie, so that none of the best Ministeres gave voit to the Bisschop; and yit, be the numberis of Erlis, Lordis, Knychtis, and Gentilmen, sent thair of purpose be

[1] Money. [2] Adv. MSS. "Dundie." [3] Numerously.

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the King, the Bisschop Law wes imposit Moderator rather then chosin; and howbeit all the Nobillmen and Gentillmen, Bisschoppis, Commissiouneris, and thair adherentis, voitit to the Bisschop Law, yit a number of the best of the Ministerie pingled[1] them; so that, iff they had not bein devydit becaus of Mr Patrick Simpsoune's disseas and waiknes, it wes thought they sould haiff prevaillit. The quhilk thing being markit, no less feirit the Bisschopis to propoun any thing directlie for that purpose, nor they incourragit; the guid Ministerie persaving such a guid number sett in a way of uprychtnes as wes sufficient aneught to resist any conclusioun prejudiciall to the guid caus of the Kirk.

Bischop Orknay being sett doun Moderator, First, the Erle of Dumbar, his Majestie's Great Commissiouner, deliveris to him a Lettre from the Kingis Majestie, conteining tuo poyntis; ane, his zealle and cair to resist and repress Papistrie; the uthir, his love to the Kirk of Scotland and the guid estait thairof; wisching everie thing that mycht hurt the same mycht be removit, as namely the present distractioun and alienatioune of heartis that wer among the Brither about circumstances and matteris indifferent, quhilk ethir mycht be or not. His Heines' Lettre wes verie kyndlie and reverently ressavit, and thankis given to God for that guid affectioun; persounes to be upon the Privie Conferrence ar chosine: Many of all the Nobillmen thair, and the greattest pairt of the Ministerie, wer of sic as wes on the Blakburd[2] syd.

First, They resolve to take ordour with Papistis; and then, eftir the wysest maner, to remove the causses of distractioun. Papistis wer divydit in thrie sortis, Professit, Suspectit, and Not-communicantis, or in proces. The Professit headis wer thrie, in speciall, the Marques of Huntly, the Erles of Angus and Arrell.[3] Tuiching the Marques, they demandit the Bischop of Abirdein, "Iff he had excommunicat him according to the directioun givin at Falkland?" Quho answerit, "No." They speirit,[4] "If the proces deducit againes him wes closed?" He answerit, "It wes, and nothing resting but

[1] Reduced them to straits. [2] Adv. MSS. "Babell's." [3] Errol. [4] Asked.

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the pronunceing of the sentence." They answerit, "Quhither the sentence mycht presentlie be pronuncit in the face of the Assemblie, or remittit to the Presbytrie of Aberdein?" All with ane voyce condiscendit that it sould be presentlie pronuncit, but[1] any forder delay. Quhilk the Moderator, eftir a solemne maner, did. And it being endit, his Majestie's Commissiouner condiscendit, fourtie dayes being expyrit eftir the pronunceing of the said sentence, the Civill Sword sould pas againes him, but[2] mercie or favour to him and his, yea, thought sume of his freindis sould haif cum and buy his escheit, it sould be refuissit. It wes further ordainit, that everie Minister, in his pulpit, immediatlie eftir his returneing hame, sould mak publicatioun thairoff to his flocke, that quhosoever sould ressave or intertein him sould incurr the same sentence. And as for Angus and Arrell, the Presbytries of Perth and Glasgow, *respective*, are ordainit, how soone they sould sitt doun, to urge thame to the conformitie of heiring of the Word, useing of the Sacramentis, and Christiane obedience; and failyeing thairoff, the sentence of excommunicatioun [to be pronuncit againes thame befoir the 15 of August nixtocum, his Majestie's Commissiouner promiseing the execution of the civil lawis[3]] to pass againes thame, in lyk maner, without favour. The Lord Maxwell, for the filthie murthering of the Laird of Johnstoune, wes ordainit to be excommunicat in Edinbruche.

Concerneing the rest of the Papistis, this Overtoure wes givin, that every Provinciall[4] sould convein by thame selff in the place quhair the Bisschop or Moderator of the Province sould appoynt, and sould give up the names of the Papistis professit, suspectit, and not-communicantis, and that without feid[5] or favour, or conceiling from the Counsel of any of thair names. The quhilk to doe the aith[6] wes solemnelie takin in the presens of God and haill Assemblie. Forder, that the Provinces conveinit sould try the causses of the increase of Papistis, and devyse remedies for taking away off the same, [and the rollis of the Papistis' names, causseres of increas

[1] Without. [2] Adv. MSS. "without." [3] Not in Adv. MSS. [4] Every Synod, or Provincial Assembly. [5] Feud. [6] Oath.

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of Papistrie, and remedies for the same,[1]] to be reportit in wryt to the haill Assemblie. A great number of the Papistis, in all places of the realme, of all sortis, were givin upe.

The causses, in lyk maner, of Papistrie, quhilk wer thought to be these: *First*, Impunitie of the cheiff and principall; neither Spirituall nor Civill Sword stryking on thame; and that becaus of the want of a Generall Assemblie thais many yeiris bypast, and the oversycht[2] of sic to quhom the governement of the kingdome wes committit by his Hienes, suspectit of Papistrie tham selffis thais many yeiris bypast, and thairfor oversieris and favoureris of utheris: The remeid of this wes a Petitioun to be presentit to his Majestie concerneing the remedie, and craveing the libertie of a Generall Assemblie and Provincialis, according and conforme to the actis of Parliament; and that sic Office-beireris suspectit of Papistrie be removeit, and sound[3] Protestantis put in thair rowmes. 2*dly*, The second caus of Papistrie and incres thairof wes found to be the over rasche and haistie admissioun of Ministeres, without exact tryell of thair qualificatioun and abilitie for dischargeing of such a hight calling: The remeid of this wes, that a lairge tyme sould be spent in tryell befoir impositioun of handis, according to the reule of the Appostle. 3*dly*, The third caus of the incres of Papistrie wes the present distractiounes among the Ministerie tham selffis; quhilk the enimie labouris to foster, so far as lay in his power; and the restraint of so many faithfull Brither, banishit, imprissounit, and confynit within the realme and without, quho, quhen they were present in thair awin places, wer feirfull and terribill to their enimies: The remeid of the third caus wes, that ane Overtoure sould be thought upoun for removing of this present[4] distractioun, and a Petitioun maid to the Kingis Majestie for relive of sic Brither as wes put from thair places and callingis.

Thir thrie poyntis, Names of the Papistis, the Causis of Papistrie, and the Remeidis thairof, wes presentit by the Provinces to the Privie Conferrence: In the quhilk this Overture wes thoucht guid

[1] Omitted in Adv. MSS.
[2] Neglect, culpably overlooking or winking at.
[3] Adv. MSS. "deposed, and some."
[4] *Ib.* "healing of the said."

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to be proponit to the haill Assemblie, that a little buik sould be maid, and thairunto the names of the haill Papistis sould be sett doun, Professit, Suspectit, and Non-communicantis, and be certaine Commissiouneres chosine be the said Assemblie, the said buik to be presentit to the Kingis Majestie for order taking with the saids Papistis and excommunicatis, eftir the danger wes apprehendit. So the Commissiouneres wer chosin, the Earle of Wigtoun, the Bisschop of Glasgow, the Laird of Kilsyth, the Lord Little-Justice; for the Burgesses, James Nizebitt, Baillie of Edinbruche; and, for the Ministerie, Maister Williame Couper, Minister at Perthe. And to the end the Brither mycht be assurit of the sinceritie and truth proceiding againes Papistis, and that it sould vanish in the air, as did the last meittingis at Lithgow, and especiallie of the last meitting. Tuo Ministeres out of ilk Province wer appoyntit to meit at Edinbruche the 13 day of November nixtocum, to heir his Majestie's answer tuiching thais Papistis, and to seik the executioun thairoff without partialitie. The Presbytrie, in the meantyme, commandit to intend proces againes all Papistis quhois names are conteinit in that buik, that, being convictit, the sentence of excommunicatioun mycht be pronunceit againes thame without delay. Thais thingis, without long advysement or consultatioun, past againes Papistis.

The second thing intreatit upon wes the Tryell of Visitatiounes, committit by the Assembly at Halirudhous to certaine Brither; of the quhilk number sume wer present, and sume wer absent. Such as wer present gave in thair diligence in wrytt, and thais wryttis committit to certaine Brither to peruse: They fand many kirkis wanting persones, to witt, fitt Pastoris, togider with great disorderis, especially in Caitnes and Sudderland, in the Merse, and the rest of the Daillis[1] annexit to that Synod; for remeiding quhairoff, the Bisschop of Glasgow and Mr Johne Knox wer appoyntit Visitoris for the Merse and the Daillis; the Bisschop of Caitnes and Mr George Hay for Caitnes and Sutherland. And then the Commis-

[1] This refers to the districts of Teviotdale, Tweeddale, &c.

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siouneres of the last Generall Assemblie offerit thame selffis to be tryit, iff thai had done thair office faithfully and dilligently or not; quho went all out, and Mr Williame Couper supplieit the rowme[1] of the Moderator, for that the Moderator wes ane of thais Commissiouneris. The Brither, by him, being required, Quhither they had any thing to lay to thair charge that wes Commissiouneres? No man answerit any thing; so that silence wes tain[2] for approbatioun, sieing thair wes nothing laid to thair chairge: Quhairupoun wes made ane act of allowance of thame, as honnest men and faithfull Commissiouneres, and thairfor worthie to be continowit in thair office, namelie, becaus it wes his Majestie's will that thais Commissiouneres sould be continowit in thair offices, uthirwayes he would heir none of the Kirk matteris by ony thair; and that the rowmes of thais quho had depairtit this lyff sould be fillit to his lyking. The Moderator schew that the continowance of the former, and the supplieing of the places vacant as his Majestie desyrit, wes best, for diverse causses: First, Becaus of thair moyen[3] and riches, quhairby they mycht travel from place to place, as the matteris off the Kirk sould requyre: 2*dly*, Becaus of the credit off the King, quho would heir non uthir: 3*dly*, Becaus of thair experience and skille in handling of matteres, haveing had great and long practise. 4*thly*, and last, Becaus thair wes none of that Assemblie fitter and meitter nor they wer. To this the Brither condescendit, with protestatioun that the continowance of thame, for this yeir following, sould not prejudge the libertie of the Kirk in thair frie electioun; quhilk Protestatioun wes admittit, and actit in the Buik of the Assemblie.

The last principall thing handlit in this Assemblie wes, how the distractioun among the Brither mycht be removeit, to the end that in unitie of ane spirit, all mycht joyne tham selff togider againes the comoun enimie. The devyseing of this wes commendit to four of the best and wysest Brither, togider with his Majestie's Commissiouner. The Overture devysit by thame wes this, that sieing thair wes a double distractioun amongis thame, to witt, boith in af-

[1] Adv. MSS. "place." [2] Taken. [3] Influence.

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fectioun and judgment, baith of thame sould be takin away, efter this manner: The distractioun in affectioun, sieing it wes carnall and uncumelie in the persounes of all Christianis, much moir in Preicheris, sould be takin away be reconciliatioun, testifieit be the said whole Brither efter a solemne manner, promiseing befoir God and the Assemblie to lay asyd all rancour and malice, iff any wer in thair heartis befoir; and in tyme cumming to love ane another as the servantis of ane Lord and Maister. This promise wes confirmit by ane aith [by lifteing up the hand befoir God, in presens of the Assemblie. Farther, it wes ordainit that this reconciliatioun past by ane aith[1]] amonges the Brither, sould be reiterat in the Presbytries, efter thair hame-cummeing, and thane solemnelie intimat in thair severall pulpitis, to the joye of Godis childrein, and terrour of thair enimies.

The distractioune of judgement to be tane away be a conferrence of sic persounes as the Ministerie, on boith the sydis, sic as are thought to be best lairnit, disposit to peice, and sein[2] in the matteres controvertit: For the Ministers, Maisteris Patrick Simsoun, Johne Hall, Williame Scott, Johne Carmichael, Johne Knox, with fyve more,[3] etc.; upoun the uther syd, fyve Bisschopis, St Androis, Glasgow, Orknay, Duncaldein,[4] etc., with fyve Ministeris; twentie in all, to meitt befoir his Majestie or his Commissiouneris, reassoun and consult upon matteres, preisseing thairby to find out a guid Overtour and middis[5] quhairunto boith mycht agrie, and this Overtour to be reportit to the nixt Generall Assemblie, thair to pass.

In conclusioun, the Moderator preissit to ordain the Bisschoppis to be Visitoris in thair awin diosie; but it wes resistit. For the quhilk caus, all sort of visitatioun, boith in the persoun of the Bisschoppis and uthiris, wes dischairgit. The billis and supplicatiounes wer remittit to the Commissiouneres of the said Assemblie, save

[1] Omitted in Adv. MSS. [2] Skilled, experienced, conversant with. [3] "Patrick Galloway, Archibald Oswald, Adam Bannatyne, John Weems, and William Couper."—(*Cald. Hist.* fol. 598.) [4] "Caithness; Mrs Patrick Sharpe, Robert Howie, John Mitchelson, Henrie Phillip, and George Hay." [5] Medium, middle course.

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only a supplicatioun, quhilk the Elderis of the parochine[1] of Kilrynnie gave in for the releiff and hame-bringing to thame of thair Minister, Mr James Melvin; quhilk wes ressavit and publictlie read in the face of the Assemblie: Quhairunto the Erle of Dumbar answerit, that the Commissiouneres directit with the Rollis of Papistis sould interpone a requeist, in the name of the Assemblie, for the releiff of the said Mr James, quhom he wald assist, for a report of his Majestie's gracious answer thairannent; be occasioun quhairoff, Mr Andro Melvin, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Williame Rowe, and Mr Johne Murray, the banischit honest Brither, and all the confynit at home, wer mentiounit: And the Brither, all with ane crye,[2] sollicitate the Moderator to requeist his Majestie's Commissiouner, with the rest that wer sent upe, to be instant with the Kingis Majestie, in name of the Assemblie, for thair releiffe and libertie. They grantit to do for, except for the Brither banischit, quhois releiff the King would not grant, except thai would confess thair fault, and crave his Majestie's pardoun. The Britherin of the Ministerie, quhois stipendis wes not sufficient to sustein thame selffis and thair families, ar ordainit to be in Edinbruche the 15 of August, that they may haif exceptioune from the present taxatioun, and exemptit thairfra, and in all tyme to cume: In end, the nixt Generall Assemblie wes appoyntit to be hauldin at Edinbruche, the last Tuysday of May 1609.

This Assemblie had a fair schaw, but the pollicie thairoff wes detectit, and thus wes it censurit by the judicatoris,[3] for thairin they fand thrie or four dangerous eyelistis[4] that they could not digest: [1*st*,] The censure of the Commissiouneres of the Generall Assemblie at Halirudhous, and thair approbatioun by silence; quhilk, iff the conditiounes at Falkland had bein keipit, sould not haiff bein tuichit, in respect that the controversies of our Kirk did cheifely strick upon their proceedingis: 2*dly*, The casting off of all Visitatioun of the Kirkes, becaus they could not be had in the persoune

[1] Adv. MSS. "Congregation." [2] *Ib.* "consent." [3] *Ib.* "judicious."
[4] Eyesores; Adv. MSS. "acts."

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of Bisschoppis, as thought Bischoppries wer so necessar in our Kirk, that without them we sould haif no Visitatioun, nor doe no guid. 3*dly*, Under pretence of thair reconciliatioun, and abstinence from all controvertit poyntis, till they be determinit thairupoun, the Bisschopis thinkis they haif closit all the mouthis of the adversar Ministeris from speiking in the defence of the Estabilischit Disciplin, alsewel as in oppouneing[1] thairto, and sua hes brought boith in suspense and questione, as thought boith lay over amongst us to be decydit[2] quhat Disciplin wes most lawfull; and in this advantage they haiff allreadie kythit, by occasioun of sume doctrine delyverit in excerceis of our Disciplin, quhilk wes censurit as done againes the trewis,[3] as they call it, thinking that thair sould not a word be spokin in disciplin matteres, to or fra[4]—a devilish pollicie! This is the poysoune craftilie convoyit in that Assembly. 4*thly*, That all the greitter deilling againes the Papistis is, becaus of the buik of Tortus, quhairin the King is challengit of favoris and promisses maid to the Pope and the Papistis, and will resolve in a particular casting off of sume courteouris polliticallie, Papishe affectit, quhairby to cloke and dissemble in matteres the better for a quhyle; yit thair wes one thing much to be rejoycit into, to witt, the soundnes of the Ministeres for the most pairt; quhilk, as we undirstand, hes frayit[5] thame, that they will be laith to hazard *summam rei* upon thair voitis again in a full[6] Assemblie, unles thai finde the matteres surelier and bettir dressit.

The third, and deductioun of the generall storie hes stayit the particular, concerneing Mr Johne Murray, untill now; quhilk fell furth in the same yeir, and wes thus. This gentillman, of guid accompt as for his birth, and marriage of a most godly and nobill virgin in the world; so, for his singular giftis, and faithfulnes in his ministerie, wes ordainit Pastor in the Kirk off Leith, quhair the new-maid Bisschopis had thair meittingis, consultationes, danceing,[7]

[1] Adv. MSS. "oppugning." [2] *Ib.* "debated." [3] *Ib.* "Truce." [4] To and fro; on the one side or on the other. [5] Affrightod. [6] Adv. MSS. "free." [7] *Ib.* "drinking."

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and playing at cairtis,[1] dyce, and worse excerceisses; quhairwith Mr Johne mett sickerly, within the sermones; also if any of tham hʏd, in thair doctrin, (for they taught ofttymes in Mr David Lindsayis place,) glanceit at Episcopall auctoritie and governement, it wes without delaye maid oppin and manifest[2] by the said Mr Johne. This angerit the Bisschoppis at the heart; and thairfoir thai resolvit to dilait him [to mak informatioun of him to the Kingis Majestie; quhilk wes done sindrie tymes by him, quho] postit continowallie for the rest, to witt Glasgow, the sonne-in-law to Rosse,[3] quho then wer nameit Cajaphas and Annas! And, notwithstanding, by the favour and wyse deilling of his freindis, quhairoff he had mony, both at Court and at home, he continowit on, most profitabillie and most confortabillie, Pastour, with great paines among his flocke, the space of thrie or four yeiris; for they could find nothing againes him, save only foranent the law of his-God, and faithfull dueties done to Chryst and his Kirk. Among the rest, being Moderator in the Synod of Lothiane, keipit in Edinbruche in winter, he maid ane excellent sermone at the doun-laying of the Moderatioun; the coppie quhereof, (I wott not how,) cumming in sume guid Brotheris handis, wes put to the press beyond the seas, and so come in the handis of money, altogider without the knawledge of Mr Johne himself; and wes alse sufficient as Danielis prayeres to bring him to the den of lyounes! He wes callit befoir the Counsel, quhilk would faine, at his desyre, haiff remittit him to his Presbytrie, or Provinciall Synod, befoir the quhilk the sermone wes maid;[4] but the Bisschopis insistit malitiouslie, and said, "That wes as much as to declyne his Majestie's Judicatorie, and so fall under the cryme of treassoun." So, the Bisschop of Saint Androis accuseing, and the Bisschop of Glasgow also, he must neidis answer: They gaif in to the Counsell the four Articles following, as a challange of him, in wrytt; quhilk wer cuttit out of the Buik with the Kingis awin hand:

[1] Adv. MSS. "cards." [2] *Ib.* "confuted." [3] Mr David Lindsay was at that time Bishop of Ross. [4] Adv. MSS. "taught."

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[ARTICLES AGAINST MR JOHN MURRAY, MINISTER OF LEITH.]

"1. The auctour of the Sermone, page 28, speiking of abuseing of Christiane libertie, bringeth for an example, a law or injunctioune for the use of the Surpleis[1] in Devyne Service; of the ring in mariage, quhich is ane expres taxing of the Canons of the Kirk of England maid annent thais Ceremonies, and the Kingis Ratificatioun thairoff.

"2. He sayis[2] that the creiping in of the Antichristiane yoke had for the first steppe, quhilk is little different from our new Moderatoris; and so condemnit the act of Lithgowe, ratifieit be his Majestie.

"3.[3] The Kingis Counsel and Nobillitie, and all [subjects,] haiffing sworne by the name of God to defend the Disciplin of the Kirk all the dayis of thair lyff, under the paines conteinit in the law, and danger boith of bodie and saulle, in the day of Godis feirfull judgement. And, page 52, he sayis that paritie in power and auctoritie is the ordinance of God. This is a laying of perjurie to his Majestie and Counsell, sieing his Majestie condemnes paritie, and preisses the abolitioune thairof out of the Kirk.

"4. Page 48, he sayes, we in Scotland are baitting doun Chryst, putting him in bandis, and covering his face, and [are] off purpose to burie him, with the Jewis. This strykis upoun the Kingis auctoritie, that he sould suffer Chryst to be so intreattit in his kingdome."

MR JOHNNES ANSWER FOLLOWIS.

"For answer, in all humilitie and reverence to your Lordshippis: The Articles quhairon I am challengit ar not the wordis of my sermone, but consequentis drawin out of thame, cumeing directlie againes the scope of the sermone it selff, aymand[4] only, as it is evi-

[1] Surplice. [2] Page 33. [3] Page 44. [4] Aiming.

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dent, at our selffis of the Ministerie at that present conveinit; as also, againes the expres wordis thairoff; the quhilk, at page 49, ar full of reverence and duetiefulnes towardis his Majestie.

"Heirfore, I most humblie beseik your Lordschippis, sieing my challenge is not the expres affirmatioun of my wordis, bot the illatioun;[1] that as thair is no expres matter or caus of accusatioun, but rather contrair, so thair may be no expres accusatioun; and that my wordis be not over sair wrung, nor my meineing wrestit, but favourabillie constructit. Finallie, that your Lordschippis, according to your wontit loveabill custome, wald leive the judgment and censure of the sermoune and poyntis thairof to my Ordinar, that is, either the Presbyterie or Provinciall, in quhois audience it wes deliverit."

This petitioun all the Counsell, except the Bisschoppis, thought reassounabill; and thairfor resolvit to wrytt to the Kingis Majestie thairannent. But the nixt newis wes that Mr Johne Murray wes takin the 13 of Appryll be the Livetennent of the Guard, and without any further proces committit to the Castell of Edinbruche, quhair he remanit till ane wes put in his rowme at Leith by the Bisschoppis, and he transportit to New Abbay among the Papist Cheiffes.[2]

This same yeir, 1608, wes imprintit ane uthir buik over-sie, and cum abroad, intitulat "Informatiounes and a Proclamatioun,[3] and a Treatise from Scotland, secundat with Doctor Remolis' Lettre to Sir Francis Knollis, and Sir Francis Knollis his Speich in Parliament, all suggesting the usurpatioun of Papall Bisschopis. 'Everie plant that my hevinlie Father hes not plantit sall my Father pluck out.'"[4] The Protestatioun wes that given in to the Parliament at Perthe. The treatise fullie confirmit the Estabilischit Disciplin in Scotland, and cleirly discoverit and refutit the Episcopall usurpatioune.

The year preceiding, 1607, the King, considering the twa Breivis

[1] Adv. MSS. "consequents." [2] Univ. MS. "theves." [3] Adv. MSS. "or protestationes." [4] Math. xv. 13; 1 Cor. ii. 12.

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of Pope Paulus V., and the Lettre of Cardinall Bellarmine to the Archpreist, G. Blackwell, had hinderit the Papistis much from his obedience, thought meitt to publishe a buik againes thame; quhilk he did, beiring this title, "*Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus*, or Ane Appollogie for the Aith of Alledgeance againes the Tua Breivis of Pope Paulus Quintus, and the lait Lettre of Cardinall Bellarmine to G. Blackwell, the Archpreist, *Auctoritate Regia*." Againes this buik, within the halff a yeir, wes publischit by the Papistis, ane answer in Latine, off this inscriptioune:—"Mathei Torti, Presbiteri et Theologi Parisiensis, Responsi ad librum inscriptum, Triplici Nodo, &c.; quo ostenditur Juramentum illud ab hostibus Fidei, Catholicæ excogitatum iniquissime a subditis Catholicis, sub gravissima bonorum omnium amissione, perpetuorumque carcerum pœna postulari atque exigi. Editio altera, Colloniæ."

The argument of the haill buik is in the sext page: "Primum ostendimus juramentum Catholicis propositum, non solum civilem obedientiam, sed etiam Catholicæ Fidei abnegationem requirere: Hæc enim est principalis questio, quæ inter nos hoc tempore disputatur; deinde singulas partes appologiæ discutiamus."

In this book, Cardinallis Chappellane (for so the printer, in his Epistle, termes him Cardinalli Bellarmino a Sacellis[1]) is verie direct and dispyttfull againes the King, calling the auctor of the Appollogie, "Calumniatorem mendacem impudentem." He gives efter a lyk flatt lye. In page 92, he saith, "Necesse est auctorem Appollogiæ omnem omnino pudorem et conscientiam exuisse:" Page 97, "Jacobo Juliano in multis adæquatur," lairgely and dispyttfully: "Jacobus," saith he, "cum Catholicis non sit, neque Christianus est:" Page 98, "Jacobus primum Catholicis deinde etiam Puritanos opposuit:" Page 130, "Quæ tum ita sint desinat adversarius in Scripturis Sanctis earumque testimoniis ad eum primatim stabiliendum abuti, quem non solum Catholica Ecclesia est detestata semper. Sed etiam Calvinus ipse cum scholæ Genevensi approbavit, nunquam abhoruit, et quam in ipsa Anglia ut a Regia cupiditate exortum, ipse etiam Puritani molestissime semper tulerint."

[1] Adv. MSS. "Postellis."

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Thais thingis trouble the King at the heart; but namely, the tuo passages following not only gallit the King, but movit much the Counsell and haill estaite. "Clemens the Eight, (sayis he,) duo Brevia anno 1600 tribus annis ante obitum Reginæ ad Catholicos misit unum ad Clerum, alterum ad populum; quibus Brevibus non ut iste mentitur Jacobum tunc Scotiæ Regem exclusit, sed consilium dedit quale dare docebat Summum Pontificem, viz. ut Catholici opera darent quantum a ipsis est ut Rex ad Religionem Catholicam bene affectus eligeretur, &c. Quibus verbis non solum Jacobus Scotiæ Rex non excludebatur, sed includebatur potius, quoniam Ministri ejus maximam spem fecerunt eum non abhorrere, a Fide Catholica suscipienda, præsertim cum Rex ipse ad Pontificem ipsum, necnon ad Cardinales Hildebrandum et Bellarminum literas scripsit, plenas humanitatis; quibus, preter cætera, petebat ut aliquis e gente Scotorum Cardinali S. R. E. crearetur, ut haberent Romæ, per quam facilius et tutius cum Pontifice sua negotia tractare, ut quare Pontifex, non perfidum, accusari, sed ipse sua spe frustratus vite mente potuit et alibi, ut vir Catholicus regno illo prope diem vacaturo properetur: Quo consilio nullum aliud a Pontifice Maximo (cui Catholicæ Ecclesiæ cura potissimum incumbit) magis Christianum magis pium et utile dari potuit quod sit hac generali admonitione Jacobus excluderetur, ipse erat in causa qui spem non obscure datam Pontificem fallere volebat certe ejus administri reprehendi debeant; qui magis adhuc aperte Jacobum tunc Scotiæ Regem, adepto Anglicano regno, Catholicum futurum promittebat."

Upon this, it wes thought necessar, for cleiring the King of sua odious sclanderis, the Generall Assemblie sould hauld in Scotland, and the proceidingis thairin to be againes Papistis; and a Supplicatioun thairfoir to be maid for pacifieing off all controversies within the Kirk, and restoring againe of sic of the Ministeres as wer banischit, imprissounit, and confynit.

In the moneth of September 1608, Sir James Elphingstoun, Lord Balmerinoch, Principall Secretar of Scotland, and President of the Colledge of Justice, the Kingis speciall agent againes the

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Ministeris, did tak his journay to the Court, for his further imployment; but cumming to the Court and the King, at Roystoun, wes accusit for deilling with the Pope, and wrytting to him and the Cardinallis in maner conteinit in the foirnamit buik, and the passages thairoff; fynaly, for being the caus of so hynous a sclander, and all divilish attemptis of Papistis since syne againes the King and Estaitis, and the Papistis being sua desperatlie inrageit for finding thame selff disapoyntit of the great expectatioun they had that the King sould becum a Catholick. But, leiveing the rest of this to his awin confessioun, depositioun, and proces, quhilk is extant,[1] I remember only the effect—that the said Sir James, eftir he wes degradit and deposit from all honouris he had in Ingland, [namely, from the number and tabill of the most honourabill Privy Counsell of Ingland,[2]] quhairof he wes one, he wes sent backe prissouner to Scotland, thair to be adjudged and punischit according to his demeritis.

M.DC.IX.

And, in the moneth of March following, a day of law, or Justice Court, wes most solemnelie and frequentlie keipit at Saint Androis, to the quhilk he wes brought from Falkland; and thair, upon his awin confessioun, being convict and fyllit[3] of hie treassoun for surreptioun, and thivish steilling of the Kingis hand in a Lettre to the Pope. Upon his humble petitioun to the Judge and Counsell, his sentence and dome wes delayit till the Kingis will sould be knawin thairannent. So, on the last day of March he wes brought over the watter from Falkland to Edinbruche, and thair in the Tolbuith ressavit sentence to be execute to the death, and damnit as a tratour and malefactor; and immediatlie thaireftir he was caryit back again to Leith, and taken over the Ferry that same night, and put in his prissoune at Falkland, to expect the Kingis further will; and thus, in Godis rychteous judgment, wes he schamefully usit, and put to shame and

[1] See *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, II. 568-601, for a full account of this very remarkable and mysterious investigation. [2] Omitted in Adv. MSS. [3] Found guilty.

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ignominie by thame quho imployit his pen to sua mony schamefull and spytfull proclamatiounes againes the Ministeres of Jesus Chryst, and his paines for imprissouneing and banisching the samyne.

All this quhyll, quhen men luikit for hott persewing of Papistis, and releiff of the banischit, imprissounit, and confynit Brither, Ministeres had warse; Papistis wer playit withall, and the purpose of advanceing Bischopis bussilie promoveit for ane frequent Conventioun of Ministeres and Nobillmen at Edinbruche in the moneth of November. The four Commissiouneris directit from the Generall Assemblie reportit his Majestie's answer to the Petitiounes of the said Assemblie againes the Papistis, absolutely quhatsoever wes cravit; yea, that he had sent in the Erle of Dumbar, armit with all auctoritie to put in executioun quhatever wes cravit concerneing the Ministeris under his displeasure, conditiounallie, if thai would confesse thair faultis and mak humble Supplicatioun. So gentill and clement wes the Kingis nature, that he wald be more readie to give thame libertie nor[1] they would be to sute the same.

In end, the Bisschop of Glasgow, invying[2] againes the Papistis and thais that said that the offer of the Conferrence wes but for the fashioun, and thairfoir, in the mein tyme, thair wes a deilling againes Papistis to hald off: "Yit," sayis he, "it sall not be driftit; for the Earle of Dumbar and the Kingis Commissiouneris for the Kirk will instantly appoynt ane day to be keipit in Februar nixt, and advertisment maid thairof to all haiffand interest." Yit not only passit thair in that Conventioun thrie or four little thingis to the grateing[3] of Bisschopis, and decrease and interest of Presbytries; as, that thai sould be examineris of Pedagogues that passit with nobilmenis and gentilmenis sones out of the countrie, and give testimoniallis of approbatioun: *Item*, that none sould obtaine entrie to thair landis, and be servit lawfull heretoris, without the Bisschopis lawfull certificat to the inqueist of the soundnes of his Religioun, etc. But also, in all this, they had a main drift bringing about to restore the Bisschopis *in integrum* to the Commissariat cottis[4] off Testa-

[1] Than. [2] Inveighing. [3] Adv. MSS. "greatening." [4] Quots.

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mentis, and all utheris Judicatoris and casualities that ever the Popishe Bisschopis were in possession off; the quhilk great fisch, to the intent they mycht the more easilier and firmlie fang[1] at the nixt Parliament, without oppositioun of the Ministerie, conveinit with the Lordis of Sessioun, and haill laweris and Commissaris, the great bussines againes Papistis were cassin in, and the fair expectatioun of the Conferrence quhilk, in the moneth of May, wes dressit and convoyit, in maner and matter as heir followis:

ANE JUST COPPIE OF THE CONFERRENCE AT FALKLAND, 4 MAY 1609.

"The Earlis of Dumbar and Wigtoune, the Lordis Scoone, and Fentone-Barnes, Collector, Commissiouneris to his Majestie; Maisteris George Glaidstaines, Johne Spottiswood, Alexander Lyndsay, Alexander Forbes, Patrick Scharp, Robert Howie, Johne Nicolsoun, Henrie Philpe, and George Hay, for the Bisschopis; Maisteris Patrick Galloway, Johne Hall, Williame Scot, Archibald Oswall, Johne Knox, Johne Carmichael, Adam Ballentyne, Johne Wemis, and Williame Couper, (Mr Patrik Simpsoun being absent,) mett in that chalmer quhilk wes his Majestie's, for dischairgeing ane Commissioun directit from the last Generall Assemblie haulden at Lithgow the 29 of July 1608. In the quhilk meitting the saidis Commissiouneres proceidit as followis:

Sessione prima.

"Efter prayer, ane short speich utirit be Mr James Law, Moderator, the Commissioun of the Generall Assemblie wes red, quhairoff the tennour followis:

"At Lithgow, the 29 of July 1608, *post meridiem*. As for the second caus of eylistis,[2] quhilk wes said to aryse upoun the diversitie of oppiniounes, and the diversitie of oppiniounes resultis upon

[1] Seize upon.

[2] Grievances; literally eyesores.

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diverse differences of judgment amongis the Brither, concerneing the externall Governement and Discipline of the Kirk, quhilk can not so schortlie be discussit and advysit upoun as the brevitie of this Assemblie permittis: Thairfoir, it wes the opinioun of the Brither appoyntit for the advyseing of the best Overtouris to be had annent the distractioun and eyelistis that ar enterit in the heartis of the Ministerie, that the same sould be delayit to a tyme moir convenient; and, in the meintyme, certaine appoyntit to reassoun, treat, and advyse upon the same: Quhilk, lykwayis, the Assemblie following hes thought expedient; and, thairfoir, they haiff electit and chosine the Brither following, viz., The Bisschoppis of Saint Androis, Glasgow, Dunkell, Orkney, Caithnes; Maisteris Patrick Scharpe, Robert Howie, Johne Nicolsoun, Henrie Philip, Archibald Oswall, Johne Carmichaell, Johne Knox, George Hay, Patrick Galloway, John Hall, Patrick Simpsoun, Williame Scott, Adam Ballantyne, John Weemis, and William Couper, thair Commissiouneris in that pairt, to convein with his Majestie, and sic of his Majestie's Counsell as his Hines sall appoynt, at sic place and tyme as they salbe required be his Majestie; and to treat, reassoun, and consult upon all matteris standing presentlie in controversie among the Britherin, annent the Discipline off the Kirk; and quhatsoevir thai agrie upoun to report to the nixt Generall Assemblie; and in the mein tyme, quhill the nixt Generall Assemblie, the advyse of the Brither conveinit at Falkland, the 5 of July[1] last bypast, be observit annent the Constant Moderatoris. *Nota*, That upon the margine this [was] nameit a Commissioun annent reformatioun of Disciplin.

"Thair wes red also his Majestie's Missive Lettre, and a Lettre of excuse from Mr Patrick Simpsoun, and thairefter thair wes a motioun maid by his Majestie's Commissiouneris, and propounit by the Moderator, that fyve off everie syd sould be put apairt to sett doun ane ordour of proceidour. Efter sume reassouneing upon the same propositioun, and sume objectioun againes the same, it wes

[1] Adv. MSS. "16 of June."

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admittit and followit: And for the Bisschopis syd wes nameit Saint Androis, Glasgow, Maisteris Patrick Scharpe, Robert Howie, and Henrie Philpe; for the Ministeris, Maisteris Patrick Galloway, Johne Hall, Williame Cowper, Johne Carmichael, and Williame Scott. The Erle of Dumbar, the Lord of Fentoune-Barnis, Collector, and Mr James Law, Moderator. The ten quhilk wer nominat and chosine removit, and went into his Majestie's Chalmer, quhair the Commissioun wes red again: Quhilk being considerit, wes thought verie generall to sume; and for limitatioun thairoff, the particularis efter following wer propounit be the Ministers:—

"First, That the Brither among quhom they controversies alledgit, wordis sould be nameit particularlie, or at leist sume way designit, quhairby the ane pairtie may be knawin by the uthir: 2dly, It wes requirit that the alledgit controversies sould be denominat and condescendit upoun, for cleiring off the first poynt. Thais for the pairt of the Ministerie declairit, that they wer ane in judgment with the godly Fatheris, Reformeris of the Kirk of Scotland, and sic as had from tyme to tyme, in the Generall Assembly, appoyntit the Assemblie and obteinit the reformatioun[1] thairof; as also, that they esteimit the Disciplin appoyntit be the Kirk, and ratifieit be the lawis of the realme, to be most godly and meit for the ruleing[2] of Christis Kirk within the realme. Thais of the uther oppinioun com to na particular nominatioun or designatioun, quhairby the differences from sic as had estabilishit the Disciplin mycht be perceivit.

"For better understanding of the second, the Ministeres desyrit that distinctioun mycht be maid betuixt matteris standing in controversie among the Britherin, and matteris *extra contraversiam* within the Kirk; in the quhilk causses they voite to be all matteris concludit in lawfull Generall Assemblies. *Item*, That cleir differrence mycht be maid betuixt privat Britheris oppiniounes and conceitis, (put the cais thair number wer great,) and matteris in contraversie in the Kirk, but that quhilk hes bein ressavit as ane dout befoir in sume Generall Assemblies, and defendis as undefynit, for

[1] Adv. MSS. "ratificatione."

[2] Univ. MS. "grounding."

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thair is ane order concerneing the cause, quhither the Brither doutis and craivis reformatioun, viz., that such matteris sould be propounit to the Generall Assemblie *ordine decenter animo edificandi, non tentandi gratia*, in respect of the Generall Assembly; quhilk order is no wayis convenient that the saidis Ministeris sould participat in a Conferrence with thair Britheris oppiniounes, different from the judgment of the Kirk; and syne report the samyne to a Generall Assemblie.

"Lastlie, Sieing the Generall Assemblie at Lithgow hes directit Commissioun annent matteris standing presentlie in controversie befoir that same, it wes demandit be the saidis Ministeris, Quhat particular matteris either stuid in controversie, or wes callit and ressavit in and to the controversie, be the same? The intentioun of this thair deilling wes to schaw, that this thair Commissioun, above writtin, buir no warrand to the saidis Commissiouneris ather to mak particular controversies or questiounes quhilk had not bein heard in Generall Assemblies or before, or yit to call in controversie the actis, conclusiounes, allowit practises, or estabilischit order in the Kirk. This forme of deiling wes callit be the uthir sort, 'tergiversatione of pollicie,' 'quarrelling the Generall Assembly,' 'for frustratioun of thair guid intentioun,' etc.

"Meikle tyme and talk wes spendit heirabout, and sume schoaring and boasting,[1] but no cleir satisfactioun returnit to the demandis and propositiounes above specifieit; and sumquhat abruptlie it wes said, 'That thai mett either on sumething or nothing; and sumething confaissitlie wes castin in, that sume of the Brither had ressavit the Constant Moderatione, and utheris not; soe that thair wes a contraversie of the Kirk,' said they, 'quhither the Moderatione should be constant or circular,' as they termeit it. *Item*, sume of the Brither tham selves thinkis that the Cautiounes sould be keipit, and utheris of thame thinkis that sume of tham sould be abolischit. It wes a questione than, forsuith, Quhither the Cautiounes sould be keipit or not?

[1] Menacing and threatening.

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"It wes answerit to the first, That the foirsaid Assemblie at Lithgow, quhairfrom this Commissioun wes directit, had expressely provydit that the advyse given in at the Conferrence at Falkland sould be observit to the nixt Generall Assemblie; and true it is, that in that Conferrence at Falkland, the meitting at Lithgow, quhairin the intendit innovatioun of the Moderator wes begun, wes stayit; and that matter to be further intreitit in the ensewing Assemblie at Lithgow; quhilk Assemblie, quhen it conveinit, acquiescit to the advyse givin in at Falkland; so that thair is no warrand given at all in this Commissioune to call the accustomeit and estabilischit order of Moderatioun in doubt. Unto the second it wes answered, That the Cautiounes, efter long reassouneing and advyseing had in the Presbytrie, Provinciall and Generall Assemblies, thai wer solemnelie concludit in tuo Assemblies, one at Dundie and another at Montrose, his Majestie being present at the one and at the uthir, and as yit standis in full force unrepelled, and can no more be callit in questioun be vertue of this present Commissioun then the actis annent vote in parliament, or ony uther act of the Generall Assemblie.

"It wes thought meit, be the most pairt, that thais matteres of the Moderatioun and Cautiounes sould be put in questioun; and so they pairtit, and presently re-enterit into the place of Conferrence; and all being present, the Moderator cunneinglie demandit, Quhither iff the said matter sould pas in questioun, or not? It wes answerit be the most pairt, *affirmative*, they sould; and so the questiounes wes conceivit as followis. 1. Quhither, in Synodis or Presbytries, the Moderatioun sould be constant, or not? 2*dly*, Quhither the Cautiounes sett downe in the Assembly haulden at Dundie and Montrose for restraineing the power of Bisschopis sould be observit and sworne, or not? Thaireftir, the Moderator desyrit that ane on aither syd sould be nameit to reassoun thais tuo questiounes; but, being lait, no nominatioun wes maid, but thankisgiving, and so that sessioun endit.

"Eftir the dissolveing of that sessioun, the Ministeris mett among thame selffis, and haifeing conferrit a little annent the dissadvantage and danger, by suffering thame selves to be separat in that

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former sessioun; and all wes desyrit that nyeht to think upoun the fittest remedie, and tymeouslie to meit in the morneing; the quhilk they did in that their meitting: They concludit, first, that Mr Patrick Galloway sould be speichman, and sume utheres to assist him, as neid requirit: 2*dly*, That they sould suffer thame selffis no wayis to be devydit, but quhatsoever sould be propounit, (althought of les importance,) they sould tak it to be advysed be the haill, befoir that any answer sould be returnit: 3*dly*, In respect of the Conferrence, and of the qualitie of the matteris callit in doubt, that they would nowayis disput but by wrytt.

5 *May, Sess.* 2*da, ante meridiem, hora nona.*

"The Commissiouneris foirsaid conveinit in the morneing, at the place befoir nameit; and, efter prayer, the Moderator propounit that ane on aither syde sould be nameit and appoyntit to reassoun the first questioun. Mr Patrick Galloway, being desyrit to speik, answerit, that it wes most convenient to reassoun the matter be wrytt: First, For eschewing of jealousie, idle, and hait[1] speiches, superfluous digressiounes, and impertinent discourses, quhairby Brither mycht be irritat, and tyme unprofitabilly spent: 2*dly*, For avoyding different reportis to be maid be the Brither of different judgmentis efter the Conferrence endit: And, thairfoir, he desirit the uthir pairtie, that they would schortlie and cleirly sett downe thair oppinioune in Articles, tuiching that matter, and Reassounes quhairby they would confirme the same; promiseing that the said Oppiniounes and Reassounes sould be plainelie and brotherlie answerit, so succinctlie as wes possibill to be concivit and expressit be thame in wrytt. Maney thingis wer objectit againes that answer and offer; but all the objectiounes wer answerit. And so, the Ministeres, standing constantlie to thair resolutioune, the uthir partie desirit that they mycht advyse among thamselff annent the premisses: Unto the quhilk desyre the Ministeres aggrieit, and removit thame selffis; and the uther partie, with his Majestie's Commissiouner, sat still.

[1] Hot, intemperate.

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"Efter thair re-entrie, the Moderator objectit four Reassounes againes writting. 1. The custome of the Kirk of Scotland: 2. The custome of the Conferrence in uther contries, and sume Colloquies were namit: 3. His Majestie's prohibitioun of wrytt: 4. Sundrie inconvenientis that mycht follow thairupoun, as namelie, that the coppies wald passe abroad, and come in the handis of enimies, quhairby it could not faill, but sclander and skaith would come to the caus of Religioun.

"To the first it wes answered, That quhilk the Kirk of Scotland had adoe with the Counsell thairoff, annent the treating and concluding of the Heidis of the Discipline, they gave and receaved in write, the one from the other: To the second, That the Colloquies nameit be thame had verie evill eventis, and utheris that treatit be thame in wrytt, and speciallie be the Ministeris, had better success and maid better for the advantage of Religioun. As for the custome of uther contries generally alledgit, wryttis were more usuall nor wordis; quhilk may be sein by Ambassadoris deillingis, lairnit menis epistles, and printit Colloquies and Treaties of all ages: To the thrid, It is evident, by his Majestie's Lettre, that his Majestie's intentioun is to settle all matteris peiceabilly, and besyd the same thair is nothing produced. Thairfoir, wrytting quhairby janglingis of wordis, heat speiches, and tedious digressiounes salbe avoydit, is the most fitt and saiff way to come to his Majestie's purpose: To the fourth, In caise of agriement, interchanging paperis, may be brunt and ravein,[1] and the conclusiounes agrieit upon only put in wrytt, to remaine. Iff thai can nowayis agrie, quhatsoevir sall pass in writeing may be, with consent of all, destroyit.

"And after these reassouneingis, the Ministeris concludit that reassoune be wordis, without a Judge, could not readielie be had[2] without tumult in the mein tyme of treatie, and difference and contradictorious reportis efter breaking upe of the meittingis; quhairby the present distractiounes would be augmentit, the cause of Religioun further prejudgit, Papistis and all sortis of enimies, wisching,

[1] Burnt and torn in pieces.

[2] Adv. MSS. "cannot possiblie be heard."

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wirking, and watching for divisiounes among the Ministeres, so far as they may.

"The matter being thus stood to be the Ministeres thair, sume speiches of terrour wer given out; and thairefter the Moderator propounit that a short historie mycht be sett doun, with all consentis, of that meitting, and the proceiding thairin to sume sic effect as followis: That the Commissiouneres mett, thair Commissioun wes red, tua questiounes wer agrieit upon: They for the pairt of the Bischopis offerit to disputt thairon, and the Ministeris refuisit: The Ministeris desirit the last poynt to be mendit, eftir this maner; that they for the pairt off the Bischopis offerrit to reassoun be word, but refuissit be wrytt; and the Ministeris wer readie to reassoun be wrytt, but quhen they sould come befoir ane Generall Assemblie, the Judge Ordinar to sic matteres, thai sould be readie to reasone be word or wrytt, as it sould pleas the Assemblie to injoyne; but heir thai could not reassoun by word, for the reassounes afoir sett doun. This wes refuissit, and so no historie sett doun and aggrieit upoun; and the Moderator desyrit that his Majestie's Lettre, and the Commissioun laid asyd, either of the pairties wald advyse for sume Overtouris for the peace of the Kirk; and for reporting thairof, the eftirnoone wes appoyntit for all to meit again. Thus, efter thankisgiving, the Commissiouneris rais.

"Immediatlie efter dinner, the Commissiouneris conveinit by thame selffis, and efter consultatioun, agrieit upoun four Articles as followis:

"That a declaratioun sould pas from this Conferrence to be publischit in the Kirk of Scotland, proporting that the Kirk within thi realme is weill constitut in Doctrin and Disciplin,[1] praissit be Go and that the discordis and differrences among the M[illegible]ie annem the one and the uther, agreed and given out be [illegible] Atheistis, and uther enimies, ar but scandalous [illegible] lumnies, tending to seditioun, and to deceive th[illegible]

[1] Adv. MSS. "government."

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the handling[1] of the discordis and differrences among the Ministeres be laid asyd and spairit, and that the saidis differrences coverit under the skirtis of brothirelie patience and Christiane wisdome, quhill[2] first Papistis and Papistrie be proceidit againes, and put to ane poynt: 3. That sieing the matter of Bischopis and Hierarchie can not be handlit at this tyme but with advantage to Papistis and Papistrie, and disadvantage to the estabilischit ordour of the Kirke, quhilk haith bein a speciall meine, quhairby thai and thair kingdome hes bein dissipat and ovirturnit, that purpose was to be superceidit, quhill the land be purgit of thame and thair leaven: 4. That ane earnest Supplicatioun sould pas from this Conferrence to his Majestie, for grace and favour to the Ministeris that haith bein so longe banischit and keipeit in prissoune, and confynit; namelie, that they mycht be relaxit, sett at libertie, and returne to thair awin places.

Eodem die, horâ tertiâ, post meridiem. Sess. 3tia.

"The haill Commissiouneris mett togider in the place above specifieit; and, efter prayer, the Moderator requirit that the Ministeris sould present thair advyse, as wes appoyntit befoir noone. And Mr Patrick Galloway presentit the Articles above writtin, quhilk wer readie; and efter the reading thairof, sume pressit to speik, but *authoritative* wer hinderit be the Moderator; and sume utheris with vehemencie wes keipit at under, and silence commandit. Thairfor, the advyce of the uther pairtie wes red, and all demandit quhat they thought off it? Litle was said for it, and nothing againes it. The Moderator desyrit the Ministeres to tak upe thair Articles; the quhilk being done, the conclusioun following wes agrieit upoun:

At Falkland, the fyft of May 1609.

"The Brither conveinit, haiffing givin thankis, and red the Commissioun of the Generall Assemblie, and considering the generality

[1] Adv. MSS. "alleadging."

[2] Until.

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thairoff, and how it is neidfull, for ending of all controversies standing in Disciplin among the Ministeris, that the particular poyntis in questioun be condiscendit upoun, haiff, for the present, aggrieit upon tuo, viz., Quhither in Synodis or Presbytries the Moderator sould be Constant, or not? And, quhither the Cautiounes sett doun in the Assemblie haldin at Dundie and Montrois for restraining the power of Bischopis sould be observit, and sworne unto, or not? Quhilk tuo questiounes being propounit; becaus neither the brevitie of that time permittis, nor is it, for diverse caussis, thought expedient to enter in reassouneing thairof at the present, the Brither continowis all treating of the same to the first Tuesday of August nixtocum, appoyntit for thair meitting to that effect, in Stirling: Willing and commanding everie ane of the saidis Brither to advyse and consider gravelie of the saidis Questiounes, and all poyntis thairof; and to be readie at the said meiting to propoune thair myndis, ather by word or wrytt, as they sould think meittest; and further, to sett doun in wrytt all the differrences quhilk they doe conceive in matteris of Disciplin, that sume solid course may be takin, with commoun consent, for removing of the same.

"In the meintyme, it is thought expedient, be the consent of the haill number, that the Generall Assemblie be prorogat to the first Tuysday of May nixtocum, to be hauldin in Saint Androis, iff so it sall pleas his Majestie; that thir effairis be brought to sume poynt, report may be maid, according as it is ordaineit in the said Commissioun. And becaus his Majestie's maist zealous cair for the guid and peace of the Kirk, and for suppressing of Papistis and all contrary Religiounes, doith sua many wayis appeir, that we haiff all exceiding great mater of thankis to be givin to the Almychtie God for the great blissing bestowit upoun the Kirk, in his Majestie's persoun: It is thought meit that a Lettre of humble thankis be wryttin from this Conferrence to his Majestie; and that in all the Congregatiounes of this his kingdome declaratioun be maid to everie Minister of his Majestie's guid affectioun and resolvit mynd to settle the Kirk in peace and truth, and to freith[1] the same from

[1] Free, deliver.

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all uthir her enimies, and thair pernitious practises; and that publict thankis be givin to God for his present mercie, and prayeris conceavit for the happie progresse of his Majestie's purpose. As also, the Brither, knawing the great danger that the Kirk standis in, throw the enimies of Religioun, hes thought meitt to recommend it to all the Ministeris and Presbytries within the realme a cairfull proceiding againes Papistis, and such as remaine suspect in Religioune; and that they be diligent to lairne from the strangeris that resortis from any forraigne pairtis, and to make intellegence to his Majestie's Commissiouner, the Erle of Dumbar, or sic utheris of his Majestie's Counsel as thai ar best accquantit with, that they knaw the zeal of Godis truth, and [are] faithfull to his Majestie: And, above all thingis, that they and everie ane of thame intertein peice, freindschippe, and brotherlie love with utheris;[1] laying asyd all jealous affectiounes, and uthir prejudices; and that thai communicat thair counsel and helpes to the advanceing of Religioun, and estabilishing a guid and solid agriement in the Kirk; quhilk the Brither present for thamselffis hes solemnelie promissit: And lykwayis, to labour with utheris to doe the same, so far as thai can, that God may haif glorie, and his maist excellent Majestie contentment and satisfactioun in all thingis. This conclusioun and his Majestie's Lettre being wryttin and subscrivit, the Moderator gave thankis to God, in the place quhair we wer mett; and Mr Williame Couper, being requeistit be his Majestie's Commissiouner and sume of the Brither, went to the Kirk of Falkland, and all that wer with him, thair maid ane exhortatioun and thankisgiving upon the last[2] verse of the 74 Psalme; and thairefter the 133 Psalme wes sung; and thus all wer dimissit."

By this Conferrence, thus dressit and givin furthe, the Bisschopis gained this muche, that no oppositioun wes maid againes thame at the Parliament hauldin at Edinburgh in the moneth of July thairefter; quhair also they had, for the purpose, two Inglish Doctouris,

[1] Each other.

[2] Adv. MSS. "Sd."

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that teichit all the tyme thairof, Doctour Goodwyne and Doctour Milburne, quho dyit soone thairefter. At that Parliament thai rayd[1] royallie and Prelat-lyk. Thair they had the Judicatour, Commissariot Coittis[2] of Testamentis, and all casualities of the Bisschopperikis of auld restorit again to tham *in integrum* and confirmit; and, finallie, thai became honorabill and rych Prelatis, quhair befoir they wer but Bisschopis of Baine![3] All this accquirit unto thame, upoun the Kingis great chairgis for the erecting of thais Bisschoprickis and Bischoppis of new againe, wes estimat by the wysest, quho wer actoris in it, to cost the King above thirty thousand pounds sterling.

At that Parliament also a statute wes maid, quhat forme of habit all sic as buir any office within burghtis sould haiff; [that each should have] thair awin particular habitis; and, in lyk maner, all Officeris of the land, as also the Ministeris of the Church, such as the King, with advyse of certain Commissiouneris, sould appoynt and sett doune, under the pain of horneing. *Item*, that all oppin speikeris againes his Majestie or Parliamentis proceedingis, or againes Inglishemenis, or spreideris of cokalandis[4] sould be punischit by banischment or utherwayis at the Kingis will. *Item*, ane act for dissolving the customis from the Crown for ten thousand pounds be yeir, to be peyit to the Lordis of Sessioun in recompence of the Coittis[5] of Testamentis takin from thame and givin to the Bisschopis. *Item*, dissolvit from the Kirk, and erectit[6] to the Lord Burlie, for his bussie deilling for the Bisschopis, the Abbacie of Kilwynning. *Item*, ane act for estabilisching of the Justice of the Peice in all schyris, [efter the forme of England; and the King to haiff the nominatioune thairoff yeirlie.[7]]

[1] Rode. [2] Quots. [3] This alludes to the custom then observed, (and still kept up in sport, in many places of England,) at Twelfth-night, where a King, Queen, Bishops, &c., were chosen for regulating the festivities, in each dwelling. The chief personage was called the King of Bean or Bane; and our Author jocularly classes the heretofore unbeneficed Bishops of Scotland with the mock Prelates of the Twelfth-night King's Court. [4] Pasquils, lampoons, or libellous satires. *Fr.* Coq à l'ane. [5] Quots. [6] Adv. MSS. "given." [7] Omitted in Adv. MSS.

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At that tyme ane of the Brither of the Conferrence wrot to a Brother in exile, desyreing his censuris of thair proceidingis; unto whom he wrett again, as followis:—

[LETTER FROM MR JAMES MELVILL, ONE OF THE MINISTERS IN EXILE, AS TO THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE AT FALKLAND.[1]]

"I haiff ressavit your schort, but verie significative, Lettre of your sound and ardent affectioun, boith towardis the caus and us quho sufferis for it. You would be censurit and spurrit; but quhat I sould censure I sie not weill, and to spurr ane runneing horse wer verie evill discretioun! And yit, it is true that thair is great neid of boith to us all: But quhat sall we doe?—sieing God, in his rychteous judgment for our former negligence, contempt, and ingratitude, hes pluckit away from us all hart and hand, affectioun, reassoun, and zeall, knawledge, spirit, courage, and actioun; so that auctoritie, money, craft, and bussines of this world, caries all sinceritie, truth, wisdome, and friedome away; or rather overquhelmis, oppressis, and beiris doun the force and strenth thairof to the ground: Greatter craft, subtilitie, policie, and catasophistrie wes nevir usit by the Egyptiannis againes Godis people! I saw the craft of thais trewis[2] takin befoir the last Generall Assemblie, in all thair proceidingis, thais almost ane dussen of yeiris bypast; and maid such advertisement and wairneing as I could, boith publictlie and privatlie, to Generall Assemblies and to particularis; but as [*tales*] *casus Cassandra canebat, haud unquam creditura Teucris*,[3] I saw the policie of the Conferrence befoir the Parliament, only to mak the Brither secure and remiss, that they mycht without impediment won sum further ground, and further poynt and starkineing[4] of thair estait.

"I can not yit be throuchlie informit quhat wes don at the Par-

[1] This Letter was written by our Author, as appears from *Cald. Hist.* folio edit. p. 613. [2] Adv. MSS. "truces." [3] This quotation is taken from *Virg. Æneid*, iii. 257, and ii. 247. [4] Strengthening, establishing, consolidating.

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liament; but it is said and givin out heir, that quhatevir the King would haif bein at is heir effectuat to him, and bettir service done. Would to God that thair had bein at leist but sume such advertisement and protestatioun givin in and sent abroad, as wes givin in at the Parliament of Perthe! And iff thai would neidis bring in questioun the Cautiounes, I wische that all done in thais Assemblies; and so the voitting in Parliament, that foundatioun of that rebuildit Babyloun, to haiff bein shakin, and brought in doubt also, and controversie; but wischeris and walderis[1] are but evile housse-haderis! And so, I feir that the hous of God, quhairoff the Stewardries[2] concreditit[3] to us be brokin upe, and a long tyme of vacatioun or[4] it be gatherit and takin up againe; and dureing that idle[5] time[6] (as in the Collegis) mair godlines and guid lairneing forget in ane oulk,[7] nor wes taught and lairnit in a moneth befoir! Giff ye say, 'Men and brether, quhat sall we doe?' Would to God we had the spirit of compunctioun first to move us, in a earnest, zealous maner, to aske tham! I think that sum thing mycht yit be answerit; as, First, to cry and complein to Chryst, filling heavin and earth with lamentatiounes for the captivitie and desolatioun of Sion, and for hir saik not to keipe silence untill the Lord have pitie on her.[8] 2. To publishe to all Christianis our greivances and complaintis, how our Kirk is opprest by auctoritie of men, corruptit with money, circumveinit with craft and pollicie, and hauldin in thraldome againes Godis Word; quhat former constitutiounes and long customes; and againes thais actis, lawis, statutis, and priveledgis, that the King, Estaitis in Parliament, and haill bodie of this realme, hes grauntit and givin unto hir. 3. I wauld haiff thais Balaams, with honnour and welth of this world, blinder then asses, that for the waigis of unrychteousnes hes pervertit the wayis and prophetis[9] of the Lord; thais Judases, sonnes of perditioun, quho for money hes betrayit Chryst and his kingdome; thais Esawis, most prophain, quho hes sold thair birth-

[1] Adv. MSS. "and nedderis." [2] Stewardships. [3] Entrusted.
[4] Before, ere. [5] Adv. MSS. "jollie." [6] In playful allusion to the holidays at Colleges. [7] Forgot in a week. [8] Adv. MSS. "mercy on earth."
[9] *Ib.* "proffers."

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rycht, in Chrystis inheritance, for[1] a meis of pottage, that some tyme did mightily reigne in our Kirk. And, finallie, thais Shimeas,[2] imprissouneris and tormenteris of thair Britherin, efter dew admonitioun to be paintit out in thair awin cullouris and proceidingis. And last, allace! iff that spirit of actioun, zeal, and courrage that sumetyme did mychtiely rigne[3] in this Kirk wes buildit up againe, that mycht mak a few from everie Presbytrie to convein togidder in the name of Chryst, censure sickerlie[4] thais corrupteris of the Kirk to the uttermost.

"But quhat talk I of thais matteris? sieing your last Conferrence hes preoccupyit all sic dealling, and cut schort the occasiounes and meines thairof, by approving the Kingis proceidingis, with thankisgiving to God thairfoir, and promiseing peace, with brotherlie love, contentment, and concord! So, all thais are but wishes and wordis, venting,[5] lyk new wyne, from the inward wirking of a passionat heart. *Res non est integra;* the caus is prejudgit,[6] a free Assemblie cannot doe, and a competent number of men will never be gottin. Be getting this, thais and many uther thingis may eisily be answerit, and all houpe is lost and gone till the avenger of the caus aryse and mak his Ministeris, and sanctifie and steir up to him waponis of wraith, and men of mycht, at this tyme. It is time! O Lord, aryse, it is tyme! for thai haif maid thy Word and law irrite[7] and of none effect! The earth is defylit with hir inhabitantis, becaus thai transgresse thy lawis, thai alter and change the decrie, they mak of no availl the perpetuall covenant! We wer wont to heir Psalmes throw the endis of the earth, becaus the just wes cumely and held in honour; but now, I say, My bellie, my bellie, my leinnes, my leinnes! Leane am I, for wois is me for the perfidious mensworne does lyk mensworne;[8] and with most filthie perfidie thai doe most perfidiouslie, thais fals forsworne men;[9] they led Jacob in captivitie, and Judah in servitude. The heavenly scepter of thy kingdome, (the

[1] Adv. MSS. read "bot," *i. e.* without. [2] *Ib.* "Semajohes." [3] Reign. [4] Sincerely, heartily, severely. [5] Fermenting, working over. [6] Adv. MSS. "betrayed." [7] Lat. *irritus*, void, invalid. [8] Adv. MSS. "measar, (measure,) does lyke measor." [9] Isa. xxiv. 16.

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frie preicheing of thy Word,) thai haiff wrestit out of the hand of Chryst, thy annoyntit King, and subjectit it to the will and pleasoure of man; the hedge and wall of thy wyne-yard, thy holy disciplin, thai haiff undermyndit, cuttit, brokin doun, and dimolishit: We sie no signis of remeid, neither is thair any prophet among us to tell how longe! And yit, my deir bairnis,[1] and maist faithfull suffereris and laboureris in the middis of this caus of Chryst, let us not be discouragit, but heir the comfortabill voyce of our Chryst and King: 'Let not your heartis be trublit; ye belive in God, belive also in me. In my Fatheris hous ar many dwellingis. I goe to prepair a place for yow.' 'Iff ye suffer with him, ye sall rigne with him.' 'This is a faithfull saying,' etc. Let us be at leist lyk Jeremy, carriit to Egypt againes his will. Ezekeill, Daniel, Mischaell, Assryia[2] to Babiloun. Let us ever haiff thair exampill befoir our eyis, and preas to imitat and practeis thair patience, pietie, wisdome, and courage, and uther vertuis; standing uprychtlie and constantlie for the glorie of our God, and confort of his captivit Kirk, till the tyme it pleas him to steir up a wise Zerubbabell, Josua, and Ezra, for bringing againe the captivitie thairof, and purgeing and repairing the Temple and Sanctuarie; and a Nehemias for restoiring of the citie, and building up againe and repairing the decayit wallis of his Jeruselem; the houpe quhairof is meikle incressit and steirit upe amongis all the true, lairnit, and godly in Europ, by a voyce sounding mychtilie, as it were from the deid, againes that sacrielegious and accursit Hierarchie, I mein Mr Brychtmannis Commentaries on the Apocalepse, quhilk hes moir cleirnes, force of demonstratioun for the truthe, and in solid and lairnit storie, than all the hellishe[3] Jesuitis and warldling formalistis againes the same; the reiding quhairof and recommending to yow I rest, requiring a greatter inventioun of spirit in mutuall prayer."

The Bischopis now being fortifieit with honour and riches, and

[1] Adv. MSS. "Bretherin." [2] In allusion to Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, whose names were Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. [3] Adv. MSS. "foolish."

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perciving that thair wes no honour nor profite for thair purpose of preferment in governeing above thair Brither, in solid and absolut reuling of the Kirk, to be purchasit be Conferrence, thai desertit and slippit[1] the dyet appoyntit to be keipit at Stirling in August; and making thairwithall ane proclamatioun to pas furth, dischargeing the appoyntit Generall Assembly, and all ordinar keipeing thairoff, for this reassoun; becaus, forsuith, the Fatheris of the Kirk, the reverentis Prelatis and Bischopis, and the inferiour Ministeris, could not sorte and agrie weill together, so that thair meittingis sould serve for none effect, but contentious, skandellous to the godlie, and delytfull to the Papistis and utheris enimies.

The tuo Archbisshoppis, that ane with some certain of the rest with him; in lyk maner the uthir went up to Court, quhair they postit away for performance of thair purpose; to wit, 1. To mak thame awfull and redoubtit of all, thai maid the Hight Commissioun Court, maist tirannically useit be the Bischopis in England, to be proclaimeit and sett upe in Scotland, quhairby the two Archbischoppis, with any four, mycht judge and punische many at thair pleasoure, as be the tennour thairof, heirefter insert in the storie, sall appeir. Nixt, That they mycht haiff sume pretext and schaw of the Kirkis approbatioun, thai sould by such meines as they thought meittest, and mak and prepair for that purpose seven or eight scoir of the bassest of the Ministerie, calling out of everie Presbytrie the weakest thairoff; quho, by the Kingis speciall Missive Lettres sent to the Presbytries, that thais only sould be directit in commissioun, and to thame selffis, that thai sould not faill to keip a certain day and place, as thai wer assurit, boith of thankis and rewaird; and so a Generall Assemblie to be dressit for ending of the matter.

M.DC.X.

Thus, in the moneth of March, the Hight Commissioun wes proclaimed at Edinbrucht and utheris pairtis as followis:

[1] Adv. MSS. "deferred and stopped."

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THE TENNOUR OF THE HIGHT COMMISSIOUN.

"JAMES, be the grace of God, King of Great Brittane, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith: To our lovites, ... messengeris in that pairt, conjunctlie and severallie speciallie constitut, greiting. Forsuameikle as complaint being maid to us in the behalfe of the Ministerie of this our kingdome, that the frequent advocatiounes purchessit be sic as wes ether erronious in Religion or scandelous in lyff, not only discouragit the Ministerie from censureing of utheris, but imboldnit the offenderis to continow in thair wickitnes, useing thair advocatiounis as a mein to delay and dissappoynt boith tryell and punischement: We, for eschewing this inconvenient, and that the number of trew professoris may be knawin to incres, and the Antichristian tyrannie and enemie, and his growth suppressit, and all sort of vyce and slanderous life punischit; and that neither seine iniquitie, nor delay of tryellis and punischement of offendouris, the least, be this subterfuge of discourageing of Ecclesiasticall censuris, to proceid on thingis sua meit and propper for thame, haiff, out of our awin duetie to God and love to his Kirk, being the heid nurishe-father of the same on earth, within our dominiounes, givin power and commissioun to the Reverent Father in God, our trest and weill-belovit couseing and counsellour, George Archbisschoppe of Saint Androis, Primat and Metropollitane of our kingdome; and unto our rycht trest couseing and counsellour, Alexander Erle of Dumfermelling, Lord Hicht Chancellour of this our kingdome; George Erle of Dumbar, Thesaurer; George Erle of Marschell, Johne Erle of Mar, Johne Erle of Montrose, Patrick Erle of Kinghorne; to the Rycht Reverent Fatheris in God, Alexander Bischop of Duncaldein, Patrick Bischop of Aberdein, Alexander Bischop of Murray, Andro Bischop of Brichin, David Bischop of Ross, George Bischop of Dumblain, Alexander Bischop of Caitnes, and James Bischop of Orknay; to our trustie cousine and councellour . . . . ., Lord Lindsay, Simone Lord Fraser of Lovat, David Lord Scoone; and to our trustie and welbelovit counsellouris, Mr Johne Prestoune of Penniecuick, President of our

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Colledge of Justice; Sir Richart Cockburne of Clerkingtoun, knicht, Lord Privie Seale; Sir Alexander Hay, knycht, our Secretar; Sir James Hay of Kingask, our Controller; Sir Thomas[1] Hammiltoun of Binnie, knycht, our Advocat; and to our lovitis, Sir David Carnegie of Kinnard, knycht, David Dundas of that[1] Ilk, Alexander Irving of Drum, William Ramsay of Balmaine, Mr Johne Arthure, Mr Thomas Hendersoun, Mr Adam[2] King, and Mr James Ballandein, Commissaris of Edinbruche; Mr Johne Weemes, Commissar of Saint Androis; Mr James Martine, Rector of the Universitie of Saint Androis; Mr Robert Howie, Principal of the New College thair; Mr David Moniepennie, Deane of Facultie, Mr Patrick Galloway, Mr Johne Hall, Pettir Edwart,[3] Mr Johne Nicolsone, Mr Robert Wilkie, Mr Johne Strachane, Mr Andro Leith, Mr Henrie Philip, Mr Andro Futhie, and Mr Patrick Lindsay, Ministeres; or to ony fyve of thame, the said Archbisschop being allwayis one of them, within the haill boundis of the Province of Saint Androis: And to the Right Reverent Father in God, and our trusty and welbelovit cousigne and counsellor, Johne Archbisschop of Glasgow, Alexander Erle of Dumfermeling, George Erle of Dumbarr, Johne Erle of Cassilis, James Erle of Glencairne, Johne Erle of Wigtone, James Erle of Abircorne: And to the Reverent Father in God, Williame Bisschop of Galloway, Johne Bisschope of Argyl, Andro Bisschop of the Isles; and to our trustie cousing and counsellour, Walter Lord of Blantyre; and to our lovitis, Mr Johne Arthur, Mr Thomas Hendirsoun, Mr Adame King, [and] Mr James Ballandyne, Commissaris of Edinbruche, David Forsyth, Commissar of Glasgow; James Halliday, Commissar of Drumfreis; Mr John[4] Hammiltoun, Commissar of Hammiltoun; Mr James Hammiltoun, Commissar of Lanricke; Sir George Elphinstoun of Blythswood,[5] knight; Mr Patricke Scharpe, Principall of the Colledge of Glasgow; Mr Williame Birnie, Minister at Lanericke; Mr Johne Hay, Parsoun of Ranthrow;[6] Mr James

[1] Adv. MSS. "James." Thomas, afterwards President of the College of Justice, Earl of Melrose and Earl of Haddington. [2] Univ. MS. "David." [3] Adv. MSS. "Mr Patrick Stewart." [4] Univ. MS.-" James." [5] *Ib.* "Sir James Hamilton of Eistwood." [6] Renfrew.

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Hammiltoun, Deane of Glasgow; Mr David Scharpe and Patrick Walkingschaw, Subdeanes of Glasgow; Mr Thomas Ramsay, Minister at Drumfreis, Mr Johne Bell, Minister at Glasgow, and Mr Walter Stewart, Minister; or ony fyve of thame, the said Archbisschop being allwayis one, within the haill boundis of the Province of Glasgow: To call befoir thame, at all sic tymes and places as they sall think meit, any persoun or persounes dwelling and remaining within thir Provinces *respective* above writtin, Saint Androis or Glasgow, or within any of the diosies of the samyn, being offenderis either in lyff or religioun, quhom they hald any wayis to be scandalous; and that they tak tryell of the same; and iff they find thame guilty or impenitent, refuissing to give thair acknowledgment of thair offence, thai sall give command to the Preicheris of that paroche quhair thai dwell, to proceid with sentence of executioun or excommunicatioun againes thame; quhilk iff it be protractit or delayit, and thair command be that Minister be not presently obeyit, they sall than convein any sic Ministeris befoir thame, and proceid in censureing of thame for thair dissobedience ether by suspensioun, or deprivatioun, or wairding, according as thai by thair discretioun, [haulding him obstinat and refuissing of thair discretioun to haiff deservit; and farder, to fyne at thair discretiounis,[1]] imprissoun or waird any sic persoun, quho being convenit befoir thame, thai sall find upoun tryell to haiff deservit any such punischement; and a warrand under the hand of any of the fyve above nameit, out of everie Province above writtin, [the said Archbisschope of the Province being one, sall serve for a sufficient command to our Capitanis and Constabillis of wairdis and castellis, and to all keiperis of jaylis and prissounes, ether in burght or land, within any Province *respective* above writtin,[2]] for ressaiveing and deteineing of sic persounes as salbe directit to be keipit be thame, in sic forme as by the said warrand salbe prescryvit, as thai will answer upon the contrair at thair perrell, and upoun all hazardis; and of all sic fynis as salbe imposit upon any sic offender,

[1] Omitted in Adv. MSS.

[2] Omitted in Adv. MSS.

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the ane halff to appertein to yourselff, and the uthir halff to be imployit upoun sic necessar chairgis as our said Commissiouneris salbe sortit unto, be chairgeing of pairties and witnessis to compeir befoir thame, and the superplus to be bestowit at the sight of the saidis Commissiouneris by distributioun among the poore: Commanding our Lords of our Privie Counsel, upon sight of any certificat subscryvit be any fyve of the saidis Commissiouneris within everie Province, as said is, the said Archbisschop of the Province being ane, aither of any fyne imposit be thame upon any pairtie compeirand and found guiltie, or the contumacie or refusall of any to compeir befoir thame, that the saidis Lordis of our Privie Counsel direct ane summar chairge of horning on ten dayis onlie, and that no suspensioun nor relaxatioun be grantit, without first ane testimoniall under the hand of the Archbisschop of the Province, conteineing the obedience and satisfactioun of the pairtie chairgit, be produceit; and in cais of dissobedience and further rebelling of the pairtie quho salbe chairgit for his fyne and not compeirance, the saidis Lordis of our Counsel are than to prosecut the maist strait order, for any uther caus quhatever useit againes rebellis: With power to our saidis Commissiouneris to proceid heirin, as also to tak tryell of all sic persounes that hes maid defectioun or are suspect in Religioun; and, as thai find any just caus againes thame, to proceid in maner foirsaid; and alsoe quhatsoever thai shall lairne or understand of any Ministeris, Preicheris, or Teicheris of Scoolls or Colledgis, or Universities, or of Exhorteris or Lectureris being Readeris within thais boundis, quhois speiches in publict had bein impertinent, and againes the present Estabilischit order of the Kirk againes any of the conclusiounes of the bypast Generall Assemblie, or in favour of any of thais quho are banischit, wairdit, or confynit, for thair contemptuous offences, quhilk being no matter of doctrin, and so meikle idill time spent without instructioun of thair auditouris in thair salvatioun, aucht so meikle the moire to be seveirlie punischit; and in regard that thai are Ministeris quho of all utheris sould spend least idill[1] talk, and speciallie in the Chyre of Veritie;[2]

[1] Adv. MSS. "their jollie."

[2] The pulpit.

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and, thairfoir, efter the calling of thame befoir the saidis Commissiouneris, they are to be tryit and questiounit upoun the poyntis of that quhilk is laid againes thame, and punischit according to the qualitie of thair offence: And quhairas complaint salbe maid to thame be any pairtie that salbe conveinit befoir any Ecclesiasticall Judicator for any such crymes as he salbe thair suspectit of, or that the pairtie dois alledge allwayis the matter it selff to be improper to that Judicator, or the proceidingis to haif bein informall, or that the Judicator it selff hes bein too partiall; and quhen the Commissiouneris sall sie any just caus, thai ar then to tak tryall and cognitioun thairoff tham selffis, We dischairge the said Judicatorie of all further proceidings: Giving power also to our said Commissiouneris to mak chuse of Clerk, and making of utheris Memberis of Court, and to direct out preceptis in the name of the Archbisschop, and his associatis within his Province, for citatioun of any pairties befoir thame, within the boundis of the saidis Provinces, in any of the said caussis above mentiounit; quhilk preceptis aught to be seillit with a speciall seall, conteining the armes of the saidis Bischoprickis; giving power also to chairge witnesses to compeir befoir thame, under the paine of fourtie poundis Scottis money; and upon the certificatioun of the saidis Commissiouneris, that any of the saidis penalties are incurrit be thame, the said Lordis of our Counsel are to direct the lyk chairge for payment of the samen as is appoyntit for payment of the fynis of the saidis Commissiouneris past our Great Seale, containeing diverse heidis, articles, and clausses and conditiounes, and beiring daitt at our Court at Roustoune, the 20 day of January last, as at lenth is conteinit: Quhairoff necessar it is that publicatioune be maid to all our leiges, that none pretend ignorance heirof. Our Will is heirfor, and we chairge yow straitlie, and commandis, that incontinent thir our Letteris sein, ye pas to the heid burghtis within the Provincis above writtin, and thair by oppin proclamatioune that ye mak publicatioune of the premissis, that none pretend ignorance: As also, that ye, in our name and auctoritie, command and chairge all our leigis and subjectis to reverence and obey our saidis Commissiouneris in all and every thing

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tending to the executioune of this our Commissioune; and to doe nothing to thair hinder or prejudice, as thai, and ilk ane of thame, wilbe answerabill to us and our Counsell, upon thair obedience, at thair hiest paine, chairge, and perrell: The quhilk to doe, &c. Givin under our Signett at Edinbruche, the 15 of Februar, and of our reigne the 47 year, 1610.

"*Per Actum Secreti Concilii.*"

The Commissioune and the executioune thairoff, as it exaltit the Bisschopis far above any Prelatt that ever wes in Scotland, so it put the King in possessioune of that quhilk a long tyme he had desyrit and huntit for, to witt, of The Royall Prerogative, and absolut powar to use thair bodies and guidis of thair subjectis at pleasure, without forme or proces of the commoun law, even than quhen the bodie of the realme of England wes in thair Parliament compleineing of the justice and injurie thairoff, and seiking redresse, so that our Bisschopis wes fittit in instrumentis of overthraw of the fridome and libertie, boith of the Kirk and realme of Scotland, as it wes then, be all that had tongues and wittis takin up and talkit.

About the end of the moneth of May, the Erle of Dumbar come from England with auctoritie, and thrie Englisch Doctoris, viz. Hamptoune, Myritoun, and Hudistoune. Then the Presbytries ressavit thair Lettres, accompaneit with the Lettres and seallis of the Bisschopis, to witt, Archiebisschopis, craveing and commanding such and such, be name, to be sent to Glasgow with unlimitit Commissiouneris; and thai nominat and dressit long befoir be the Bisschopis, and callit be the particular the Kingis Missives, wer in reddines to goe, either with the Commissioune or without Commissioune: So, at one instant, the word went; and within ten dayes wes appoyntit a Generall Assembly to be hauldin at Glasgow; but no man so much as dreamit of sic effect as at ane stollin dint, in ane day, to overthraw ane work seventie yeiris in building, and above 24 yeiris spacious and most profitabill standing. That Assemblie did conclud and determine as followis:

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[*Sess. 3tia, nono Junij, post meridiem.*]

THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE HAULDIN AT GLASGOW THE 8 OF JUNE 1610, CONCLUDIT THAIS HEIDIS AND ARTICLES, CONCERNEING THE DISCIPLIN OF THE KIRK, TO BE OBSERVIT IN ALL TYMIS COMEING.

"In the first, It is declarit, that thè alledgit Assemblie, hauldin at Aberdein, is null[1] in it selff, specially in respect it had not his Majestie's warrand,[2] and wes dischairgit by his Majestie's Commissiouneris; and becaus that the necessitie of the Kirk craves, that for order taking with the commoun enimies, and uthir effairis of the Kirk, that thair salbe yeirly ane Generall Assembly, the Judicatorie[3] quhairof the Assemblie acknawledgis to appertein to his Majestie be the Prerogative of his Royall Croune; and, thairfor, the Generall Assembly most humbly requistis that Generall Assemblies may be hauldin once in the yeir; or at leist, in respect of the necessitie foirsaid, that his Majestie would appoynt a certaine tyme at the quhilk the same salbe hauldin in all tymes cumming preceisely.

"*Item*, It is thought expedient that the Bisschoppis salbe Moderatoris in every Diocesian Synod, and that the Synod sall hald tuyse in the yeir of the Kirk of everie Diosie, to witt, in Aprylle and October; and quhair the Diosie is lairge, that thair be tuo or thrie Synodis in convenient places, for eis of the Ministeris.

"*Item*, That no sentence of Excommunicatioune, or Absolutioun thairof, be pronunceit againes or in favouris of onie persoune, without the knawledge and approbatioune of the Bisschope of the Diosie, quho must be answerabill to his Majestie for all formall and impartiall proceiding thairin; and the proces being found formall, the sentence to be pronunceit at the directioune of the Bisschopis be the Minister of the paroche quhair the offender dwellis, and the proces begunne; and in cais the Bisschop salbe found to haiff stayit the pronunceing of the sentence againes any persoune that hes

[1] Adv. MSS. "wes unjust." [2] *Ib.* "allowance." [3] *Ib.* "injunctione."

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merit[1] the same, and quhen the proces hes bein lawfullie deduceit, the same being tryit and convictit in the Generall Assemblie; thaireftir that advertisement salbe maid to his Majestie, to the effect that ane uther may be placeit in his rowme.

"*Item*, That all presentatiounes heirefter be directit to the Bisschop, and upon a presentatioune givin, or utherwayis sute[2] maid be any to be admittit to the Ministerie, the Minister is to require the Ministerie of that boundes quhair he is to serve, to certiefie be thair certificat to him, the pairtie suitter his conversatioune past, abilitie and qualificatioune for the functioune; and upon the returne of thair testificatioune the Bisschope is to tak further tryell; and, finding him qualifieit, and being assistit be sume of the Ministeris of thais boundis quhair he is to serve, as he will assume to himself, and, as he wilbe answerabill, to perfyt the haill act of ordinatioun.

"*Item*, In the depositioun of Ministeris, the Bisschop assosiating to himself the Ministerie of the boundis quhair the delinquent servit, he is then to tak tryell of his flock; and, upoun just caus found, to deprive him.

"*Item*, That everie Minister at his admissioune sall sweir obedience to his Majestie and Ordinar, according to the forme sett doun in the Conferrence, keipit in the yeir of God 1571, quhairof the tennour followis:

'THE FORME OF AITHE[3] TO BE GIVIN BE THE PERSOUNE PROVYDIT TO ANE BENEFICE, WITH CURE, THE TYME OF HIS ADMISSIOUN BE THE ORDINAR.

"'I, A. B., being now nominat and admittit to the Church of D., intirely testiefies and declaires, in my conscience, that the rycht hight, excellent, and mychtie Prince, James, be the grace of God, King of Scottis, is the only lawfull Supreme Governour of this realme, alseweill in thingis temporall as in conservatioune and preservatione of Religioun, and purgatioune thairof; and that no forraigne Prince, Prelat, or Pope, State, or Potentat, haiff or aught to

[1] Merited. [2] Suit. [3] Oath.

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haiff any superioritie, jurisdictioun, power, preheminencie, or auctoritie, Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall, within this realme: And, thairfoir, I renunce utterly and forsake all forraigne jurisdictioun, poweris, superiorities, and auctorities, and promisses that I will, from this [time] furth, endeavour, and will beir faithfull and true obedience to his Hines, and his aires, and lawfull successouris; and to my power sall assist and defend all jurisdictiounes, priviledges, and preheminencies, accessories, or unitteit and annexit to his Royal Croun: And further, I acknawledge and confesse to haif and hauld the said C., and all possessiounes of the same, under God, only of his Majestie and Croun Royall of this realme; and for the saidis possessiounes I doe homage presentlie to his Hienes, in your presens, and to his Majestie's aires and lawfull successouris salbe true: So helpe me God.'

"*Item*, The Visitatioune of the Diosie is to be done be the Bisschop be him self; and, if the boundis salbe greater nor he can overtake, he is then to make speciall choyse, and to appoynt sume worthie man to be Visitor in his place; and quhatever Minister, without just caus and lawfull excuis, salbe absent from the Visitatioune of the Diosesian Assemblie, he salbe suspendit from his office and benefice, and, if he amend not, he salbe deprivit.

"*Item*, Excerceis of Doctrin is to be continowit oukely[1] among Ministeres at the tymes of thair awin accustomeit meittingis, and to be moderatit by the Bisschop iff he be present, or then be any uther that salbe appoyntit[2] at the tymes of the Synod.

"*Item*, The Bisschop salbe subject, in all thingis concerneing thair lyff, conversatioune, office, and benefice, to the censur of the Generall Assemblie; and, being found culpabill, be his Majestie's advyse and consent to be depryvit.

"*Item*, That no Bisschop be electit bot quho hes past the aige of fourtie yeiris compleit, and quho hes bein ane actuall teiching Minister be the space of ten yeiris at the leist.

"Quhilk haill Articles, being diverse tymes red in the face of the haill Assemblie, voiting efter the same, wer ratifieit and ap-

[1] Weekly. [2] Adv. MSS. "he shall appoynt."

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provit, and concludit be the haill Assemblie, and ordainit to be observit in all tymes cuming.

[*Sess. 4ta, undecimo Junij, ante meridiem.*[1]

"The said day, the Earle of Dumbar, one of his Majestie's Commissioners, being presently of intention, to have caused instantly discharge all Presbyteriall meetings by open Proclamation at the market crosse of Glasgow; and that because he had received a special warrant and command from his Majestie to that effect, which he on no wayes would nor durst disobey; the whole Assembly most earnestly interceed with his Lordship, that it might please his Lordship to continue the making of the said Proclamation, and discharge of the Presbyteries contained in the said Letter, for a certain space; that, in the mean time, his Majestie might be certiorat of the proceedings of this present Assembly, which they doubted not would give his Majestie full satisfaction in that part: Unto the which request, these of the Nobilitie, being presently conveened by his Majestie's direction in the said Assembly, did concurre, and interpon their request to that same effect. Whereunto the said Earle of Dumbar having acquiesced upon special offer made by the Noblemen conveened, that they would interceed at his Majestie's hands, that he should be blameless for the said delay; for the which, the Assembly did give his Lordship most heartie thanks; and therefore ordained a Letter to be directed, in name of the whole Assembly, containing a most humble Supplication, that it might please his Majestie of his gracious favour to accept of the proceedings of this present Assembly, in the matter of the Discipline of the Kirk, whereunto they had condescended for satisfaction of his Majestie's good will, contained in his Highness' Letter; and in respect thereof, that it might stand with his Majestie's good pleasure and will to superseed all further discharge of the said Presbyteries.

"Anent the Supplication given in name of George Marquess of Huntlie, &c., bearing in effect, that after long conference and rea-

[1] This portion of the proceedings (from this page to p. 799) has been supplied from *Cald. Hist.* folio edit. It is omitted in all the MSS. of the Supplement to Melvill's Diary

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soning had in the controverted heeds of Religion, betwixt his Lordship and certain of the Ministery deputed to that effect, he was fully resolved in all doubts and difficulties that might arise therein, or trouble him in any sort; in token whereof, he hath subscribed the whole Heeds and Articles of the Religion presently professed within this realme; which were presented with the said Supplication: And, therefore, desiring that a commission may be directed from this present Assembly, giving power to such Commissioners as they should appoint to absolve him from the sentence of Excommunication, in respect of his satisfaction foresaid; as at more length is contained in the said Supplication. Therefore, the Earle of Dumbar, his Majestie's Commissioner, having declared, in his Majestie's name, his Highness' minde anent the absolution of the Marquess of Huntlie from the sentence of Excommunication; and in special, that it should be tried if his Lordship was fully, in heart and conscience, resolved and satisfied in the heeds of Religion, as he had subscribed the same with his hand, to the intent that thereafter he might be absolved from the said sentence of Excommunication.

"The General Assembly, being ripely advised with the said Supplication, and his Majestie's minde declared by his Highness' Commissioner thereanent, Giveth, granteth, and committeth their full Commission to the persons after specified, the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, the Bishops of Orknay, Galloway, Brechen, Mr John Hall, Mr Patrick Simpsone, Mr William Couper, Mr Patrick Sharpe, and Mr Andrew Leitch; with power to them to passe with his Majestie's Commissioners, and the Earles of Montrose, Glencarne, Cathness, Linlithgow, Kinghorne, Wigtoun, and Lothian, to the Castle of Stirline, where the said Marquess is presently confined, and there to try the said Marquess his intention and resolution, in the Heeds and Articles of the Religion; and if he be fully satisfied thereanent in his heart and conscience, as he hath outwardly professed the same, subscribed with his hand; and in case they finde him fully resolved, and of inward intention to give full satisfaction in all the points and heeds of Religion controverted, and to avow, and constantly to confesse and professe,

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the true Religion that is presently professed publickly within this realme, in that case, they give full power and commission to the said Brethren, with Mr John Hay, Mr John Mitchel, Mr Robert Cornwal, and Mr Patrick Lindsey, or any nine of them, (the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow being alwayes two,) to absolve him from the processe and sentence of Excommunication.

"*Item*, It was humbly regrated in the Assembly, that notwithstanding of many lovable acts and constitutions, as well Ecclesiasticall as Civil, alreadie made and enacted for repressing the disorder and insolence of professed and excommunicat Papists; yet neverthelesse they do still remain in their former obstinacie and disobedience; proceeding doubtlesse upon the impunitie which they do enjoy, and oversight whereby they are suffered to have free passage and accesse in all parts of the countrey, as if they wer not excommunicat: For remedie whereof, it is ordained, that every one of the Commissioners present give in roll to the Clerk of the Assembly all the persons that are excommunicat within their bounds, that the same being presented by him to my Lord Commissioner, his Lordship may cause the Secret Councel take order with them, according to the lawes of the countrey.

"And because it is not unknown to the King's Majestie, what manifold treasonable practices and attempts are, from time to time, devised against his Majestie and his Royal Estate by the Papists, and professed enemies to the truth, therefore, the Assembly hath thought good that a Supplication should be directed to his Majestie in name of the whole Assembly, to put his Majestie in remembrance of his own estate and danger, whereunto his Majestie is subject through the cruel and craftie treason daily forged and contrived against his state and person, by the Papists, Jesuits, and Seminarie Priests, enemies to God and the true Religion, and to his Majestie, because his Highness is a special maintainer of the same against their false and erroneous doctrines; that, therefore, it would please his Majestie to have such regard to his own estate, and preservation of his most sacred person from their bloudie devices, that by debarring of them and their favourers from his Majestie's presence,

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his Majestie, by the grace and protection of God Almighty, may be preserved in safety, to the advancement of the glorie of God, establishing of the true peace of his Kirk within his Majestie's dominions, and comfort and tranquillitie of his Highness' subjects, whose wealth and prosperitie in this earth, under God, they acknowledge to consist in his Majestie's preservation."]

[*Sess. 5ta, Junii* 11, *post meridiem.*]

"Forsuameikle as in this present Generall Assembly it wes allredie statut and ordainit, that the Excerceis salbe moderatit be the Bisschop in the meittingis of the Ministeris, if they be present, or then by any uther quhom he sall appoynt at the tyme of the Synod; and becaus the nixt Synod is not to be hauldin befoir the moneth of October nixtocum, heirfoir, it is ordainit that, in absence of the Bisschop, the Constant Moderatoris sall remaine in thair place quhill the nixt Synod to be hauldine in October nixtocume.

"*Item*, Becaus it is uncivill that lawis and constitutiounes, either Civill or Ecclesiasticall, being once establischit and in force, by opin and publict consent, sould be controllit or callit in question be any persoune; thairfoir, it is statut and ordainit, be uniforme consent of this haill Assemblie, that none of the Ministerie that ethir in pulpit in his preicheing, or in his publict excercises, speik or reassoune againes the present act of this Assemblie, or dissobey the same, under the paine of deprivatioune, being tryit and convictit thairoff; and speciallie, that the questioune of equalitie and inequalitie in the Kirk be not tryit in pulpit, under the same paine; and that everie one of the Commissiouneris present intimat the act in the first meitting at the first excercise.

"Extractit furth out of the Buikis of the Generall Assemblie be me,

(*Sic subscribitur*) "MR THOMAS NICOLSOUN,
"*Commissiouner of Abirdeine, Clerk, Keiper, and Extracter heiroff.*"

It is not to be omittit that Mr Petir Prymrose, with the haill

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Presbytrie of Air,[1] perceiving befoir hand the dint and terribil straik intendit, came with premeditat and resolvit purpose to protest againes it, and began in publict to doe the same, but wes interruptit, and referrit to the Privie Conferrence, quhair, pairtlie be minassing auctoritie, and pairtlie be cunning pollicie, they wer brockin and abateit.

The maner of thair proceiding in that Assemblie ye sall understand by this letter following:

[LETTER AS TO THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY AT GLASGOW, 8 MAY 1610.]

"I doubt not bot yow ar sufficientlie informit of the proceidingis at Glasgow; but for my duetie, in a word, all that thai haif bein contending for and suffering thais maney yeiris, in that ane act is undone. The meitting wes frequent of Nobillmen, Knychtis, and Counselleris, wryttin for, and dressit for the purpose, and quho all voitit, albeit it stood not upoun thair voitis; for thair wes only fyve contrary voitis in the haill Assemblie. It began with fasting on Tuysday,[2] quhairupoun thair wes thrie sermonis. The Bisschop of Glasgow, in the morneing, upon 'I wald haiff curit Babell,' &c. His principall discours wes againes sacrielegious persounes, slanting at the late Patrounages. In end, he had his speiche: 'Yow look,' sayis he, 'that I sould speik sumething of the purpose that this Assemblie is conveinit for: I will say no moir but this, that Religioune must not be intertaineit after the manner it wes brought into the land. It wes brought in be confusioun—it must be intertaineit be order: It wes brought in the land againes auctoritie—it must be intertaineit by auctoritie!'

"Bischop Law followit at ten houris, quhois discours wes upon peace; and thairefter schew that the peace behovit to be with veritie, or else better no peace; and upon that came to the ques-

[1] Adv. MSS. "whole Ministers of the Presbytries in the West."
[2] *Ib.* "Thursday."

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tioune, Quhither the Governement of the Kirk aught to be by Ministeris of equall power, or by ane sett over the rest, yea or not? He passit over *jus divinum*, and tuik him to prove thair lawfullnes out of antiquitie, of the ane above the rest; and all com to thrie, antiquitie, universalitie, and perpetuitie, (Papisticall argumentis!) casting in thairwithall, to mak it the moir plausibill, sume wrestit sentences out of Calvine and Junius: And so concludit the verity of the questioune for Episcopall Governement with a solemne oath and protestatioun of his conscience in that matter; little remembring quhat he had preicheit solemnelie at Synodis concerneing that matter, and quhat they had sworne and subscryvit befoir the Bischoprick movit his conscience! Eftirnoone came the litle Inglish Chaplaine, Hudstone, all upoun the same groundis, in his cunnit[1] and cuttit maner.

"The principall Articles concludit were, First, The Generall Assemblie of Aberdeine condemnit: 2. The haill power of Visitatioune of Kirks, of Excommunicatioune, of Admitting and Deposeing of Ministeres, to be in the handis of Bischopis; everie ane within thair awin Diosie, and sua maney as thai pleis to joyne thame, tuyse in the yeir: Diocesiane meittingis to be tuyse in the yeir: Generall Assemblies to be none, except as the King sall think meitt to appoynt. Iff the Bisschop doe amiss in the power committit to him, it salbe lawfull to the Ministeris to complein againes him to the Generall Assemblie, quhilk sall tak order with him according to the Kingis advyce, as salbe qualiefieit againes him: No Minister to be admittit befoir he haiff sworne his alledgeance to the King, and his obedience to the Bisschopis, as thair Ordinar, *in omnibus licitis et Cannonicis:* No Minister, either privatlie or publictlie, to speik any thing againes the conclusiounes of this Assemblie, namely, of the equalitie or inequalitie of the Ministeris, under the paine of depositioune.

"Thair wes meikle adoe anent the dischairge of the Presbytries, for the quhilk the Erle of Dumbar alledgit he had a Commissioun

[1] Conned.

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expressely, sic as he behovit to put in executioune to dischairge thame *simpliciter;* yit it resolvit verie craftilie in this, that the number assemblit sould wrytt thair proceidingis to his Majestie, and subscryve the samen; and then mak suitis to his Majestie, that the Presbytries may be permittit to stand; howbeit, in effect, thai wer also weill away as to stand as cipheris only, and no moir to be acknawledgit be the name of Presbytries, but to be called 'The Meitting of the Britherin upoun the Excercise;' and so it pleissis the Bisschopis to style thame in thair wryttingis and meittingis.

"Thir wer the principall heidis concludit. All passit efter the maner of the Privie Conferrence, and that, as the Moderator, Glasgow, alledgit in the oppin Assemblie, without any contradictioun, except tuo Brither quhom he would not name; quhilk wer thought to be Mr Johne Hall and Mr Williame Cowper. Thair wes lairge money distributit to the Ministeris that did the turne, under pretence of beiring thair chairges; not without sume malecontentment and contentioun in pairting thair pelfe-deilling. Thus ye sie how our matteris gois, and quhat neid we haiff of wisdome, constancie, and courage; quhilk Chryst, quhois caus it is, must work in the heartis of his faithfull servantis. Amen."

As the Nobilitie, Bischopis, and Ministeris, returnit from this Assemblie, in a great and solemne audience, at Stirling, Mr Patrick Simpsoune layit thair perjurie and defectioun so clearlie and fairlie to thair conscience, in his sermone, that the Bisschopis wist not quhat to doe, quhither to accuse or comport;[1] their patience prevailit. In lyk maner, comeing to Edinbruche, Mr Walter Balcanquell did the same; quho wes thairfor callit befoir the Counsell, quhair, *coram*,[2] he convictit Bisschop Law of apostacie and perjurie, so that he had not to answer; and yet escaipit with simple admonitioun. Mr Patrick Galloway glanceit verie neir the matter, in his first sermone maid thairefter at Edinbruche, but ever thairwith, according to his fashioun, flattering the King. Also a merchant in

[1] Adv. MSS. "to excuse or conceal that to doe." [2] In presence of the whole Council.

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Edinbruche, nameit Mr Williame Kempe, being, for his privie speiches againes the proceidingis of that Assemblie, wes callit before the Counsell, did thair speik verie plainelie, saying, "Of a truth, thai of that Assemblie wer unhonnest and perjurit: Unhonnest, for that sending Commissiouneris from thair Presbytrie to keip the Generall Assemblie at Aberdeine, they had first sufferit thais Commissiouneris to be maist shamefully usit and punischit; and now had condemnit that Assemblie, and thair Britherin's proceidingis thairin, they never being tryit nor heard befoir any Assemblie or Judicatorie of the Kirk: Perjurit, for that quhilk thai had sworne and subscryvit unto solemnelie, and maid even all thair flockis solemnelie to subscryve, and sweir that quhilk they had preichit and professit be thame, and practisit twentie yeiris bygaine; haiff now, sitting downe in one day of this Assemblie at Glasgow, overturnit and condemnit with so feirfull a sclander and stumbling-block to all the people, that they haiff not the warrant of thair faith, utherwayis then by thair preiching, ar casten downe, or in dout quhat to think of all faith[1] and religioun, preichit and professit be thame, since thair entrie in the Ministerie!" The Counsell would haiff givin out a rigourous sentence againes him, but Glasgow interceidit for him, and said that would do no guid, but rather hurt nor forder[2] the Kingis caus and purpose; for severitie, in that matter so fresche, wald concitat and stirr up more, and mak thame too much adoe: And so, efter a few dayis imprissounement, he wes admonischit and lett goe. And thairon, immediatly, a terribill proclamatioune wes maid, that none sould speik againes the proceidingis of that Assemblie.

Soone thairefter, Glasgow and Brechine tuik journay to Court, to report and get thankis, and Galloway followit efter; quho all thrie wer keipit to the monethe of November, at quhat tyme the Inglish Parliament satt doun at Westminster; and thane, be a speciall Commissioune from the King to the Bisschop of Londoun for that effect, the Archbisschop of Glasgow and the uther tuo wer solemnelie inaugurat and consecrat with annonyting of oyle and

[1] Adv. MSS. "pietie."

[2] Than further.

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uther ceremonies, just according to the Inglish faschioun and Pontificall Papistis. Quho, thairefter, returneing to Scotland in the moneth of December, they did to the Archbisschop of Saint Androis, at Saint Androis, as thai wer done at Lambeth, all as neir as thai could possibillie imitat.[1]

And now, in conclusioune of this Historie, it is remarkabill how soone thairefter the great Judge of this world callit the two cheiff instrumentis of the overthrow of Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland to thair accompt and judgment; for Richard Bancroft, Archbisschop of Canterberrie, quho, att the funerall sermoun maid by Abbotis, Bisschop of Londoun, had the commendatioune of the overthrowing of the Presbytries of the Kirk of Scotland, wes himselff feirfullie overthrowin by feirfull and terribill tormentis and desperat death at Lambeth, in that same moneth of November, at the verie tyme of the Scottis Bisschopis inauguratioun: And in the moneth of February thaireftir immediatlie following,[2] the Erle of Dumbar wes by death pluckit from the height of his honour and credit at Court, evin quhen he wes most cairfull to haiff had a great building compleitt at Berwick; for he had promiseit to celebrat Saint George day thair, and quhen he wes about solemnizeing his daughter's marriage most magnificlie with the Lord Walden, eldest sonne to the Erle of Suffolk, Lord Hight Chamberlane, with all thair spectaclis, honnouris, and merriementis, that the favour off the King, Court, and Nobillis could affoord, he wes faine to tak him to his deathis-bed, and forcit to give up the ghost. And thus was Jericho buildit up againe, in Scotland, as also the curs executt upoun the builderis.

[1] The rest of the Scotish Bishops were afterwards formally re-inaugurated and consecrated at St Andrews, as appears from the following passage:— "And thereafter the two Archbischops consecrat them Bischops, ay as they wer nominat be the King, and agried unto be the rest; first quietlie, but afterward verie solemnlie, as their state grew and wer favoured by their Prince."—*Row's Historie*, Maitland Club's Edit. i. 98.

[2] He died at Whitehall, 30th Jan. 1611.—*Calderwood's Hist.* folio edit. p. 644.

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